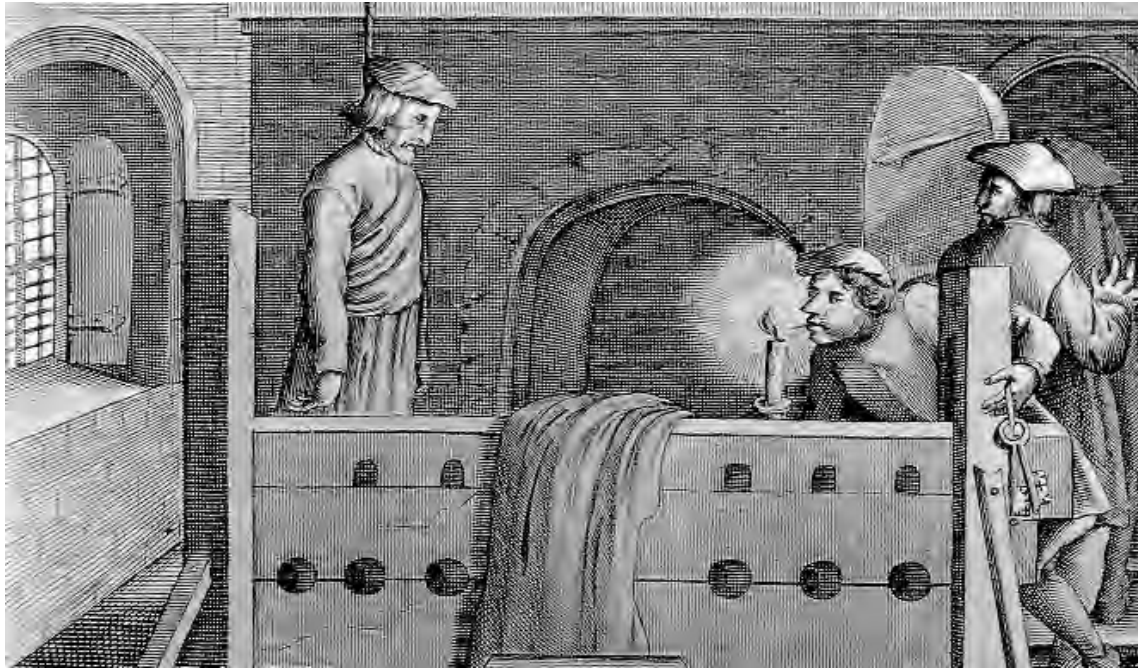


**A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE BAPTIST DENOMINATION IN AMERICA,
AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD**
By David Benedict

1813

London: Printed by Lincoln & Edmands, No. 53, Cornhill, for the Author

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Catholic authorities hanging a Bible-believing Christian in the fifteenth century

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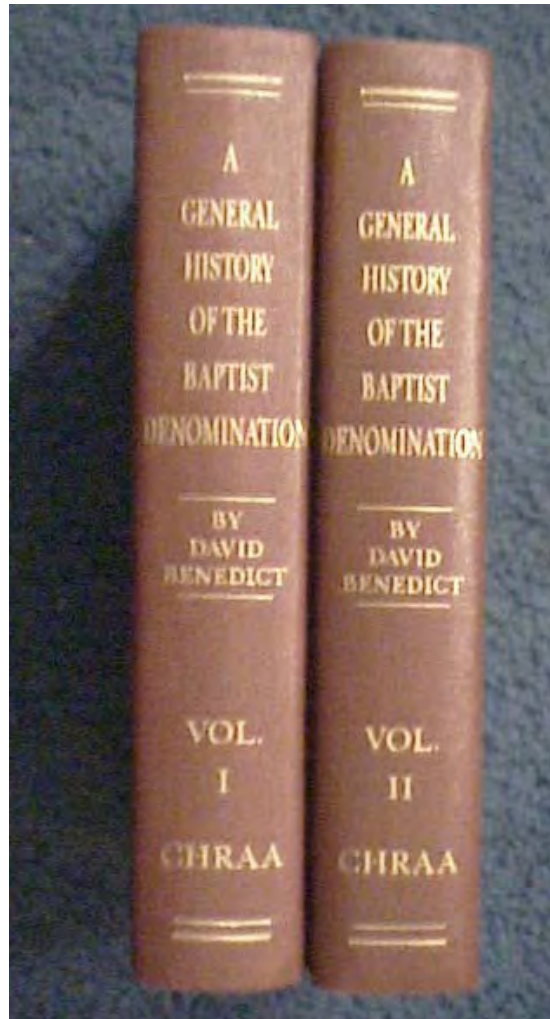
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THE LIFE OF DAVID BENEDICT (Oct. 10, 1779 - Dec. 5, 1874)

THE FOLLOWING IS FROM *THE BAPTIST ENCYCLOPEDIA* --

David Benedict, the Baptist historian, was born in Norwalk, Conn., Oct. 10, 1779. His love for historical reading and investigation developed itself in early life. At twenty he made a profession of his faith in Christ. Religion did for him what it has done for so many thousands of others,--quickened his intellectual nature, and made him aspire after something elevating. He entered Brown University, where he graduated in 1806. Soon after he was ordained as pastor of the Baptist church in Pawtucket, R.I., where he remained twenty-five years. During all this time he had been busy in gathering, from every part of the country, the materials out of which to form a comprehensive history of the Baptist denomination, and had sent to press several volumes relating to the subject of his investigations. After retiring from his pastorate, he gave himself with great diligence to the work of completing the task he had undertaken. He felt it to be his special vocation to do this work, and he made everything bend to its accomplishment. Among his published writings are the following:

History of the Baptists, 1813
Abridgment of Robinson's History of Baptism, 1817
Abridgment of History of the Baptists, 1820
History of all Religions, 1824
History of the Baptists Continued, 1848
Fifty Years among the Baptists, 1860

He wrote also a history of the Donatists, which was completed just before he was ninety-five years of age, and which, since his death, has been printed. All through his life he was in the habit of writing much for the public press. He took a leading part in the founding of various religious organizations in his denomination, in promoting the cause of education, in the formation of new churches, etc. He carried the habits of hard work, which he had formed in the maturity of his years, down to the close of life. He was remarkably favored with good eyesight, and his vision was unimpaired to the last. At the time of his death he had been the senior member of the board of trustees of Brown University for sixteen years, and had been in the corporation for fifty-six years. Dr. Benedict died at Pawtucket, Dec. 5, 1874, having reached the great age of ninety-five years one month and twenty-five days. (William Cathcart, *The Baptist Encyclopedia*, 1881, pp. 94,95).

THE FOLLOWING IS FROM THE CHURCH HISTORY RESEARCH & ARCHIVES EDITION OF BENEDICT'S HISTORY

We are greatly indebted to our beloved Brother, David Benedict for his contribution to the Baptist Cause. Mr. Benedict was born in Norwalk, Connecticut on October 10, 1779. He professed faith in Christ at the age of twenty, and soon afterwards yielded to the Master's ministerial call. At the age of twenty-two, he became burdened to set in order, on printed pages, a history of the Baptist Denomination, both at home and abroad. For nearly eight years he was totally consumed with the study and research of any book, pamphlet or article dedicated to this subject. Travelling to several distant states gathering and collecting records and materials.

In the fall of 1809, Mr. Benedict set out on a mission that would last for almost two years and cover nearly seven thousand miles to Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, into the southern states, over into Georgia and the Carolinas, up the coast to New York, Maine and the New England states soliciting, first hand, the information he desired. Most of these journeys were alone, on horse back and in wilderness regions of the country.

These two volumes (1813 ED.) now before us, represent one of the first works written on the Baptists in America, as prior to Mr. Benedict's efforts, there were the works of Isaac Backus (January 9, 1724 - November 20, 1806) and Morgan Edwards (May 9, 1722 - January 28, 1795), to account for the Baptist Cause. **Because of the period of time, the scope and the accuracy of this work, Mr. Benedict is regarded as the leading Baptist Historian in America and this work, one of the most sought after and relied upon.**

David Benedict went on to write six other major works relative to the Baptist Cause, namely *ABRIDGEMENT OF ROBINSON'S HISTORY OF BAPTISM*, 1817; *ABRIDGEMENT OF HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS*, 1820; *HISTORY OF ALL RELIGIONS*, 1824; *HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS*, 1848; *FIFTY YEARS AMONG THE BAPTISTS*, 1860; and *HISTORY OF THE DONATISTS*, 1875. The last title being completed by Mr. Benedict in his ninety-fifth year of life and printed after his death on December 5, 1874. JR. Graves (April 10, 1820 - June 26, 1893), when compiling information for his history, *THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH IN AMERICA*, visited Mr. Benedict during the latter years of Mr. Benedict's life and found him hard at work on the *HISTORY OF THE DONATISTS*, translating his authorities out of Latin.

Mr. Benedict believed that God desired this work, prospered his labours and provided strength and means for him to complete the task, because through the accurate word of histories, we find the hand of God, the acts of God, the providence of God and the faithfulness of God, even as promised by His son, Jesus Christ, "and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen." (Matt. 28:20)

We wish to express our appreciation to California Missionary Baptist Institute, Beliflower, California for supplying the two volumes (1813 ED.) from which this edition was printed; to J. M. Pendleton Baptist Library, Carthage, Tennessee, for supplying us with information and recommendations to improve the presentation of these volumes; and to our beloved brother, Eld. Carroll C. Ramsey, Lafayette, Tennessee for his love and encouragement towards our labours, to proceed in this work.

THE FOLLOWING IS FROM BENEDICT'S OWN PREFACE TO HIS HISTORY

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Notwithstanding I was often lodged and refreshed by hospitable brethren and friends, yet my journeys were unavoidably attended with expenses, which I was not well able to bear; and, indeed, I know not what I should have done, had it not been, that a number of churches and individuals made me very liberal contributions, for the purpose of aiding my undertaking.

In these journeys, besides collecting many materials, I formed a very extensive acquaintance, and engaged correspondents in every part of the country, many of whom have contributed largely towards the accomplishment of this work. Still there were many parts of this extensive continent, which I had not visited, and many materials yet remained to be collected. In the close of the year 1810, I printed a Circular Address, &c. stating the progress I had made, and the materials I wanted, and distributed three hundred of them in places I had not visited. And besides these, I have written between five and six hundred letters to solicit information of various kinds.

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I did not, at first contemplate any thing more at present, than the history of the American Baptists. I had, however, designed, at some future period, to compose a General History of the Baptists in other countries; but learning that Mr. Ivimey, a Baptist minister in London, was engaged in writing the History of the English Baptists, and concluding that his work would, in a great measure, if not wholly, supersede the necessity of any further exertions of mine, I resolved to throw together in one view, with as much precision as possible, a general account of all who have maintained the peculiar sentiments of the Baptists, in foreign countries and ancient times. And as I must, in order to do this, travel an extensive round of ecclesiastical affairs, and refer to many characters and events, which might not be fully understood by all my readers, I concluded, at a late period, to give, in the first place, *A Summary view of Ecclesiastical History*, and then *A Miniature History of Baptism, from the Apostolic age to the present time*.

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Many of the events described are of the most familiar kind; an attempt to elevate them by the flowers of diction, would be preposterous in itself, and disgusting to the reader. I expect most of my readers will be a plain people, unaccustomed to the trappings of art, and to the labour of decyphering learned figures and distant similitudes. But while I have dispensed with the decorations of style, I have endeavoured to regard an observation, which Cowper has made in some of his prose writings: "Perspicuity is half the battle; for if the sense is not so plain as to stare you in the face, but few people will take the pains to poke for it."

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I observed at first, that I hardly knew how I came to engage in this undertaking, and I now can say, I hardly know how, with my feeble health and scanty resources, I have carried it through. The cordial approbation, which my brethren have so generally manifested towards my design, has been a powerful stimulus to perseverance: and I have had the happiness of believing that I have been employed in the path of duty, and that God, in his providence, has prospered my labours. And if no other person should receive any advantage from this publication, my labour will not be lost; for the pleasure and profit, which it has

afforded me, are more than sufficient to compensate all the labour and anxiety it has cost. But I cannot but flatter myself, that the accounts of the wonderful displays of the grace of God, which are here imperfectly related, will be read with pleasure by many, in the present and in future generations.

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David Benedict
Pawtucket, near Providence, R.I.
April 16, 1813

THE FOLLOWING IS AN INTERESTING ACCOUNT BENEDICT GIVES OF A PORTION OF HIS TRAVELS BY HORSEBACK

"The road from East to West Tennessee leads directly over the stupendous and terrible piles of the Cumberland Mountains. Eighty miles of this road are most rugged and dreary indeed. It leads through land till lately claimed by the Indians, and it was by paying an annual sum for the privilege, that the United States government obtained permission of the native proprietors of the soil, to lay open a road through this desolate region, and establish three or four stands where houses of entertainment were kept for the convenience of travelers. But five or six years ago a very large tract of country, in which this road was included, was purchased of the Indians, and their claim to it forever extinguished. Since that period a few settlements have been made in the inhabitable parts of the mountains, but a considerable part them are wholly unfit for settlement, as they are altogether incapable of cultivation. There are now many inns or ordinaries on the road for the entertainment of travelers, most of which are of a truly inferior kind. A few of them, however, are kept with a good degree of neatness and attention, and furnish more comforts to the lonesome traveler, than he could expect to find in such a barren and inhospitable desert. This road I found the most dreary and unpleasant of any which I traveled in any of the United States. One night I tarried at an inn where I was treated with much hospitality. Shortly after I arrived, the people informed me that two panthers had lately been seen by the side of the road which I had passed, and that one of these dreadful animals had, not long before, come near the house in the night, and screamed like a woman in distress, and came near decoying the man of the house to go out into the woods to search for what he supposed at first a bewildered and unfortunate sufferer. They had but just finished this relation, when two men rode up to the door, of a most rustic and woodsy appearance; they informed us that they were in pursuit of a man who had lately broken a log jail, some distance off down the mountain, and that he was imprisoned for robbing and murdering a traveler on the road. This was unpleasant news for me. They also informed us there were lurking a few miles off, two noted horse-thieves on foot, one of whom had lately broken jail in South-Carolina, and had fled to these remote mountains for protection, and that they were supposed to be waiting to furnish themselves with horses to expedite their escape to remoter regions, as horse-stealing in South-Carolina is a capital crime; and this, I thought, was bad news for myself and horse too. The people also informed me, that the wolves were at that time very numerous and voracious, and that a company of them had, a day or two before, shown alarming signs of insolence and hostility to some travelers on the road. After hearing all these unpleasant relations, I committed myself to the divine protection, and retired, to rest as composedly as I could; but I could not help reflecting that I must ride in the morning, if my horse was

not stolen, over rocks and mountains, through mud and snow, ten miles, without a house or in habitant."
(David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America*, vol. II, chapter 14).

"And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. HE THAT BELIEVETH AND IS BAPTIZED, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned" Mark 16:15.

"And the eunuch said, See, here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized?...If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. . . . I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God AND THEY WENT DOWN BOTH INTO THE WATER, both Philip and the eunuch, and he baptized him AND WHEN THEY WERE COME UP OUT OF THE WATER", etc. Acts 8:36-39.

PREFACE

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DAVID BENEDICT

Pawtucket, near Providence, Rhode Island

April 16, 1813.

A SUMMARY VIEW OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

The introduction of the gospel system was a most glorious and important event. At the time the Sun of Righteousness arose upon the world, it was in a state of profound ignorance, and the deepest moral misery.

The Jews, the ancient people of God, had generally departed from the piety of their ancestors, and were sunk into formality and hypocrisy. The Gentile nations, whether barbarous or civilized, were involved in the grossest idolatry; their deities were multiplied to an extravagant degree, almost everything in creation was worshipped, and the enlightened city of Rome contained, at one time, thirty thousand different deities, which had been collected from the conquered nations. A magnificent temple, called the Pantheon, that is, the temple of all the gods, had been erected, in which this mighty host of divinities was assembled.

Towards the conclusion of the reign of Herod the Great, the Son of God, who had long been foretold by the ancient prophets, descended upon earth. Although the world was involved in darkness at this time, yet the nations were generally in a state of tranquillity and repose. The vast Roman empire, in which Palestine was then included, was less agitated with wars and tumults at the birth of Christ, than it had been for many years before. And, indeed, some historians have maintained that the temple of Janus was then shut, and that wars and discords absolutely ceased throughout the world. [Janus, according to heathen fable, was the most ancient king, who reigned in Italy. Some authors make him son of Apollo, some of Coelus and Hecate, and others, a native of Athens, Janus is represented with two faces, because he was acquainted with the past and the future; or, according to others, because he was taken for the sun, who opens the day at his rising, and shuts it at his setting. He was chiefly worshipped among the Romans. His temple, which was always open in times of war, was shut only three times, for the space of seven hundred years, for during that long period of time the Romans were continually employed in war. *Classical Dictionary*.]

The manner in which the Messiah appeared, his ministry and death, and all the affairs of his kingdom and people, for many years after he ascended on high, are recorded in the New Testament. His disciples began to congregate into churches, soon after he left the earth. The church at Jerusalem was formed the evening of the glorious day of his ascension, in an upper room, and consisted of about a hundred and twenty believing men and women. The persecution, which arose about the time of Stephen's death, caused all the disciples of Jesus, except the apostles, to leave Jerusalem. They proceeded out every way like the radii of a circle from the center, and formed churches in many places, first in Palestine, then in other parts of Asia, next in the Asiatic islands, and lastly in Europe.

Mr. Robinson has shown that the apostles and primitive preachers gathered churches in between sixty and seventy different cities, towns, and provinces, and in many instances a number were gathered in each. These churches were all composed of reputed believers, who had been baptized by immersion on the profession of their faith. Their bishops and elders were merely overseers of their spiritual flocks; they claimed no right to lord it over God's heritage; every church was an independent body, and no one claimed a right to regulate the affairs of another. If they met in council, as they did at Jerusalem, it was to advise, not to give law.

The church of Christ has always been taught by the conduct of the people of this world, that this is not her home. She was persecuted at first by the Jews, then by the pagans, and next by monsters under the christian name. Christianity prospered greatly under the ministry of the apostles and primitive preachers, and in a short time was carried to most parts of the Roman empire, which extended in length above three thousand miles, from the river Euphrates in the east, to the western ocean; in breadth it was more than two thousand miles, and the whole consisted of above sixteen hundred thousand square miles. This vast empire was an assemblage of conquered kingdoms and provinces, and comprehended, at the commencement of christianity, most of the civilized world. And at this period, it is said to have contained, one hundred and twenty millions of souls. [Robinson's *Ecclesiastical Researches*, p. 13, 14.]

Providence seems to have chosen this vast dominion, for the scene of the first gospel laborers. The multitude of languages amongst its inhabitants was no obstruction to them, for they were inspired to speak with other tongues. Opposition they frequently met with, but this fell out to the furtherance of the gospel;

for when persecuted in one city they fled to another, and carried with them the light of truth. The Lord gave the word to his servants, and great was the company, who published it abroad. It would be difficult to form any probable conjecture of the number of converts to christianity in the early ages of the church, but it must have been immensely great, for it is supposed that three million were sacrificed in the three first centuries, to the rage of pagan persecutors. In these three centuries there were ten general persecutions, fomented by so many cruel pagan emperors.

They did not reign, however, in regular succession, and in the intervening spaces between their reigns, the empire was governed by princes, who entertained a great variety of opinions respecting christianity. Some turned it into ridicule, others showed some degree of clemency towards the christians; some repealed the persecuting laws of their predecessors, while others left them to their destructive operation. But the pagan priests continually employed their malicious eloquence to defame the disciples of Christ, and to rouse the persecuting sword against them. They laid to their charge the earthquakes, famines, pestilences, and conflagrations, and all the national calamities which happened where they resided. And they persuaded the magistrates that the gods sent down these judgments to avenge their lenity towards the christians.

The first of these ten persecutions was begun by the abandoned **NERO**. He was the first emperor who shed the blood of christians, and it is said that Peter and Paul were of the number. The city of Rome took fire, and a considerable part of it was consumed. The perfidious Nero was thought to have kindled the fire, but that cruel prince accused the innocent christians of the horrid crime, and avenged it upon them in a most barbarous manner. He caused some to be wrapped up in combustible garments, which were set on fire; others were fastened to crosses, others were torn to pieces by wild beasts, and thousands suffered death in the most horrid and cruel forms.

The persecutions under all the ten emperors, were similar in many respects; some of them were but short, and others of longer duration. The christians suffered every privation, and were put to death by all the excruciating tortures, which infernal ingenuity could invent. Multitudes were confined in theatres, where wild beasts were let loose upon them, and they were worried and devoured, for the diversion of thousands of barbarous spectators, who sat elevated above the reach of harm. The third persecution was under **TRAJAN**, a prince renowned for many excellent qualities, but who was, nevertheless, a dreadful scourge to the disciples of Christ. The letters which passed between him and Pliny, the governor of Bythnia, I shall here transcribe.

C. PLINY TO TRAJAN EMPEROR, HEALTH

"It is my usual custom, Sir, to refer all things, of which I harbor any doubts, to you. For who can better direct my judgment in its hesitation, or instruct my understanding in its ignorance? I never had the fortune to be present at any examination of christians, before I came into this province. I am therefore at a loss to determine, what is the usual object, either of inquiry or punishment, and to what length either of them is to be carried. It has also been with me a question very problematical, whether any distinction should be made between the young and the old, the tender and the robust; whether any room should be given for repentance, or the guilt of christianity once incurred is not to be expiated by the most unequivocal retraction; whether the name itself, abstracted from any flagitiousness of conduct, or the crimes connected with the name, be the object of punishment. In the mean time this has been my method, with respect to those who were brought before me as christians. I asked them whether they were christians? If they pleaded guilty, I interrogated them twice afresh, with a menace of capital punishment. In case of obstinate perseverance, I ordered them to be executed. For of this I had no doubt, whatever was the nature of their religion, that a sullen and obstinate inflexibility called for the vengeance of the magistrate. Some there were infected with the same madness, whom, on account of their privilege of citizenship, I reserved to be sent to Rome, to be referred to your tribunal. In the course of this business, information pouring in, as is usual when they are encouraged, more cases occurred. An anonymous libel was exhibited, with a catalogue of names of persons, who yet declared, that they were not christians then, or ever had been; and repeated after me an invocation of the gods and of your image, which, for this purpose, I had ordered to be brought with the images of the deities, performed sacred rites with wine and frankincense, and execrated Christ, none of which things, I am told, a real christian can ever be impelled to do. On this account I dismissed them. Others, named by an informer, first affirmed and then denied the charge of christianity, declaring that they had been christians, but had desisted, some three years ago, others still longer, some even twenty years

ago. All of them worshipped your image, and the statues of the gods, and also execrated Christ. And this was the account which they gave me of the nature of the religion they once had professed, whether it deserves the name of crime or error, that they were accustomed on a stated day to meet before daylight, and to repeat among themselves a hymn to Christ as to a God, and to bind themselves by an oath with an obligation of not committing any wickedness, but on the contrary, of abstaining from thefts, robberies, and adulteries, also of not violating their promise, or denying a pledge, after which, it was their custom to separate, and to meet again at a promiscuous, harmless meal, from which last they yet desisted, after the publication of my edict in which, agreeably to your orders, I forbade any societies. On which account, I judged it the more necessary, to inquire by torture from two females, who were said to be deaconesses, what is the real truth. But nothing could I collect, except a depraved and excessive superstition. Deferring, therefore, any further investigation, I determined to consult you. For the number of culprits is so great, as to call for serious consultation. For many are informed against of every age and of both sexes, and more still will be in the same situation. For the contagion of the superstition hath spread not only through cities, but even villages and the country. Not that I think it impossible to check and correct it: The success of my endeavors hitherto forbids such desponding thoughts; for the temples once almost desolate, begin to be frequented, and the sacred solemnities, which had long been intermitted, are now attended afresh; and the sacrificial victims are now sold every where, which once could scarce find a purchaser. Whence I conclude, that many might be reclaimed, were the hope of impunity on repentance absolutely confirmed."

TRAJAN TO PLINY

"You have done perfectly right, my dear Pliny, in the inquiry which you have made concerning christians. For truly, no one general rule can be laid down, which will apply itself to all cases. They must not be sought after. If they are brought before you and convicted, let them be capitally punished, yet with this restriction, that if any renounce christianity, and evidence his sincerity by supplicating our gods, however suspected he may be for the past, he shall obtain pardon for the future, on his repentance. But anonymous libels in no case ought to be attended to; for the precedent would be of the worst sort, and perfectly incongruous to the maxims of my government."

This letter of Pliny's was written about 106 or 107. It suggests many remarks, which have been judiciously made by the late Rev. John Newton, They are found in the sixth volume of his works, New York edition. Notwithstanding the violence with which persecution raged in the three first centuries, yet christianity never prospered more than in these trying times. The constancy of the christian sufferers emboldened their brethren to persevere, and led many to examine into the nature of that religion, which exposed its professors to such calamities, and which, at the same time, inspired them with such holy fortitude, amidst the torturing agonies of death. And their enemies soon found that the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church.

We are now about to take a view of the christian cause, under circumstances very different from those which have been related. A little more than three hundred years after the birth of Christ, the Roman Emperor, **CONSTANTINE THE GREAT**, embraced the christian faith, and not only abolished all the persecuting edicts of his predecessors, but established religion by law. And under legal establishments of different kinds, the great mass of christian professors have been included from that inauspicious period to the present time. The conversion of this emperor was effected by the miraculous appearance of a cross in the heavens, while he was marching at the head of his armies. This story has, however, been considered, and not without just grounds, a fabulous invention of aftertimes. And, indeed, the sincerity of this royal convert has never been fully established. But so it was, that either from motives of civil policy, or from a genuine conviction of its truth, he espoused the christian cause, and established it as the religion of his empire. This was hailed by most as an auspicious and promising measure; but it proved in the end to be a dangerous favor, big with calamity and harm. It was indeed a desirable thing to be freed from the rage of a persecuting power; it was also a pleasant sight, to the worshippers of the true God, to see the whole system of paganism, which had been the pride of ages, gradually dissolved and sinking into insignificance and contempt. And had Constantine repealed all persecuting laws, and left religion to stand upon its own foundation, he would have done essential service to the church of Christ, and every christian would have reason to respect his memory. But when princes undertake in religion, they either do too much for it, or against it. "This zealous prince, (says Mosheim) employed all the resources of his genius, all the authority of his laws and all the engaging charms of his munificence and liberality, to efface by degrees the

superstitions of paganism, and propagate christianity in every corner of the Roman empire" [Vol. 1. p. 318]. "Nothing (says Milner) can be more splendid than the external appearance of christianity at this time. An emperor, full of zeal for the propagation of the only divine religion, by edicts, restores every thing to the church of which it had been deprived, indemnifies those who had suffered, honors the pastors exceedingly, recommends to governors of provinces to promote the gospel -- he also erects churches exceedingly sumptuous and ornamental, with distinctions of parts, corresponding in some measure to those in Solomon's temple; his mother Helena also fills the whole Roman world with her munificent acts in support of religion, and so on" [Vol. 2. p. 57].

Many were elated beyond measure at this external prosperity and magnificence: but the old veterans in the christian cause, foresaw the evils which were brooding over them. They judged rightly when they suspected that these splendid benefits were purchased at too dear a rate, for the emperor, who had taken the church into his princely favor, claimed the privilege of regulating its affairs.

Now religion assumed a prosperous appearance, but very little of the spirit of godliness was to be seen. Now the bishops and pastors, especially those in populous cities and towns, were exalted to a pitch of worldly grandeur, in consequence of the princely endowments which their churches had received. Now multitudes came swarming into the church, in pursuit of the emoluments which it offered them. Now blasting errors, augmented superstitions, and pompous and unmeaning forms of piety, which had long been gaining ground, ripened apace, and soon arrived to a dreadful maturity. In a word, everything in faith and practice, that was opposite to the pure religion of Jesus, came pouring in like a flood, and this heavenly system was disrobed of its primeval beauty, and sunk beneath an oppressive load, from which it has never yet fully recovered. **The Bishop of Rome soon rose to preeminence among his brethren, on account of his local situation, and the foundation for the magnificent papacy was laid.** The bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, and of Constantinople, were soon exalted to superior dignity. Next came Archbishops, Patriarchs, Exarchs, Metropolitans, Suffragans, Popes, Cardinals, Monks, Nuns, Synods, Councils, Anathemas, Dungeons, Gibbets, Flames, and Death, all for the glory of a God of mercy, and the honor of his holy name.

We have now opened to a wide field, and a mighty mass of materials presents itself, which, however, we call but just glance upon without extending this article farther than would comport with its design. In farther pursuing this subject, I shall relate, under separate heads, accounts of some of the most distinguished bodies of professed christians, and also of the most striking events which have occurred in the christian world.

THE CHURCH OF ROME

"The Church of Rome is now a phrase of magnitude and splendor, yet at first it stood for no more than an assembly of converted Jews, dwelling at Rome, who met for worship in the hired house of Paul of Tarsus then a prisoner" [Robinson's *Ecclesiastical Researches*, p. 117].

The early history of this church is covered with obscurity, but the deficiency of historical facts has been supplied by Papist writers with a multitude of fabulous tales. But it is sufficiently evident, that the church of Rome remained for a long time a small body of christians, who were but little known to the rest of the people of this great city. The bishop of Rome preached in a private house, and merely superintended the care of his little flock, and doubtless never expected his successors would arise to the highest summit of blasphemous eminence, and hurl their anathemas to distant nations, dethrone kings and emperors, and make them bow at their feet.

SYLVESTER was bishop of Rome in the reign of Constantine, and Catholics pretend that he was the thirty-fourth in succession. **In the days of Sylvester, it is believed, that the people, who were afterwards called Waldenses, began to separate from the church, which had become a tool of state, and was fast plunging into error and superstition.**

The bishop of Rome arose by gradual steps to eminence and authority, until he acquired the title of Universal Bishop. This title was conferred upon Boniface III by the emperor Phocas, in 606; and from this

period writers generally date the rise of Antichrist. If this be correct, his reign will end, or the 1260 years will expire about fifty years hence. [The manner in which the pope obtained the title of Universal Bishop, is very ingeniously described by Mr. M_Gowan in his *Dialogues of Devils*. Fastosus, that is, the proud or haughty devil, is represented as speaking. This devil was the author of all the ambitious projects of aspiring ecclesiastics. He had set up a work shop near the throne of St. Peter, and had already furnished many bishops with medals, inscribed with FATHER, PATRIARCH, and so on. "Long (says Fastosus) and very successfully had I followed this medallion trade, when a famous and worthy prelate of Rome, who was a great admirer of my productions, came into my office. After doing obeisance to me, and turning over my pretty devises, he asked me, _If I thought, with all my ingenuity, I could produce a genuine medal with this inscription, PAPAS SUPREMUS; or EPISCOPUS UNIVERSALIS._ I told him that if all the artists in hell were to unite their wisdom in one mechanical head, it would be utterly impossible; for, said I, the whole creation doth not furnish sufficient materials. But if it please your holiness, I can make you a sham medal of that sort, which may, perhaps, answer all the ends you have in view, as well as if it were real. _Oh! (said he) I care not, for my part, whether it is real or counterfeit, if I can only, by your assistance, my worthy Fastosus, impose upon the credulity of mankind, and make the world believe that I am supreme pope and universal bishop; then I should reign, with despotic power, over the estates and consciences of all christians. My good friend, please you to make me the medal, and I will cause the world to believe that I had it from the Almighty, with letters patent under the broad seal of heaven, for the sole use of it to me and my successors forever._ I well know, returned I, that your holiness means no more, than in a pious manner to impose the cheat upon the world, the better to fill your coffers, and aggrandize your name; in which laudable undertaking your adored Festosus shall be ever ready to direct and assist. To work I went, having called in the assistance of several of our friends, and made a counterfeit medal, in the likeness of a treble crown, with certain inscriptions of the cabalistic kind upon it. They were short but pithy sentences, as you shall hear. On the one side of the first crown was inscribed, _He that is honored as the wearer of this medal, is possest of infallible knowledge._ Opposite to that was carved in fine Italian, _He is supreme over all laws, divine and human._ On the right side of the second crown were these words in large capitals, _This is the Head of the Church._ On the left were these, _This is the vicar of Christ, and successor of Peter._ On the third and uppermost crown were the following, _The keys of Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory, are in his possession, and used only at his pleasure._ Round the edge was this writing, _He reigneth supreme over all the kings of the earth, putteth down one, and exalteth another at his pleasure._" *Dialogues of Devils*, p. 217-219.]

From the time of Boniface III to that of Gregory VII a period of a little less than five hundred years, there were no less than a hundred and fourteen pontiffs elevated to the Papal chair, [*Trial of Antichrist*, p. 14] and from the outrageous reign of the last mentioned pope, to the present time, the number of these antichristian bishops has been peculiarly great, but I am not able now to state it.

The history of the Roman pontiffs is replete with everything shocking to the feelings of piety and humanity. Notwithstanding their high pretensions to sanctity, many of them were the most flagitious monsters that ever walked the earth; their scandalous amours were notorious throughout their dominions, and many of their illegitimate children have cut distinguished figures in the world. Their ambitious projects set the world in commotion; their avarice drained the coffers of their blind devotees, and Sixtus V left behind him at his death, above five millions of gold. [Millot's *History*, Vol. 4. P. 279.]

Some of those spiritual potentates were respectable as earthly princes, but others were the most violent and perfidious wretches that ever swayed a scepter. And in their quarrels with surrounding sovereigns, they had the advantage of adding to their military forces, their thundering anathemas, by which princes were deposed from their thrones, their subjects absolved from their allegiance, and promised with pardons for rebellion, and heaven for success.

Although the popes had arisen to the highest summit of splendor and magnificence, and had, according to their pretensions, the spiritual destinies of all at their disposal, yet the first who became a temporal prince was **ZACHARY I**. The manner in which earthly dominions were attached to the papacy, is described by Mosheim in the following manner.

"The honors and privileges, which the western nations had voluntarily conferred upon the bishops, and other doctors of the church, were now (eighth century) augmented with new and immense accessions of opulence and authority. The endowments of the church and monasteries, and the revenues of the bishops, were

hitherto considerable; but in this century a new and ingenious method was found out of acquiring much greater riches to the church, and of increasing its wealth through succeeding ages. An opinion prevailed universally at this time, though its authors are not known, that the punishment, which the righteous Judge of the world has reserved for the transgressions of the wicked, was to be prevented and annulled, by liberal donations to God, to the saints, to the churches and clergy. This new and commodious method of making atonement for iniquity, was the principal source of those immense treasures, which from this period began to flow in upon the clergy, the churches, and monasteries, and continued to enrich them through succeeding ages down to the present time.

"But here it is highly worthy of observation, that the donations, which princes and persons of the first rank presented, in order to make expiation for their sins, and to satisfy the justice of God, and the demands of the clergy, did not only consist in those private possessions, which every citizen may enjoy, and with which the churches and convents were already abundantly enriched; no: these donations were carried to a much more extravagant length, and the church was endowed with several of those public grants, which are peculiar to princes and sovereign states, and which are commonly called regalia or royal domains. Emperors, kings, and princes; signalized their superstitious veneration for the clergy, by investing bishops, churches, and monasteries, in the possession of whole provinces, cities, castles, and fortresses, with all the rights and prerogatives of sovereignty that were annexed to them under the dominion of their former masters. Hence it came to pass that they, who, by their holy profession, were appointed to proclaim to the world the vanity of human grandeur, and to inspire into the minds of men, by their instructions and their example, a noble contempt of sublunary things, became themselves scandalous spectacles of worldly pomp, ambition, and splendor; were created dukes, counts, and marquises, judges, legislators, and sovereigns; and not only gave laws to nations, but, also, upon many occasions, gave battle to their enemies at the head of numerous armies of their own raising. It is here that we are to look for the source of those dreadful tumults and calamities, that spread desolation through Europe in after-times, particularly of those bloody wars concerning investitures, and those obstinate contentions and disputes about the regalia" [Mosheim, vol. 2. p. 216].

The domains which were bequeathed by princes to the Holy See, were afterwards claimed by their successors, and by this means a foundation was laid for perpetual quarrels between the popes and many of the European sovereigns.

The pontificate was elevated to its highest pitch of worldly grandeur in the eleventh century, and the Man of Sin appeared to have attained the summit of arrogance and blasphemy in the person of **GREGORY VII**. This pope was a monk before he was elevated to the papal chair. His name was **HILDEBRAND**; Firebrand, he might more properly be called. He assumed not only the appellation of Universal Bishop, but also those of Sovereign Pontiff, Christ's Vicar, Prince of the Apostles, God on earth, Lord God the Pope, His Holiness, King of kings and Lord of lords, Prince over all nations and kingdoms, The Most Holy and Most Blessed, Master of the Universal World, Father of Kings, Light of the World, Most High and Sovereign Bishop, etc. etc. [*Trial of Antichrist*, p. 41.]

Gregory VII was undoubtedly the most audacious pope that ever sat on St. Peter's throne, and his whole pontificate was a continual scene of tumult and bloodshed. He impiously attempted to submit to his jurisdiction the emperors, kings, and princes of the earth, and to render their dominions tributary to the See of Rome. He dethroned the emperor Henry IV and then excommunicated him from the church, and obliged him to stand three days barefoot before the gates of Canosa on the Appinees, where he was regaling himself with his mistress Matilda, before he would grant him absolution.

This was the first instance of a prince being deposed by the pope; but this served as a precedent for many others, which the limits of this sketch will not permit us to name.

It may seem altogether incredible now, to those who have not studied the history of ancient times, that emperors, kings, and princes, should be hurled from their thrones, and disrobed of the functions of royalty, by the anathemas of the pretended vicar of Christ. What regard would the sovereigns of Europe now pay to the denunciations of Pius VII? But the case was far different when Antichrist was reigning in the meridian of his strength. Then all the world were wondering after the beast, and the voice of St. Peter, by his pretended vicegerent on earth, was regarded as the voice of God. Sovereigns might spurn at the thunders of the Vatican, but their subjects regarded them as the mandates of Heaven; kingdoms were soon filled with rebellion; the lives of princes were in danger from those about them; for the bulls of his Holiness must be obeyed; kingdoms were laid under interdicts; every thing was thrown into confusion, and in these dreadful circumstances, the proud, imperious princes of the earth, were reduced to the humbling necessity of bowing to the feet of St. Peter's successor, and becoming reconciled in the best manner they could to their spiritual

master. And having gained the friendship of his Holiness, their subjects returned to their allegiance, and their kingdoms were restored to order. It was, however, certainly unfair for the popes to interpose the charms of their spiritual influence, in their quarrels with princes about worldly things.

The pope was surrounded by ten thousand satellites, all receiving their light, or rather their darkness from him. But above them all, were seventy-two cardinals, by whom he was elected. Armies of monks and ministers stood ready to obey his summons, and were dispersed in every country to execute his high commands. These emissaries were constantly employed in the affairs of princes, in the intrigues of courts, and, many of them were elevated to the highest summit of worldly grandeur.

Gaspar de Quiroga, cardinal of Toledo, primate of all Spain, had, under his command in 1582, the chapters of a hundred and eight cathedrals, the members of three hundred and twelve colleges, the governors and officers of two thousand and eight hospitals, the parish priests of more than twenty one thousand cities, towns and villages, the officers of all the courts of inquisition, and of the chancery of Castile, etc. But this great man was nothing but a tool of the pope. [Robinson_s *Ecclesiastical Researches*, p. 262.]

It would make too many heads to consider separately every article which it may be proper to notice. We shall, therefore, throw together, in as much order as can be done, some of the most striking events which have occurred in this astonishing body of professing christians.

The church of Rome for many centuries prevailed generally throughout most of the European kingdoms, and its emissaries also made large conquests in many remoter regions; and this corrupt and idolatrous communion is now thought to embrace not far from a hundred million of souls. **THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS** of priests, monks, nuns, friars, and so on, form an innumerable company of lazy, ambitious, and unprofitable beings. The history of the monastic orders would, of itself, make a voluminous work; but it is sufficient to observe that they began in early times, in a mistaken manner of weaning the mind from sublunary things. The first monks were merely religious hermits, who, in the third century retired to the solitary deserts of Egypt, both to avoid persecution, and to enjoy religious repose. In the persecution under Decius, one Paul fled to the deserts of Thebais, where he spent ninety years in religious solitude. This kind of hermitage becoming popular, thousands fled to the wilderness when they might have remained in society. At first they lived a vagrant life, and were scattered throughout the deserts; but in the fourth century one Anthony began to form them into societies, and from hence-forward they erected habitations, which were called monasteries, and everything was regulated by laws punctilious and absurd. From the east the monks came swarming into the west, and finally overspread the christian world. From the monastic orders were elected most of the cardinals, popes, legates, and other dignified ecclesiastics in the church of Rome.

As so many of the brethren had taken it upon them to live a single life, a corresponding number of sisters, finding they must live alone, took upon them the vows of chastity, were called nuns, and were collected in habitations called nunneries. And so great was the rage for retirement, that in many countries, a large portion of the inhabitants were associated in these irrational and sanctimonious communities. But the monks and nuns, although under vows of perpetual chastity, did not always keep apart, and many shocking things are related of the horrid measures which they took to conceal their iniquity, and dispose of the fruits of their infamous commerce.

The **CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY** was a practice early introduced in the church of Rome. "Marriage was at first permitted to all the various ranks and orders of the clergy, high and low. Those, however, who continued in a state of celibacy, obtained by this abstinence a higher reputation of sanctity and virtue than others" [Mosheim, vol. 1. p. 262]. But Paul foretold that in the reign of Antichrist marriage would be forbidden, and accordingly, in due time, the celibacy of the clergy was enjoined by law. This law was, however, never carried into general effect. Some took wives in a lawful manner and lived like other men, and the answer which some of the clergy in France made to the legate of Gregory VII is full of humor and spirit. Gregory forbid the people to hear mass from the married priests, and gave orders that celibacy should be religiously observed. The priests utterly refused to obey this command, and "if the pope persists in it," added they, "we will rather renounce our priesthood than our wives, and he may find angels to govern his churches. [Millot_s *History*, vol. 3. p. 171].

This clerical celibacy was no friend to virtue, but it was, on the other hand, the means of a torrent of lasciviousness, debaucheries, and crimes. Uncleanliness prevailed, not among all, but among every order of these holy men, who pretended to live like angels upon earth. Many of the popes were the illegitimate children of popes who had gone before them. Henry, bishop of Leige, in the eleventh century, boasted in public, that he had been the parent of fourteen children, within two and twenty months. Pope Gregory VII reproved this bishop for squandering the revenues of the church on his bastard children, but he did not depose him from his holy office. It is not strange that Gregory was so indulgent to this amorous bishop, as he was himself then carrying on a scandalous amour with Matilda, the countess of Tuscany, by which he obtained a vast estate for the Holy See. "Illiterate prelates habited in purple robes, converted nunneries into stews, and had parks for seraglios. Some few pacified their scruples by private marriage, but by far the greater part either committed fornication and adultery promiscuously, or kept mistresses whom they called vice-wives. It must not be understood that all were sunk to this deplorable state of wretchedness and vice. There were sober bishops, who looked with grief and shame, on the infamous conduct of their clergy, and tried to resist the torrent of concupiscence, with which their dioceses were overwhelmed. But their headstrong clergy paid no attention to their remonstrances. Incontinence was a tide which could not be stopped, and the first council of Toledo, to their shame, rather than permit the clergy to marry, made a law to allow them concubines. [Robinson's *History of Baptism*, p. 311.] So blind and invincible is superstition, when established by custom and laws.

COUNCILS

The custom of holding councils, according to Mosheim, commenced in Greece in the second century. They were, by the Greeks, called synods. Councils were, at first, mere provincial assemblies, collected together for the purpose of regulating the affairs of particular districts; but they soon arose to the most august and powerful assemblies, and assumed the supreme command of the whole catholic world.

The popes frequently attended councils in person, and at other times, they were represented by their legates and nuncios. Some of them were called by the pontiffs, at other times, they were afraid of their power, and tried to hinder their meeting, or dissolved them when assembled.

The first general council was held at **NICE**, in Bythinia, in 325, wherein the deputies of the church universal were summoned by the emperor Constantine, to put an end to the Arian controversy, which then began to rage extensively. At this council upwards of three hundred bishops were assembled; it held about a year. Some of the catholic councils sat many years, and assembled a standing army of bishops and ecclesiastics, who stood ready to suppress every heretical whisper.

The council of **PLACENTIA**, was the most numerous of any that had been hitherto assembled, and was, on that account, held in the open fields. There were present at it, two hundred bishops, four thousand ecclesiastics, and three hundred thousand laymen. [Mosheim, vol. 2. p. 429]

The council of **CONSTANCE** was begun in 1414, and was held four years. It was opened by pope John XXIII and was ended by Martin V. At this council were assembled, (says Millot) a prodigious number of cardinals, prelates, and doctors; above a hundred sovereign princes of Germany, with the emperor at their head; twenty seven ambassadors, and innumerable deputies from all the different states and communities of Europe, and among the rest a crowd of minstrels, courtesans, etc. All Europe was in commotion about this council; it was summoned at the instance of the emperor Sigismond, for the purpose of reforming the church, and checking the ambition of the pontiffs.

The papal chair, at this time, was deputed by three ambitious rivals, who had assumed the names of John XXIII, Gregory XII and Benedict XIII. But during the sitting of the Council, all the rival popes were deposed, and a new one was elected by the name of Martin V. John had been a corsair, that is a pirate, in his youth; a profession, says Millot, more suited to his temper, than the functions of an ecclesiastic; in the habit of a postillion, he escaped from Constance, to avoid the vengeance of an enraged populace. [Millot's *History*, vol. 4. p. 22. This account is given by a zealous Catholic, who does not, however, hesitate to censure, in the severest terms, the vices and enormities of his own community.]

The famous council of **TRENT** was held eighteen years, and during the lives of five popes. It commenced in 1545, some time after the reformation was begun by Luther. [Trent was the rendezvous, for prostitutes from every quarter, during the sitting of the council, *Trial of Antichrist*, p. 139.]

The resolutions of a general council, as well as the decisions of a pope, are, by the Catholics, considered equal to scripture commands; but it is an unlucky circumstance that both popes and councils have passed decrees, not only different from, but in direct opposition to each other.

The Romans borrowed councils from the Greeks, and Protestants borrowed them from the Romans; and Presbyterian Synods and Congregational conventions, are considered by some as vestiges of the august and imposing councils we have thus briefly described. And, indeed, the meetings, called councils, among the Baptists, are thought by some to be branches of the same corrupt tree. I know not what Baptist councils may arrive to, but at present they are certainly very harmless things. A church calls a number of neighboring elders and brethren, to give them their advice in matters of difficulty. This advice is often received and proves highly beneficial; but it may be neglected, as it often is, and still no breach of fellowship, no interruption of communion between the advisers and the advised is occasioned thereby. But it must be acknowledged that churches founded a congregational and independent principles, cannot consistently have much business for councils, and I think the fewer there are among the Baptists the better. Our churches do undoubtedly sometimes refer difficulties to councils, which they might easy enough settle themselves.

CRUSADES OR HOLY WARS

In the eleventh century an attempt was made by the church of Rome, to recover the holy land from the possession of the Mahometans, and incredible numbers volunteered their services in these holy expeditions, But almost everything under the name of religion, was at this time profligate and vile. The popes of Rome, from the time of Sylvester II had contemplated the holy wars, but the troubles of Europe long prevented the execution of their arduous designs. Gregory VII boasted that upwards of fifty thousand men were mustered to follow him in a holy war, which he intended to conduct in person, but was prevented by his quarrel with the emperor Henry IV. At length the long premeditated war was undertaken. A monk of Picardy, commonly called **PETER THE HERMIT**, at his return from Jerusalem where he had been on pilgrimage, represented the oppression of the holy city, and the cruel treatment which the christians suffered, in such striking colors, that Urban II thought proper to set both kings and people in motion to recover it. This hermit of a hideous figure, covered with rags, walking barefoot, speaking as a prophet, and hearkened to as such, inspired the people everywhere, with an enthusiasm similar to his own. He went through all the countries of Europe sounding the alarm of the holy war against the infidel nations, and with a view to engage the superstitious and ignorant multitude in his cause, he carried with him a letter which he said was written in heaven, and addressed to all true christians, etc. Success everywhere attended the declamations of this ragged orator, and innumerable multitudes of all ranks and orders offered themselves as volunteers in the sacred expedition. They all received from the pope or bishops a cross of red stuff, which they wore upon their shoulders, and hence they were called crusaders, or cross-bearers, and the expedition was also from this circumstance denominated a crusade. The red cross procured a dispensation from all penance; but, when once taken, the wearers were obliged to set out under pain of excommunication. But few, however, were inclined to draw back, for they never doubted that the riches of Asia would recompense them a hundred fold; and if they died in the attempt, they were sure of heaven as the reward for their meritorious services. Contemporary writers make the number of the first crusaders to exceed six million; but the best authors make it only about one million and a quarter. This army, says Mosheim, consisted of a motley assemblage of monks, prostitutes, artists, laborers, lazy tradesmen, merchants, boys, girls, slaves, malefactors, and profligate debauchees, who were animated solely by the prospect of spoil and plunder, and hoped to make their fortunes by this holy campaign. Eighty thousand of this miserable rabble set out under the command of Peter the Hermit, and Walter the Needy. The rest followed under different leaders. They committed dreadful ravages in passing through Europe, and multitudes perished before they arrived in Asia. We cannot here give a history of the progress of this mighty army of pilgrims, but it is sufficient to observe that but a handful of them lived to return.

A **SECOND CRUSADE** was preached up by **ST. BARNARD**, the Abbot of Clairval, whom Mr. Milner has tried to make out, a humble and holy man. He is represented by historians as running from town to

town, performing numberless miracles to promote the cause of the holy war. The miracle of miracles, according to him, was his prevailing on the emperor Conrad III to take upon him the cross, which he was not inclined to do. The second army of cross-bearers was not numbered, but it was immensely great. It was led on by the emperor Conrad, and most of them perished in the expedition.

Notwithstanding these unsuccessful campaigns, a blind infatuation prevailed, and a **THIRD CRUSADE** was undertaken by the emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Richard I, king of England was engaged in this crusade. A fourth crusade was undertaken by Baldwin, count of Flanders; in this expedition Constantinople was taken, which was then inhabited by christians.

After this, a **holy war was proclaimed in France against the poor innocent Albigenes**; and thousands of them were slain by a band of bloody cross bearers, for the glory of God, and the good of the church. Multitudes of Baptists perished in this bloody scene, as we shall show more fully when we come to their history.

These wars, impiously called holy, were carried on in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; they set all Europe in commotion; they drained kingdoms of their inhabitants, and filled the east with wretches, rapine, and blood. But we can pursue their history no farther. From the crusades a number of the orders of knighthood arose.

INDULGENCIES

The sale of indulgencies was one of the most impious and infamous kinds of traffic, practiced by the church of Rome. The bishops had long made a trade of the vices of mankind; that is, they compounded with transgressors, and for certain sums remitted the severe penances, which they had been sentenced to endure; and sinners, especially rich ones, finding it less troublesome to pay their money than to repent of their crimes, the bishops soon established a gainful trade. Every order of ecclesiastics had their peculiar modes of fleecing the people. The monks could not sell pardons, but they carried about the country the relics of the saints, and permitted the deluded multitude to see, touch, and embrace them, at certain fixed prices. And thus the monastic orders gained as much by this rare-show, as the bishops did by their indulgencies. [Mosheim, vol. 3 p. 81.]

But at length the popes engrossed this profitable traffic to themselves; and Leo X who afterwards hurled his thunderbolts against Martin Luther, for the purpose of replenishing his exhausted coffers, employed certain monks to travel abroad, to promote the sale of indulgencies.

Among these detestable characters none acted a more conspicuous part, than a Dominican friar, named John Tetzel. He traveled through Germany, proclaiming the pardons of the pope, promising to sinners of every description, for fixed prices, a full remission of all sins past, present, and future. In describing the efficacy of indulgencies, he, among other horrid expressions, declared that, if any one had deflowered the mother of God, he had power from the pope to efface his guilt. He further boasted that he had saved more souls from hell by these indulgencies, than St. Peter had converted to christianity by his preaching. [The pardon-mongers collected immense sums from every nation they were sent to, as appears by one friar Samson, who collected 120,000 crowns among the Swiss only. *Trial of Antichrist*, p. 138.]

SUPEREROGATION

Cardinal Cajetan declared that one drop of Christ's blood was sufficient to redeem the whole world, and that the remaining quantity, that was shed in the garden and on the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, to be disposed of by his vice-gerent on earth. [*Trial of Antichrist*, p. 21.]

The doctrine of supererogation had been invented long before this time. This doctrine was founded upon the false supposition, that the superabundant good deeds of the saints, had procured a boundless treasure of merit, which might, by the pope, be applied to the benefit of others. The preaching of Indulgencies in Germany opened the eyes of many, roused the zeal of Luther, and the reformation in the sixteenth century immediately succeeded. [In the second volume of Saurin's sermons, Mr. Robinson, the translator, has

inserted an extract from the tax-book of the Roman Chancery. There we meet with such articles as these: "Absolution for killing one's father or mother, 1 ducat, 5 carlins. Ditto for all the acts of lewdness committed by a clerk, with a dispensation to be capable of taking orders, and to hold ecclesiastical benefits, etc. 36 tournois, 3 ducats. Ditto for one who shall keep a concubine, with a dispensation to take orders, etc. 21 tournois, 5 ducats, 9 carlins. As if this traffic were not scandalous enough of itself, it is added, Take notice particularly, that such graces and dispensations are not granted to the poor; for not having wherewith to pay, they cannot be comforted. The zeal of the reformers against the church of Rome ceaseth to appear intemperate in my eye, when I consider these detestable enormities."]

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN CARRIED ON BY THE CHURCH OF ROME.

This church, among other enormities, is covered with the blood of saints, which is crying for vengeance on its polluted head. The murders and cruelties of which this bloody community has been guilty, can be but briefly touched upon here; but it is supposed, if I mistake not, that three million lives have been sacrificed to the persecuting rage of the papal power. Among these, upwards of a million were of the people called Waldenses or Albigenses.

On the fatal night of **ST. BARTHOLOMEWS**, August 24, 1572, about seventy thousand persons were murdered in Paris, in the most barbarous manner, by the influence of the pope, and by the instrumentality of the bloodthirsty Charles IX. Within thirty years, there were murdered in France 59 princes, 148 counts, 234 barons, 147,518 gentlemen, and 760,000 persons of inferior rank in life, but whose blood equally called for justice. Three hundred thousand of these were murdered in a few years, by that furious catholic, Charles IX. [Many of the Waldenses and Albigenses are included in this number.]

The massacre of St. Bartholomews happened in the following manner; a match was concluded between Henry, (afterwards Henry IV) the young king of Navarre, a protestant, and the French King's sister. The heads of the protestants were invited to celebrate the nuptials at Paris, with the infernal view of butchering them all, if possible, in one night. This horrid scene is thus described by the author of the *Trial of Antichrist*: "Exactly at midnight on the eve of St. Bartholomews, (so called) 1572, the alarm bell was rung in the Palais Royale, as the signal of death. About five hundred protestant barons, knights and gentlemen, who had come from all parts to honor the wedding, were, among the rest, barbarously butchered in their beds. The gentlemen, officers of the chamber, governors, tutors, and household servants of the king of Navarre, and prince of Conde, were driven out of the chambers where they slept in the Louvre, and being in the court, were massacred in the king's presence. The slaughter was now general throughout the city, and as Thuanus writes, "that the very channels ran down with blood into the river." This was, however, magnified as a glorious action, and the king, who was one of the most active murderers, boasted that he had put 70,000 heretics to death. I might quote the words of a French author, who wrote the history of France, from the reign of Henry II to Henry IV and say, "How strange and horrible a thing it was, in a great town, to see at least 60,000 men with pistols, pikes, cutlasses, poniards, knives, and other bloody instruments, run, swearing and blaspheming the sacred Majesty of God, through the streets and into houses, where most cruelly they massacred all, whomsoever they met, without regard of estate, condition, sex, or age. The streets paved with bodies cut and hewed to pieces; the gates and entries of houses, palaces, and public places, dyed with blood. Shouting and hallooings of the murderers, mixed with continual noise of pistols and calivers discharged; the pitiful cries and shrieks of those that were murdering. Slain bodies cast out of the windows upon the stones, and drawn through the dirt. Strange noise of whistling, breaking of doors and windows with bills and stones. The spoiling and sacking of houses. Carts, some carrying away the spoils, and others the dead bodies, which were thrown into the river Seine, all now red with blood, which ran out of the town and from the king's palace." While the horrid scene was transacting, many priests ran about the city, with crucifixes in one hand and daggers in the other, to encourage the slaughter" [*Trial of Antichrist*, p. 134-5].

In the short reign of the ever to be execrated popish **MARY, QUEEN OF ENGLAND**, there were burnt in that kingdom, one archbishop, four bishops, twenty-one preachers, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, a hundred husbandmen and laborers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine unmarried women, two boys and two infants.

Forty thousand perished in the **IRISH MASSACRE**, in 1641. In a very short time, there were hanged, burned, buried alive, and beheaded, 50,000 persons in the **NETHERLANDS**.

The single order of **JESUITS** alone are computed, in the space of thirty or forty years, to have put to death 900,000 christians, who deserted from popery. And the **INQUISITION**, the bloody instrument of papal vengeance, in the space of about thirty years, destroyed, by various torture, 150,000. [*Trial of Antichrist* throughout.] We shall now take leave of this corrupt and bloody church. It has evidently been declining between two and three hundred years. The pope, its once furious and powerful head, is now reduced to a state of humiliation and dependence. But the instrument of his reduction has become so unpopular, that christians generally do not appear to regard with much interest, the astonishing change of circumstances in this troubler of nations, and bloodthirsty enemy of the church of God. [Notwithstanding the cruelties and abominations of the church of Rome, it is charitably hoped that amongst the millions of this community, there always have been many humble and pious souls; but I cannot gain the least evidence, that any one of the popes was acquainted with the power of godliness, and many wonder that any real christian should remain in a church so superstitious and vile. But we can have but a faint view now of the darkness in which all were involved, and of the danger to which dissenters were exposed. All who dissented from popery were denounced heretics, and the thunder of excommunication followed them, and they were immediately excluded from all civil rights. Heretics could make no wills, nor acquire anything by the testaments of others. They could not be admitted to any dignities, offices, or communities. They could not avail themselves of any courts, or derive any benefits from laws. Their friends could not obtain decent burial for them. They were exposed to popular contempt and hatred; in some cases to banishment, in others to imprisonment, confiscation of property and ignominious deaths. Robinson_s *Ecclesiastical Researches*, p. 144.]

THE GREEK CHURCH

This name is given to a very large body of christians, who reside in the east. The Greek church is said to be as large or larger than the Roman, and is probably as much loaded with unnecessary ceremonies; but it is not sunk so deep in absurdity and blood.

The history of the Greek church is covered with obscurity, and but a very brief view of it can be given here. Multitudes of the first converts to christianity resided where were once the ancient republics of Greece, and spake the Greek language, in which the New-Testament was written. Constantine, the Roman emperor, soon after he had embraced christianity, removed the seat of empire from Rome, in Italy, to Byzantium, in Thrace, and having enlarged, enriched, and adorned it, solemnly conferred on it his own name, and called it Constantinople, that is, Constantine_s city. It still remains one of the most magnificent cities of the east, and is now the seat of the Turkish emperor.

Eusebius was the bishop of Constantinople in the time of Constantine, while Sylvester was bishop of Rome. As the new metropolis arose in grandeur, its bishop experienced a proportionable increase of dignity and opulence, and the bishop of Rome soon found in him an ambitious and powerful rival. **These two imperial bishops struggled hard for dominion; each claimed the whole, secured what they could gain, and in the end divided the command of all the churches in christendom, or at least of those who would submit to their authority.**

The bishop of Rome took the name of Pope, from the Greek word *papas*, which signifies father; the bishop of Constantinople assumed the Old Testament title of Patriarch, and by this appellation he is yet distinguished. The struggles between the Roman pontiff and the Grecian patriarch, for preeminence and power, were long and obstinate; both claimed the title of Universal Bishop, which was finally conferred on the pope, in 606, by the emperor Phocas, and thenceforward the bishop of Rome arose superior to his rival in dignity and crimes.

Constantinople and a considerable part of the ancient dominions of the Greek church, has, for a number of centuries, been in possession of the Mahometans, and the patriarch himself exercises the high functions of his office, merely by the toleration of the disciples of the prophet of Mecca. **The bishops of Rome and Constantinople continued their rivalry, and reciprocal accusations, without coming to an open rupture, until the eleventh century. Then a war of anathemas commenced; they hurled their**

thunderbolts at each other, and a total separation took place between the Greek and Latin churches, which, notwithstanding the soothing artifices of the popes and Jesuits, has never been healed.

Besides the patriarch already mentioned, there are three other Grecian bishops, distinguished by this high appellation. They reside at Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria. But the patriarch of Constantinople is the head of the Greek church; all the other patriarchs, and all the Episcopal dignitaries are nominated by him.

The government of the Greek church is reputed a mild aristocracy. The patriarch of Constantinople is elected by twelve bishops, who reside nearest that famous capital; but the right of confirming his election, as well as of the other patriarchs, belongs only to the Turkish emperor. After the patriarch is elected, he is presented to the Sultan with a handsome fee. The Sultan's approbation runs in some such style as this; "I command such an one to go and reside as bishop, etc. according to the ancient custom and idle ceremonies of those people." The patriarchs of Alexandria have always avoided this submission to the Mahometan Sovereign. The rest yield to it; and on these terms more than two hundred thousand christian Greeks reside unmolested in Constantinople.

One of the largest branches of the Greek church is in Russia; the millions of that empire are included in this extensive community, and are under the superintendence of the powerful patriarch of Constantinople.

Some further account of the Greek church, of its boundaries, etc. and also of the Oriental churches, will be given in the succeeding chapter. The Greek church has never carried persecution to any great extent; this may be owing to the mildness of its spirit, but probably more to its external circumstances, for it has, for many ages, been hemmed in, and restrained by the Mahometan powers.

Thus we see that the Greek and Roman churches have always embraced by far the greatest part of what is called the christian world. In these two great establishments, there are probably contained one fifth, and perhaps one fourth of the inhabitants of the globe. In these extensive communities we find popes, patriarchs, bishops, archbishops, rites and ceremonies in abundance; but the humble followers of Jesus have generally been found in every age, among those who have dissented from them.

THE DISSENTING SECTS, both in the Greek and Latin churches, have been numerous; some were doubtless wild and fantastic, others were humble and devout; but **they have all been branded with the odious name of heretics, thrown by historians into one common mass of refuse, and devoted to infamy here and misery hereafter.** This vast pile of heretical lumber has been rummaged over by every protestant sect, in search of their sentimental relatives and friends. All have succeeded in their own estimation, and the success which the Baptists have had will be related when we come to speak of our brethren in foreign countries and ancient times.

Before we leave this subject, it may be proper just to observe, that there was a large body of dissenters among the Greeks, called by the general name of Massalians and Euchites, the one a Hebrew and the other a Greek name, both signifying a people that pray, because they placed religion not in speculation, but in devotion and piety.

The Euchites among the Greeks were similar to the Waldenses or Waldensians among the Romans. The terms, *Waldenses*, *Valenses* or *Vadois* (all of the same import) signify the people of the valleys, and were applied in early times to those, who, tired of tyranny, pomp, and oppression, retired to obscure retreats where they might enjoy gospel purity and religious freedom. And in the end, all of their sentiments, and many who were not, were called Waldenses, whether they dwelt in vallies or on mountains, in cities or in caves: Just as a sect of christians are called Moravians, whether they dwell in Moravia, in England, in Greenland, or the West-India Islands. And the terms Euchites and Waldenses answered to that of Non-conformist in England, which every reader will understand. Among the English non-conformists, are comprehended Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, Quakers, and so on. And so **among the Greek Euchites and the Roman Waldenses, were a great variety of sects, who maintained a great diversity of opinions and practices,** and among them were many who would be called Baptists, as we shall attempt to show in the next chapter but one.

PROTESTANTS

Long before the time of Luther many had attempted to shake off the papal yoke, and revive the spirit of godliness among the multitudes, who were groaning beneath an oppressive load of absurdities and superstitions. Among the principal men of this character we may reckon Claude of Turin in Piedmont, Peter de Bruys and Henry his disciple, Peter Waldo of Lyons in France; Wickliff, the morning of the Reformation; John Huss, and Jerome of Prague; either of these men, had the time arrived for the pillars of Babylon to be shaken, and had Providence seconded their views, might have done as much as was performed by Luther. They successively made noble stands against the man of sin, and sometimes struck terror even to the seat of the beast; and by their evangelical exertions, multitudes of their fellowmen were enlightened, and led into the paths of salvation. But the Dragon was permitted to make successful war against them, and most of them fell victims to his rage. Their followers were either destroyed or dispersed, and their names and principles were covered with infamy and disgrace. Wickliff was hunted with violence at first, but he outlived the persecuting storm, which had been raised against him, and died in peace at the parish of Lutterworth in England in 1387. But forty years after, his bones were dug up by order of the council of Constance, and publicly burnt. Wickliff's followers were called Lollards, and among them were many Baptists, as we shall show when we come to treat of their history. But while the Roman pontiff slumbered in security at the head of the church, and saw nothing throughout the vast extent of his dominion but tranquillity and submission; and while the worthy and pious professors of genuine christianity almost despaired of seeing that reformation on which their most ardent desires and expectations were bent; an obscure and inconsiderable person arose, on a sudden, in 1517, and laid the foundation of this long expected change, by opposing, with undaunted resolution, his single force to the torrent of papal ambition and despotism. This extraordinary man was **MARTIN LUTHER**, a native of Aisleben in Saxony, where he was born in 1483. Luther was a man of a bold and fearless spirit, and well qualified to hear undaunted the terrific thunders of the pope, and to execute the work, which, we cannot hesitate to believe, he was raised up by Divine Providence to perform. **But although his virtues were many, his failings were great; and his temptations to think more highly of himself than any fallible man ought to think, were many.** Soon after he began his successful career, he drew the attention of most of the European world, not because of his own personal greatness, but on account of the glorious work in which he took the lead. Pope Leo X and all his creatures, both ecclesiastical and civil, fixed their jealous eyes on this threatening innovator, and leveled their vengeance against his devoted head. On the other hand, all the pious, who groaned in bondage, looked up to him with the most lively hopes and expectations. The powerful Elector of Saxony, soon took him under his patronage; other princes of Germany became his admirers and defenders, and the sovereigns of other kingdoms invited him and his associates, into their dominions. With all these stimulations to pride, with all these attentions from enemies and friends, it is not altogether strange, that Luther became conceited and dogmatical, and discovered a portion of that intolerance towards others, which had been exercised towards him. Had Luther possessed the mild and yielding spirit of Melancthon, his contemporary and successor, he might not have withstood, with such heroic fortitude, the vehemence of the papal power, but he doubtless would have treated with more condescension, **those who importuned him to carry the reformation farther than he did, and especially the German Baptists**, who vainly hoped to see a reformation in the article of baptism.

But it is not my intention or desire, to detract one particle of merit from this distinguished reformer; nor will the limits of this review permit me to make any further strictures on his character. He was educated an Augustine monk, and in the monastic habit, under the vows of celibacy, he began that mighty career, which elevated him to the pinnacle of fame, and terminated in essential and abundant good to mankind.

The traffic of indulgencies, which was carried to a most scandalous and impious height, by the famous, or rather infamous Tetzal, provoked his resentment and aroused his zeal. At Wittemberg, in 1517, he began by declaiming against the sale of popish pardons; his censures were at first leveled against Tetzal in particular; next against the whole band of infamous tax gatherers, who were fleecing the multitude by the most iniquitous and detestable means, ever devised by ecclesiastical avarice; and finally he proceeded to attack the authority and supremacy of the pope. And thus by gradual steps proceeded forward that memorable revolution in Europe, called the Reformation.

Luther does not appear at first to have had anything more in view than to oppose the abominable traffic of indulgencies, and to reform some of the superstitions and errors of popery; but he was carried forward by the

ardor of his own zeal much beyond the bounds he had contemplated; and in the end was driven, by the thundering vehemence of the Roman pontiff, and his insolent emissaries, to a total separation from a church, so full of vengeance and corruption.

About three years after Luther had began his new course of writing and preaching, he was solemnly excommunicated by the pope; but this terrible sentence he treated with the utmost derision and contempt, and "on the 10th of December, 1520, he had a pile of wood erected without the walls of the city Wittemberg, and there, in the presence of a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks and orders, committed to the flames both the bull which had been published against him, and the canons and decretals relating to the pope's supreme jurisdiction." From this period Luther formed the project of founding a church in opposition to that of Rome; his bold and successful attempts flew on the wings of fame to distant regions, multitudes were encouraged by his example to throw off the popish yoke, and rally round the standard of the Saxon Reformer, and the principles of the reformation were henceforward propagated with an amazing rapidity through all the countries of Europe. But still Luther was in imminent danger from the emissaries of Rome; he was conducted by his patron the Elector of Saxony, to the Castle of Wartenberg, where he resided in safety ten months, and employed his time in writing and translating the scriptures. From this retreat, which he called his Patmos, he again repaired to the city of Wittemberg, and in a short time, he, with the assistance of other learned men, completed the translation of the Bible in the German language. This being spread abroad among the people produced sudden and almost incredible effects, and a prodigious number of persons in different regions received the light of truth.

Hitherto the principles and progress of the reformation appear pleasant and commendable. But we must now leave, for a while, the humble promoters of evangelical piety, and listen to the din of arms, and behold with grief and sorrow the sanguinary conflicts of contending religious parties.

The reformation soon became a thing of political consequence, and was prostituted to purposes altogether foreign to the genuine spirit of christianity. Many of the German princes seconded Luther's exertions from motives of civil policy; they were glad to free themselves from the power of the pope, which they had long found troublesome and oppressive: they therefore declared in favor of the new religion; their subjects followed their example, and whole provinces and kingdoms were at once in arms against popery, and enlisted on the side of the great Reformer. These princes formed a confederacy, and in connection with Luther and his associates, in 1529, entered a solemn Protest against the oppressive measures of the papal power, and hence arose the denomination of Protestants, which from this period was given to all who espoused the principles of the reformation, whether they did it from evangelical motives or from worldly policy. Soon protestants and papists became two powerful contending parties; many reasoned and debated, but princes and all who would follow them, decided their controversies in the field of battle. But we cannot pursue, any farther, an account of the religious commotions, which now began to agitate the kingdoms of Europe. It is sufficient to observe, that under Luther, a church arose, which was called after his name, and which has, for almost three hundred years, been the established religion of a considerable part of Europe. But the Lutheran church is acknowledged to be the least removed from popery of any of the protestant churches; the church of England not excepted. **Luther did much, but he left much to be done. He opposed and rejected some of the superstitions and absurdities of popery; but he still retained many of them in his creed.** The pope's supremacy, and all the prerogatives of the papacy he renounced, together with the doctrines of purgatory, transubstantiation, and so on. But he established, or took the lead in establishing a national hierarchy to be fenced round and protected by the civil power. He seemed to have no notion of founding churches of visible believers only, but all who were comprehended within certain bounds, and who assented to his creed, were admitted to communion. Luther rejected transubstantiation, but he substituted in its room what he called consubstantiation, a word almost as long, and which conveyed ideas just as unscriptural and absurd. [According to the papists, the bread and wine employed in the sacrament of the supper, are, by a miraculous operation, changed into the real body and blood of Christ. This is called the doctrine of transubstantiation. This doctrine Luther rejected, but still he would not admit, that the elements of bread and wine were merely symbols, but maintained that the body and blood of Christ were really present in the sacrament, the same as two elements are united in red hot iron. This he called consubstantiation. This nonsensical doctrine was strenuously maintained by this famous reformer, and occasioned violent disputes between him and Carolostadt, Zuinglius, Bucer and others.]

The Lutheran church has its Augsburg confession, its liturgies, its holy days, its bishops, superintendents, and so on. It has but one archbishop, and he is the primate of Sweden. But Luther's exertions were, notwithstanding, of essential service to mankind; for in opposing the doctrines of popery, **he warmly advocated the sufficiency of revelation to instruct mankind in all the duties of religion. This main principle of all reformations, Luther maintained more clearly in theory than practice, and multitudes by following his maxims up to their legitimate consequences, carried forward the reformation, much farther than he had done.** Out of the Lutheran church arose another, which was called the reformed, and which was founded by **ULRICH ZUINGLIUS**, a native of Switzerland. Zuinglius began a successful opposition to indulgencies, and to the whole fabric of papacy in Switzerland, about the time that Luther began in Saxony. The Swiss reformer differed widely from Luther in many articles, and was much more evangelical and consistent in his views of the eucharist, and of other matters both of faith and practice. But he fell in the battle that was fought in Urich, in 1530, between the protestants and catholics. [It was not indeed to perform the sanguinary office of a soldier that Zuinglius was present at this engagement, but with a view to encourage and animate by his counsels and exhortations, the valiant defenders of the protestant cause: A lame cause that needs the defense of the sanguinary soldier. In a note, Dr. Mosheim has given a much more satisfactory apology for Zuinglius, than the above, which is found in the body of his work. "At this time the Swiss were universally obliged to take the field. Neither the ministers of the gospel nor the professors of theology were exempted from military service." Vol. 4, p. 353.]

CALVIN began his course a little after Luther and Zuinglius. He was born at Noyon, in Picardy, in France, in 1509. Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin, became the heads of three distinguished parties, which were called after their names. They acted at first in concert, in the great business of the Reformation, but soon they clashed most violently with each other both in their sentiments and measures.

Besides these three reformers, there were a number of others who engaged with much zeal and success in the protestant cause, and were distinguished in their day for various qualities and performances, and for a common principle of opposition to the church of Rome. Among these we may reckon Melancthon, Carolstadt, Bucer, Erasmus, Menno, Oecolampadius, and others. Luther and Calvin, however, have shared most of the glory of the great and important change which was effected in the religious world in the beginning of the sixteenth century. But Calvin surpassed not only Luther, but all his contemporaries in learning and arts, as he did most of them in obstinacy, asperity, and turbulence. Luther fixed his stand at Wittenberg in Saxony, and was succeeded in the general care of the great hierarchy, which he established, by the soft and complying Melancthon. Calvin made his stand at Geneva, on the confines of Switzerland. Calvin is famous for his defense of predestination and absolute decrees, and also for his opposition to the Anabaptists. From Calvin's followers originated the Presbyterians; and many other sects, who have adopted either in full or in part, his notions of predestination and grace, have consented to be called by his name. [The denomination **REFORMED** was given to those protestant churches, which did not embrace the doctrine and discipline of Luther. The title was first assumed by the French protestants, who were often called **Hugonots**, and afterwards became the common denomination of all the Calvinistical churches on the continent. This great body of dissenters from Lutheranism, Mosheim describes under the general denomination of the Reformed Church. But this church was at first composed of many parts, which preserved a nominal union for a time, and then split into a multitude of sects and parties. Out of the Reformed Church arose, among other sects, the Arminians and Quakers. The **ARMINIANS** were so called from James Arminius, who died at Leyden in Holland, in 1609, just a hundred years after Calvin was born. Arminius warmly opposed Calvin's notions, respecting predestination and absolute decrees, but he did not carry his system so far as many of his followers have done. The doctrine of falling from grace he left doubtful, but his followers soon determined it in the affirmative. Arminius met with severe treatment from his reformed brethren. His party flourished for a time, and then dwindled away. But his peculiar sentiments have prevailed extensively, and are now imbibed by multitudes in every sect of protestants. The Church of England, since the time of the intolerant Laud, has generally embraced the doctrines of Arminius. The Lutherans are also more inclined to Arminianism than Calvinism. Episcopalians and Lutherans subscribe their Augsburg confession and thirty-nine articles, and immediately preach and write directly against them. Calvin and Arminius have their partisans in every country and thousands spend much time, in disputing about these favorite chiefs, (of whom they know but little) which they might devote to a much better purpose.]

The **CHURCH OF ENGLAND** assumes the name of Protestant, although multitudes have protested against her on various accounts. This church arose about the time of the terrible tumults of Munster, which have been so uniformly and exultingly, but falsely ascribed to the German Anabaptists. It was founded by the amorous Henry VIII, a prince, who, in vices and abilities, was surpassed by none who swayed the scepter in his age. Henry at first opposed with the utmost vehemence, both the doctrines and views of Luther; but because the pope would not grant him a divorce according to his mind, he renounced his jurisdiction and supremacy, and was declared by the parliament and people, Supreme Head, on earth, of the Church of England. Henry put down one thousand, four hundred and forty eight popish religious houses, and seized on their lands, amounting to one hundred and eighty three thousand, seven hundred and seven pounds per annum; he gave his subjects an English translation of the Bible, but ordered all such books to be destroyed as might help to explain it to them. The same monarch, who renounced the dominion of Rome; yet superstitiously retained the greatest part of its errors along with its imperious and persecuting spirit. Henry, in a word, renounced the dominion of the pope, that he might become a pope himself, and the Church of England, as established by law at this time, was not a new church, but an old one fitted up in a new fashion. It underwent some improvements in the reign of the young and amiable prince Edward VI the son and successor of Henry. But still there is, in the opinion of many, great room for improvement in this ecclesiastical body. Whoever sways the British scepter, whether male or female, is of course the head of the English church, and the hopeful Prince of Wales will, probably, according to the course of nature and law, soon succeed to this important station. In the reign of Edward VI, but more especially in that of his sister Elizabeth, the successor of the furious and implacable Mary, many were desirous of a purer church than had hitherto been established. These persons were called **PURITANS**, and under this denomination was, for a long time, comprehended a large body of English dissenters and nonconformists, among whom there existed a great variety of opinions and practices. From the Puritans originated the Independents, and many of the Baptists in England, the Congregationalists of America, and a multitude of other sects and parties, whom the limits of this work will not permit us even to name.

To close these brief sketches, it may be proper to observe, that the great body of christians who protested against the church of Rome, and who, for that reason, received the general name of Protestants, preserved a common bond of union, so long as they were oppressed and endangered by the church of Rome. But when they arrived beyond its power, they filed off into a multitude of parties. Some stood by their Augsburg confession, their Helvetic and Genevan creeds, their English liturgy, and so on, and resolved to remain by the standards their leaders had set up. Others went in pursuit of farther light, and those, who took the Scriptures for their guide, actually found it, while those who followed their mistaken impulses, and capricious fancies, ran wild into the mazes of error and deception, and exhibited to the view of astonished beholders, the most fantastic reveries and delusions. The stronger sects of Protestants forged chains for the weaker, and prepared dungeons and flames for all, who would not wear them.

It could not be expected that a people lately come out of Babylon, should, all at once, understand the principles of religious freedom. The old popish idol of uniformity was set up in Protestant countries, and all were commanded, under penalties of different kinds, but always severe, to bow down and worship it. But a milder policy has succeeded, and we trust the period, will arrive, when not only the righteous principles of religious freedom, but the glorious system which contains them, shall prevail from the rising to the setting sun, and the knowledge of the glory of God, cover the earth as the waters do the sea.

MISSIONS

The apostles and early preachers were almost all Missionaries, and their evangelical journeys were performed on missionary ground. They had no regard to parish lines, nor ecclesiastical districts; they asked not for licenses, they waited not for appointments, they sought no emoluments, but by the call of God they went forth, dependent on the treasury of heaven they journeyed, and aided by the common succors and miraculous influences of the Holy Spirit, they went everywhere preaching the word and performing wonders in the name of the Lord Jesus.

The church of Rome has done much in the missionary cause. Multitudes have been sent forth in every age by that august community. Some of them were doubtless better than their masters, and rendered essential service to mankind, while others were artful and ambitious men, full of everything vile and detestable, and

destitute of every thing good; and having imbibed the spirit of their masters, labored more for the glory of the See of Rome, than for the everlasting benefit of the heathen.

The priests at Rome, in many instances, drew geographical lines of parishes and bishoprics among the pagan nations, and sent forth booted apostles with military fame, to dragoon the perishing heathen into a belief of christianity, and nations were baptized at the point of the sword. In 1622, there was founded at Rome by pope Gregory XV an institution called **The Congregation for propagating the faith**. It was enriched with ample revenues by Urban VIII and an incredible number of donors, who were emulous to excel each other in munificent acts. By this Congregation a vast number of missionaries were sent forth into the remotest parts of the world; and multitudes of persons, in the fiercest and most barbarous nations, were converted to the profession of the Catholic faith. In India and the inaccessible regions of China and Japan, many thousands were won over by the artful and industrious Jesuits and monks. But these insidious men temporized and dissembled, and it is more proper to say that they were converted to paganism, than that the pagans were converted to christianity. But their boasted career was of short duration. By interfering in political affairs, they fell under the suspicions of the jealous emperors, were furiously expelled from their dominions, and many thousands of their converts perished by the sword, and the rest returned to paganism, if returning it might be called.

But leaving the church of Rome, we will take a short view of the Protestant communities which have made laudable exertions for the promotion of missions. And among these the Moravians deserve first to be mentioned. It is said by Dr. Haweis, that no denomination of Protestants has displayed an equal degree of zeal, or met with equal success in their missionary labors. To a number of the different tribes of the American Indians; to many of the West India Islands; to the frozen regions of Greenland; to the coast of Coromandel; and to the ignorant and brutish Hottentots, the zealous Moravians have carried the word of life, and many thousands have, by their means, been converted to the Lord. The Danish nation began in the missionary cause, about a hundred years ago. Their labors have been directed to Greenland and the Malabar coast, and multitudes have been converted to the profession of christianity at least.

The Church of England possesses ample revenues for missionary purposes, but she has hitherto done but little.

But within a few years past a remarkable missionary spirit has prevailed on both sides of the Atlantic. The Evangelical Missionary Society of London has done much and promises to do much more. The Baptist Missionary Society of England is a most important establishment, and will be noticed in its proper place. Many noble exertions have been made in the Missionary cause by the American Pedo-baptists; and the American Baptists have not been idle in this important cause, as will be shown towards the close of this work.

The present is an eventful period. The nations of the earth are convulsed, and are dashing against each other with furious rage. On the one hand we hear nothing but the clangor of arms and the rage of battle. The devoted fields of Europe are drenched with human gore, and covered with the carcasses of the slain. The god of war is driving his crimson car amidst carnage and blood. But the God of armies is riding in his chariot of salvation, and gathering his elect from the four winds of heaven, and increasing exceedingly the number of redeemed souls. May the time soon come, when he whose right it is to reign shall come, and when all nations shall bow to his scepter.

I have extended this article to a much greater length than I at first intended, but still it is but a very brief view of the extensive subject of which it professes to treat. It has been selected mostly from Mosheim, Milner, Robinson, and Millot. I have not referred to all the parts of these works from which I have made quotations. This would have made an abundance of references, and was, I conceived, altogether unnecessary, as I have stated no facts, nor advanced any sentiments which can be disputed. This Compendium is intended to be introductory to the chapters which will immediately follow, and may serve as a key to many events and circumstances, which will there be referred to.

A MINIATURE HISTORY OF BAPTISM

Baptism, as it was instituted by the great Christian Lawgiver, was a plain and significant rite. And for a long time, after corruptions in doctrine had crept into the church, baptism was maintained in its original simplicity and purity, and was free from that pompous round of ceremonies, with which it was afterwards encumbered.

Nothing is more evident, than that in the primitive ages of the church, professed believers were the only subjects of this sacred rite, and immersion or dipping was the only mode. But in process of time, baptism passed from visible believers, to catechumen minors, and from them to unconscious babes. And from immersion it was reduced to pouring, then to sprinkling, and now to any mode, which the inventive fancies of capricious candidates may devise, provided always, that some part of them be wet.

The limits of this review will not permit me to do anything more than merely to glance at the most prominent parts of this extensive subject, and relate some of the most remarkable circumstances which have attended the progress of baptism from its introduction to the present time.

The New Testament account of baptism demands our first attention; and there we find, that the first performer of this sacred rite, and who administered it to the great Messiah and to multitudes of repenting Jews, was **JOHN THE BAPTIST**.

This singular person is supposed to have been born in Hebron; he began preaching the doctrine of repentance in the wilderness of Judea, and soon multitudes, from all the region round about, flocked to the harbinger of the Messiah, and confessing their sins were baptized by him in Jordan and Enon.

But John's ministry was of short duration. By some means he was introduced to king Herod, whom he reproved for living in adultery with his brother Philip's wife. For this honest freedom John was cast into prison, where he was assassinated by the means of the guilty and enraged Herodias. [The Catholics have paid the most extravagant veneration to the memory of John the Baptist; and the most ridiculous fables are told respecting him. John himself lies all over the Catholic world. His head is in the city of Amiens, in France. That finger, with which he pointed to Christ, when he said, "Behold the Lamb of God," is at Florence: his others are at different places. The knights of St. John have his right hand, with which he baptized Jesus, enclosed in one of the richest and most elegant shrines; it is made of solid gold, and adorned with a profusion of jewels. A piece of the stone, on which Jesus stood when he was baptized, is at Chiusi, in Sienna. And there is another at the Lateran at Rome. It is a fact, that of all the saints in paradise, St. John the Baptist bore the bell in the middle ages of the Catholic church. When no new baptisteries were wanted, old ones were enlarged with vestries, chapels, oratories, and adjoining houses. Then they were adorned with inscriptions, pictures, mosaic work, statues, bells, altars, plates, cups, vases, and all manner of utensils; John being depicted on every one. Next they were endowed with houses, lands, farms, and revenues of various kinds. Blessed John the Baptist was engraved on seals, public and private, cut in precious stones of all descriptions for rings and ornaments, exhibited on the crowns of princes, the altar cloths and other ornaments of churches, and chosen by towns, cities, and whole kingdoms as their patron. The multitude imbibed the delicious frenzy, and when the priest inquired at baptism, What is his name? not Jove: but John was the popular cry, and the baptismal hall resounded with John - John - John! To protestant gentlemen, who have not turned their attention to the history of this old-fashioned saint, it may, at first, appear improbable, but on examination it will be found very credible, that if a thesaurus of what relates to the subject were collected and published in one work, it would swell to the size of the *Acta Sanctorum*, which amount to sixty or seventy volumes in folio. Robinson's *History of Baptism*, p. 4, 93, 358, 359. It is presumed that no Baptist will be proud of the superstitious honors, which have been paid to their ancient brother, since it is evident, that all have overlooked that which made him the greatest born among women.]

For the purpose of performing his great work, John selected a number of baptismal stations. The first appears to have been at the river Jordan. Mr. Robinson supposes it was on its eastern bank, about four or

five miles from its mouth, where it discharges itself into the lake Asphaltites, or the Dead Sea, and near the place where it was miraculously parted for the Israelites to pass over it, when they entered into the promised land. "About half a mile from the river, the remains, of a convent, dedicated to John the Baptist, are yet to be seen: for the Syrian monks availed themselves of the zeal of early pilgrims, who aspired to the honor of being baptized, where they supposed John baptized Jesus."

As much has been said to prove that John could nowhere in Judea find water of sufficient depth for immersion, it may be proper to give a brief description of the river Jordan, and also of Enon near to Salim.

Jordan is a considerable river in the ancient land of Israel, and ran from north to south, through almost the whole of that once delightful country. It rises from the lake Phiala, in the mountain called Anti-Libanus, and after running fifteen miles under ground, breaks out at Peneum. A little below Dan, the stream forms the lake Samachonites, anciently called Menon, which is about four miles over and seven miles long. Two miles after its leaving the lake, is a stone bridge of three arches, called "Jacob's Bridge," supposed to have been built before the days of Jacob. After leaving the lake Samachonites, it runs fifteen miles further, and forms the lake, or as it is sometimes called, the sea, of Tiberias, which is, in its broadest part, five miles in width, and in length eighteen; thence at its opposite end, it proceeds forward again, and after a course of sixty-five miles, some part of the way through a vast and horrid desert, the rest through a fertile region, it falls into the lake Asphaltites or the Dead Sea, where it is lost. [Morse's and Parish's *Gazetteer*; Robinson's *History of Baptism*.] Thus we see this little stream, this trifling brook, rises out of one lake, forms or passes through two others, and falls into a fourth. Morse and Parish say it is generally four or five rods wide, and nine feet deep. Robinson says that this river, so far from wanting water, was subject to two sorts of floods, one periodical at harvest time, in which it resembled the Nile in Egypt, with which some suppose it had a subterranean communication. When this flood came down, the river rose many feet, and overflowed the lower banks, so that the lions, that lay in the thickets there, were roused up and fled. To this Jeremiah alludes: Behold, the king of Babylon shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan. The other swellings of Jordan were casual, and resembled those of all other rivers in uneven countries. [Robinson's *History of Baptism*, p. 11,12.]

On the banks of this noble river, John the Baptist fixed one of his baptismal stations, not merely for the purpose of supplying the company, and the horses, and camels, and mules, and asses, on which they rode, with drink, as is supposed by a late Pseudo-baptist writer [Dr. Reed], but for the convenience of immersing the repenting candidates.

Another of John's baptismal stations was at Enon near to Salim. "This was at least fifty miles north of the river Jordan, from the place where John had begun to baptize. One of the apostles was said to be a native of Salim, and some think this was the city of which Melchisedec was king." It is not so easy to describe Enon as Jordan, for historians and geographers are not agreed respecting it. Some suppose that Enon was a deep spring, called the dove-spring, or, in the figurative language of the east, the dove's-eye; others think it signified the fountain of the sun; while others are of an opinion that it was either a natural spring, an artificial reservoir, or a cavernous temple of the sun, prepared by the Canaanites, the ancient idolatrous inhabitants of the land. Such are the variety of opinions about the meaning of the word Enon. But although some things are doubtful, yet one thing is certain, it was a place where there was much water. This was sufficient for John the Baptist, and it was immaterial to him, as it is to every other Baptist, whether water be found in an artificial reservoir, or in a receptacle formed by nature, provided that it be of sufficient depth for immersion, which, for most administrators, is about three feet, and from six to nine inches. The Greek, for much water, is *polla udata*; and these two little words have furnished matter for much learned criticism and many future quibbles. "Since sprinkling came in fashion," says Mr. Robinson, "criticism, unheard of in all former ages, hath endeavored to derive evidence for scarcity of water, from the Greek text of the Evangelist John, and to render *polla udata* not much water, but many waters, and then by an ingenious supposition, to infer that many waters signify not many waters collected into one, but waters parted into many little rills, which might all serve for sprinkling, but could not, anyone of them, be used for dipping: as if one man could possibly want many brooks for the purpose of sprinkling one person at a time. It is observable, that the rivers Euphrates at Babylon, Tiber at Rome, and Jordan in Palestine, are all described by *polla udata*. The thunder which agitates clouds, charged with floods, is called the voice of the Lord upon many waters; and the attachment, that no mortifications can annihilate, is a love, which many waters cannot quench, neither can the floods drown. How it comes to pass that a mode of speaking, which on

every other occasion signifies much, should in the case of baptism signify little, is a question easy to answer" [Robinson's *History of Baptism*, p. 14]. The scripture account of the baptism, which John administered, must impress the mind of every unprejudiced person, that professed believers were the subjects of his baptism, and that immersion was the only mode adopted by this ancient Baptist.

But notwithstanding the scripture account of John and his ministry is so plain, yet to serve the purposes of infant baptism, all has been thrown into confusion, covered with mystery, and reduced to insignificance. Some have pretended to find infants among John's disciples; but this is an opinion so extravagant and absurd, that but few Pede-baptist writers have advanced it.

Dr. Guyse supposed that John administered baptism by sprinkling. This opinion he expressed in the following manner: "It seems to me that the people stood in ranks near to, or just within, the edge of the river; and John, passing along before them, threw water upon their heads or faces, with his hands or with some proper instrument."

The name of this divine ought always to be mentioned with respect; but this exposition is truly ridiculous, and is sarcastically, but yet ingeniously, paraphrased in a poem attributed to the late Benjamin Francis.

"The Jews in Jordan were baptized,
Therefore ingenious John devis'd
A scoop or squirt, or some such thing,
With which some water he might fling
Upon the long extended rank
Of candidates, that lined the bank.
Be careful, John, some drops may fall
From your rare instrument on all;
But point your engine, nevertheless,
To those who do their sins confess.
Let no revilers in the crowd,
The holy sprinkling be allowed"

We have seen, not long since, that John the Baptist has been most extravagantly extolled by the Roman Catholics; but it appears that many modern Pede-baptists very lightly esteem both John and his ministry. They would fain make us believe that the baptism which he administered was not gospel baptism, but was merely a continuation of Jewish ablutions, and that the gospel dispensation did not commence until after his death. By this supposition, John is left in a forlorn condition, for he is neither a Jew nor christian, he is neither an Old Testament priest, nor a New Testament minister, but stands like the young ass-colt, where two ways met and is not permitted to go in either.

The Jews sent priests and Levites to ask of him, Who art thou? And at another time they acknowledged they knew not whether his baptism was from heaven or of men. But notwithstanding all this the Pede-baptists of the present day turn him over to the Jewish side. Such attempts are worthy the cause which requires their aid. Mark calls John's ministry, The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. The Pede-baptists are at liberty to make their own expositions; but the Baptists are willing to believe that Mark's statement is correct. This novel notion of placing John under the law, leads to another absurdity respecting the baptism of the Savior. A few years since a pamphlet was published with this very singular title, "The Baptism of Jesus Christ not to be imitated by Christians!" The title of this piece is shocking to an obedient mind, and its contents are altogether frivolous and absurd. They go to make John a Jewish priest, and that when he baptized the Savior, he did it with a view to introduce him into his priestly office. This singular work was published by two Pede-baptist ministers, whose names were Fish and Crane. I know not why two learned divines should unite to publish a pamphlet, unless it were that its contents were so novel and strange, that neither was willing to take the responsibility of it alone. But they had no occasion for fear; anything that can afford the least relief to the tottering cause of infant baptism, will be sure to gain credit with its fearful advocates. The baptism of Jesus Christ not to be imitated by christians, and John consecrating Christ into the priestly office, were great discoveries; they were handed from one to another, and have gone an extensive round of Essayists and Pamphleteers.

These groundless propositions have been amply refuted by many Baptist writers, and particularly by Dr. Baldwin, in his late work on baptism. The substance of his arguments is as follows: Had Christ been about to be consecrated into the priestly office, John, with his garment of camel's hair, and a girdle of skin about his loins, was not the person to officiate on such an occasion; but it belonged to the sons of Aaron, with their priestly vestments -- And again, the consecration was to be at the door of the tabernacle, and not on the banks of Jordan -- And again, none but the tribe of Levi and the house of Aaron could be admitted to the Jewish priesthood. But it is evident our Lord sprang out of Judah, of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood (Hebrews 7:14) -- And, finally, Christ was a priest after the order of Melchisedec, and not after the order of Aaron. [Baldwin on Baptism, p. 300-303.]

These passages need no comment; they carry with them their own invincible testimony, that our Savior was not consecrated a Jewish priest, and that his baptism was not a Jewish ceremony, but a christian rite. The Baptists have derived peculiar consolation from being buried with their Lord in obedience to his command, and in imitation of his example. And they have never felt conscious of any great impiety or presumption in so doing, all that Messrs. Fish, and Crane, and Worcester, and others, have said notwithstanding. [Dr. Worcester, of Salem, in a late piece upon baptism, has the following interrogation: "Does not the idea, then, of following Christ into the water, which has unhappily so powerful an effect upon many minds, partake very much of the nature of delusion and superstition?" "Christ's baptism," saith he, was designed regularly to introduce him into his priestly office, according to the law of Moses, under which he commenced his ministry, and which it behooved him to fulfill." "There is no evidence that Christ was buried in the water; and even if he were, his baptism was of an import very different from that of the baptism, which he afterwards instituted for his followers. Are we to go into the water under the idea of following Christ into his priestly office? Ought we to call this delusion and superstition; or ought we to call it the height of impiety?"]

I have been longer on the history of John's baptism, than I should have been, were it not that so many are attempting to reason out of countenance this ancient and eminent character, and set at nought, or at least Judaize all his important ministrations. Had his name been John the Pedo-baptist, and had it been said that he sprinkled men, women, and children, in the synagogue and in the temple, from a bowl or bason, it is highly probable that thousands who are now seeking to invalidate his important offices, would have found him a place in the gospel dispensation, and considered him a very important character.

The whole account of baptism in the New Testament is plain and intelligible, and the state of this ordinance, during the lives of the apostles, is to be gathered mostly from the book of Acts, written by Luke, the first ecclesiastical historian. It extends from the ascension of Christ to the residence of Paul at Rome, a space of more than thirty years. "In this book there are frequent narrations of the baptism of believers, as of Cornelius, the Ethiopian eunuch, and others, but not one infant appears in the whole history; yet, no doubt, some christians had married, and had young families within the thirty years between the ascension of Jesus and the settlement of Paul at Rome. There is no mention of any of the ceremonies, which modern christians have affixed to baptism: no consecration of water, no sprinkling, no use of oils and unguents, no sponsors, no kneeling in the water, no catechumen-state, no giving a name, no renunciation of any demon, none of the innumerable additional, which, under pretense of adorning, have obscured the glory of this heavenly institute. It belongs to those who practice such additions, to say how they came by them, and under what master they serve."

From writers of unquestionable authority, it is evident, that the primitive christians continued to baptize in rivers, pools, and baths, until about the middle of the 3rd century. Justin Martyr says, that they went with the catechumens to a place where there was water, and Tertullian adds, that the candidates for baptism made a profession of faith twice, once in the church, and then again when they came to the water, and it was quite indifferent whether it were the sea, or a pool, a lake, or a river, or a bath. Such are the accounts given by Justin Martyr in his Apology, and by Tertullian on baptism as quoted by Robinson.

The sacrament of baptism, says Mosheim, was administered in the first century, without the public assemblies, in places appointed and prepared for that purpose, and was performed by immersion of the whole body in the baptismal fount. [*Ecclesiastical History*, Philadelphia edition, vol. 1. p. 126.]

Had the professed disciples of Jesus Christ always maintained this plain and significant rite, according to its primitive form, the history of baptism would have been short, and an account of persons baptized, and the reasons and circumstances of their baptism would have composed it. But now the case is far different. The fancies, the passions, and interests of mankind, have so perverted this heavenly institute, that its history has become difficult and voluminous; and so greatly has it been varied, abused, and prostituted, that in different parts of its progress, you see no resemblance of its original form, except that some portion of the element of water is applied to animal beings in human shape. And since so large a portion of the christian world has received by inheritance a counterfeit baptism, which they will not give up, he, who would plead for that, which is apostolical and pure, must work his way against ten thousand opponents, all armed with different weapons of defense, some forcible and some futile, but none of them capable of producing the least conviction upon an enlightened and conscientious mind.

We must now leave the apostolical and primitive ages, for a wide wilderness of obscurity and error; and in going over it, we shall but just glance at the most remarkable occurrences, which present themselves to our view.

The history of baptism naturally divides itself into two branches; the one regards the subjects, and the other the mode. These two branches, we shall, for the most part, treat separately; but, in some cases, it will be proper to speak of them in connection.

The limits of this sketch are so short, and the incidents to be thrown together so numerous and varied, that the transitions must of necessity be frequent, and they may not always be the most easy; but I trust, that in the end, every unprejudiced reader will be convinced, that believers' baptism is an institution of Jesus Christ, and that infant sprinkling is an invention of men.

The subjects of baptism deserve first to be considered. We have already seen that believing men and women were the only persons baptized by John and the apostles of our Lord. From the Acts of the Apostles, from the Epistles, and from the book of Revelation, it appears that upwards of sixty churches were gathered by the apostles and primitive preachers. These churches were constituted of Jews, Proselytes, and Pagans; we have an account of many of their names, characters, and baptisms, but no mention is made of the baptism of infants, and on no occasion do infants appear.

A Roman Catholic does not hesitate to acknowledge, that infant baptism is a human tradition; but he can prove that it has been established by law that is sufficient for his purpose, and there is an end of the business with him. But most protestants are unwilling to make this honest confession. They persist that it is found in the Bible, and their attempts to prove it have cost them an almost infinite deal of labor, which, after all, is to no purpose.

Irenaeus is represented as saying, The church received a tradition from the apostles to administer baptism to little children or infants. Irenaeus lived in the second century; he is said to have been a disciple of Polycarp, and Polycarp was a disciple of John the Evangelist. This would seem to be getting within between one and two hundred years of the point. But Dr. John Gill challenged the whole literary world to produce such a passage from the writings of Irenaeus. It was afterwards acknowledged that Origen, of the third century, and not Irenaeus of the second, was the writer intended. [Backus_ *History*, vol. 2. p, 238]

But it is generally supposed that Tertullian of Africa, in the third century, is the first writer who makes any mention of infant baptism, and he, (says Dr. Gill) opposed it. But his opposition is considered by Pedo-baptists as evidence in the case. If, say they, infant baptism was not then practiced, why did this father oppose it? But others make very different reflections on the subject. The catechumen state had arisen to some degree of maturity in the third century. Catechumens were those who were put into a class to be catechized and instructed into the first rudiments of christianity, and when they had acquired a certain degree of knowledge, or had been in a catechumen state a certain time, they were baptized. This method of making christians is supposed to have originated at Alexandria in Egypt, and from thence in process of time, spread over the christian world. Nothing of this catechumen state is found in the New Testament, and at what time it commenced, I have not been able to learn; but it was probably towards the close of the second, or in the beginning of the third century. It gained maturity in its progress, and continued a popular and prevalent establishment, so long as it was needful. Catechumens were generally persons in a state of

minority; sometimes, however, those of mature age were enrolled among the children, and when christianity became a political engine, princes were added to the lists, and were catechized awhile before they were baptized. The catechumen state continued as long as minors were the subjects of baptism, but when it was found out by the skillful priests, that infants came into the world crying for baptism, and that they would be doomed to eternal perdition if they should die without it, the business of catechizing became not only useless, but impracticable; godfathers and godmothers stood forward to answer all the questions which children used to answer for themselves; they took the whole responsibility of their faithfulness upon themselves, and promised what was never or seldom performed, either by the children or sponsors. The catechumen state being thus superseded by a more expeditious method of making christians, it dwindled away and fell into disuse.

It is easy to conceive, that among catechized children, some would be more forward than the rest, and of course would be prepared for baptism at an earlier age. A French Catholic writer observes, that he saw a little child in the country, who, at seven years of age, would promiscuously open the Greek Testament, and read and explain it with facility. "I heard," says he, "of two other infants, brother and sister, the one nine years of age, the other eleven or twelve, speak Greek and Latin perfectly well." A little superstition, of which there are numberless curious instances, added to such cases, handed baptism downwards from minors to babes. A monumental inscription in Italy informs the reader, that Joanna Baptista de Peruschis, daughter of Alexander de Peruschis, and Beatfix Gorzei, when she was only six months old, mostly, sweetly, and freely pronounced the name of Jesus every day before she sucked the breast, and mostly, devoutly adored the images of the saints. [Robinson_s *Hist. Baptism*, p. 157, 158.]

It seems pretty clear, that forward children laid the foundation for infant baptism, but other and more powerful motives hastened its progress, as we shall presently show.

But to return: In Tertullian_s time some had begun, or were about beginning to baptize infants, that is, minors, who could ask for baptism. When Tertullian was informed of this business, he wrote a book to oppose it, in which we find the following passage. "The condescension of God may confer his favors as he pleases; but our wishes may mislead ourselves and others. It is, therefore, most expedient to defer baptism, and to regulate the administration of it, according to the condition, the disposition, and the age of the person to be baptized; and especially in the case of little ones. [The word, here translated little ones, is, in the original *parvulos*, which we shall show presently, was used then for minors, who might be of every age under twenty-one.] What necessity is there to expose sponsors to danger? Death may incapacitate them for fulfilling their engagements; or bad dispositions may defeat all their endeavors. Indeed, the Lord saith, forbid them not to come unto me; and let them come while they are growing up, let them come and learn, and let them be instructed when they come, and when they understand christianity, let them profess themselves christians."

In the year 1700, Dr. Mather, one of the Massachusetts divines, complained that there were reports, that some of the Congregational churches received members on the strength of written relations of their religious experience, which had been dictated by their ministers. This was a strange thing in his day, and it would doubtless have shocked and grieved this good old man, if he could have foreseen that the churches of his order, would, in a short time after, get to receiving members, without any relations either written or verbal, and that some would hold that a minister who knew himself destitute of saving grace, might preach the gospel and administer its ordinances. [Backus_ *History*, vol. 2. p. 26-33.]

So Tertullian had but just heard the report of the innovations which were about to be introduced in the Church of Christ. He had but some faint intimations of that flood of error, in regard to baptism, which, in a few succeeding centuries, deluged the christian world.

But before we proceed, it may be proper to subjoin the testimony of two following Pedit-baptist writers. The first is a learned divine of Geneva, who succeeded the famous Episcopius in the professorship at Amsterdam, in the seventeenth century. This learned writer thus frankly acknowledges: "**Pedit-baptism was unknown in the two first ages after Christ; in the third and fourth it was approved by a few; at length, in the fifth and following it began to obtain in divers places;** and therefore this rite is indeed observed by us as an ancient custom, but not as an apostolic tradition." The other is Bishop Taylor, who calls infant baptism "a pretended apostolical tradition;" but further says, "that the tradition

cannot be proved to be apostolical, we have very good evidence from antiquity" [Baldwin's Letters to Worcester, p. 167, 168]. These are honest and fair concessions, and if all Pedo-baptists would make the same, their cause would stand on as good a foundation as it now does, and they would save themselves much labor and care.

The account of Tertullian's opposing the baptism of little ones, who were capable of asking for it, but who, in his opinion, were not sufficiently enlightened to be admitted to the sacred rite, was in the beginning of the third century. About the middle of this century, that is, about forty years after the account of Tertullian, the people in Africa had got baptism down from catechized minors to new-born babes, and Fidus, a country bishop, wrote to Cyprian of Carthage, to know whether children might be baptized before they were eight days old, for by his Bible he could not tell; nor could Cyprian tell, without first consulting a council or association of bishops, which was about to be assembled. When the council met, which consisted of between sixty or seventy bishops, after some other business had been transacted, Fidus' question was brought before them. Fidus thought that infants ought to be baptized at eight days old, because the law of circumcision prescribed this time. "No," replied the council, "God denies grace to none; Jesus came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, and we ought to do all we can to save our fellow creatures. Besides," added they, "God would be a respecter of persons if he denied to infants what he grants to adults. Did not the prophet Elisha lay upon a child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands? Now the spiritual sense of this is, that infants are equal to men; but if you refuse to baptize them, you destroy this equality, and are partial" [Robinson's *History of Baptism*, p. 197].

Some other questions were agitated respecting newborn infants, which might do well enough for African bishops to discuss, but which might be somewhat offensive to a modern ear.

The reader may here see, what kind of arguments were used at first to support infant baptism, and it must be acknowledged that they are about as good as ever have been discovered since.

We hear but little more about infant baptism, until the fifth century, that is, until the year 416, when it was decreed in the **COUNCIL OF MELA**, of which St. Austin [Augustine] was the principal director, **"That whosoever denieth that infants newly born of their mothers are to be baptized, let him be accursed."** ["An honest indication," says Robinson, "rises at the sound of this tyranny, and if a man were driven to the necessity of choosing one saint out of two candidates, it would not be Saint Austin, it would be Saint Balaam, the son of Bosor, who, indeed, loved the wages of unrighteousness, as many other saints have done, but with all his madness, had respect enough for the Deity to say, How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed?"]

This council is generally supposed to have been held at Mela, in Numidia, now in the kingdom of Algiers. According to others it was held in the island of Malta. Thirteen years after this council, this part of Africa was overrun by the Vandals, and the Catholics here were dispersed, and some of them fled into Europe, and carried with them infant-baptism, superstition, and intolerance.

As Africa has been frequently mentioned in the preceding narrative, it may be proper to observe what part of that dark quarter of the globe is intended. A person, acquainted with ecclesiastical history, will need no explanation, but others, into whose hands this work may fall, may desire one.

Africa, which is now generally in a deplorable state of ignorance, once contained a number of civilized kingdoms, famous for commerce and the liberal arts. Among these Carthage was probably the most distinguished. It was situated on the north of Africa, along the southern shore of the Mediterranean sea, where are now the Barbary States of Tunis, Algiers, and so on. Carthage once vied with Rome in power; but it was finally subdued by her, and reduced to a province. It was overrun by the Vandals in the fifth century, and by the Saracens in the seventh; and from that period, Mahometanism has been the established religion of the country. **In this part of Africa, christianity was planted in early times, and here too it was early corrupted. Here, and not in Judea, infant baptism originated, as is evident to every candid investigator of historical facts.** The limits of this sketch will not permit us to give a circumstantial account of the progress of the baptism of babes; but it is sufficient to observe, that it gained ground, at first, by slow degrees, so strongly did scripture and reason operate against it; but having enlisted

on its side, the interested views of priests and princes, and the tender feelings of anxious mothers, who were taught to believe, that their babes would be doomed to the gulf of ruin, if they died without this renovating rite, then called the laver of regeneration; under these circumstances, infant-baptism began most rapidly to prevail, and in a few centuries overrun the whole catholic church.

We have seen that infant baptism arose in Africa, that the baptism of minors began to be practiced in the beginning of the third century, and that **the baptism of newborn babes was determined under awful anathemas, by Saint Austin's council at Mela, in the fifth century. But its entrance into Europe is of a later date. The first ecclesiastical canon in Europe, for infant baptism, was framed at Girona in Spain in the sixth century, and the first imperial law to establish the practice, was made in the eighth century, by the Emperor Charlemagne.** The council at Girona consisted of only seven obscure bishops, who met without authority, but who legislated with some effect, for people began to be concerned about the salvation of their children. This council framed ten rules of discipline. One was, "that catechumens should be baptized only at Easter and Pentecost, except in case of sickness; and another was, that in case infants were ill and would not suck their mother's milk, if they were offered, to baptize them, even though it were the day they were born." Charlemagne's law to establish infant baptism was almost three hundred years after this council. The practice was then generally prevalent, and this Emperor, for political purposes, obliged the Saxons, on pain of death, to be baptized themselves, and laid heavy fines on those who should neglect to have their children baptized within the year of their birth. [Robinson's *History of Baptism*, p. 269--282.]

Now priests had no further trouble to vindicate the cause of infant baptism, popes and princes had undertaken to manage the cause; it was established by laws civil and ecclesiastical, and if any dared to oppose it, fire and sword ended the dispute.

CAUSES FOR THE ACCEPTANCE OF INFANT BAPTISM

It is now proper that we should go back to the time when infant baptism began to gain some ground, and consider the causes which hastened its progress.

About the time that catechumen minors began to be baptized, the words of Christ, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God," were misapplied to baptism. This erroneous exposition led to an undue reliance on this sacred rite, and many began to extol its efficacy, in the most absurd and extravagant manner; and represented it as a sure and sovereign antidote to all the moral maladies of depraved nature. It could wash away original sin, and place in a state of certain and everlasting salvation, all to whom it was applied; and more than all this, all who died without it, whether infants or adults, were sure of eternal misery. These errors were not all introduced at once; it took some time to bring them to perfection. But while they were gaining ground, there was another error considerably prevalent, which produced an inconvenient collision with the former. Some held to a doctrine similar to the Arminian notion of falling from grace, and many were afraid that they should relapse into sin after their baptism, and thereby lose all its salutary benefits. This led Constantine and many others to defer their baptism till near the close of life. And this again led into the practice of pouring and sprinkling in baptism, instead of immersion, the then universally prevalent mode. These people who had deferred their baptism, were often suddenly alarmed with the prospect of death. Sickness disabled them from going to the baptismal font, and misery was their portion if they died unbaptized, and in this painful dilemma, they made the best shift they could, and were sprinkled if they could not be immersed. But this inconvenience was of no long duration, for as soon as parents were made to believe that baptism was the laver of regeneration, they were careful that all their children should be washed in it, as soon as they were born, and their relapsing or rather continuing in sin was another affair.

We have now arrived at the period in which baptism was exalted to a most astonishing preeminence. Its efficacy was the constant theme of pulpit declaimers, and its praises were chanted by all who could sing. Laws were enacted, canons were made, and the most vigilant precautions were taken by popes and princes, and every order of ecclesiastics, by nurses and midwives, and every benevolent creature in christendom, that no human being, whether adult or infant, whether born or unborn, should depart to the world of spirits without this heavenly passport. Baptism, indeed, suffered violence, and the violent took it by force.

As this may seem a mere fanciful reverie, to those who have not studied this subject, I shall here quote verbatim, Mr. Robinson's account of the matter. The passage may be found in his *History of Baptism*, under the article "Aspersions," where the authorities are quoted.

"The absolute necessity of dipping in order to a valid baptism; and the indispensable necessity of baptism, in order to salvation, were two doctrines which clashed, and the collision kindled up a sort of war, between the warm bosoms of parents who had children, and the cold reasonings of monks, who had few sympathies. The doctrine was cruel, and the feelings of humanity revolted against it. Power may give law; but it is more than power can do to make unnatural laws sit easy in the minds of men.

"The clergy felt the inconvenience of this state of things, for they were obliged to attend any woman in labour at a moment's warning, night or day, in any season, at the most remote parts of their parishes, without the power of demanding any fee, whenever a case of necessity required, and if they neglected their duty, they were severely punished.

"A great number of expedients were tried to remedy this evil; but for a long season nothing succeeded. There was a regular train of trials. At first, infants were baptized along with catechumens in public, by trine immersion, at two times in the year; when it was observed, that some died before the season for baptizing came, priests were empowered to baptize at any time, and in any place in case of sickness. When it was remarked that a priest was not always at hand, new canons empowered him to depute others to perform the ceremony, and midwives were licensed. It happened sometimes, while the midwife was baptizing a child not like to live many minutes, the mother was neglected and died. To prevent such accidents in future, it was decreed, that any body, licensed or unlicensed, a Jew or a degraded priest, a scullion or felon, might baptize. It fell out, sometimes, that a vessel large enough, or a quantity of water sufficient to dip an infant, could not be procured on a sudden; and while in the dead of the night, and perhaps in a severe frost, the assistants were running to borrow utensils, or to procure water, the ill-fated infant expired. In vain were laws made expressly to require pregnant women, to have every thing ready prepared, the laws of nature defied human control, the evil was incurable, and the anguish intolerable. Some infants died the moment they were born, others before, both unbaptized, and all for the comfort of the miserable mother, doomed like fiends to descend instantly to a place of torment."

In the year 1751, a humane doctor of laws of Palermo, published at Milan, in the Italian tongue, a book of three hundred and twenty pages in quarto, dedicated to all the guardian angels, to direct priests and physicians how to secure the eternal salvation of infants by baptizing them when they could not be born. The surgical instrument and the process cannot be mentioned here, and the reader is come to a point in infant sprinkling, where English modesty compels him to retreat and retire, so that it is impossible to say anything more on lustrating infants by way of baptizing them. [Robinson's *History of Baptism*, p. 433]

The baptism of abortives was a very common practice, but this also is a subject too indelicate to be discussed.

It may be well for Dr. Osgood to read these accounts of infant baptism, before he again declaims against our "indecorous" mode of baptizing. We have now traced the baptism of babes to its highest pitch of frenzy, and also to its lowest point of corruption and debasement. In most protestant churches, and in many parts of the catholic church, it has been practiced in a more rational and becoming manner. But in every form it is all absurd and useless thing, and at its best estate it is altogether vanity. The baptism of a believer is an interesting thing, but the sprinkling of a new-born child, is an unanimated, insignificant affair.

It was customary in the early ages, as it is now with the Baptists, for ministers, previous to baptism, to preach on the subject, and address the candidates on the important business, in which they were about to engage; but where infant baptism prevails, this custom, for good reasons, is generally laid aside, for they who are the most interested in the matter, are, from their incapacity, precluded from participating in the transaction. It would be a curious sight for a Reverend Divine, to address infants in their mothers' or nurses' arms, on the subject of baptism; but such a thing, ludicrous as it might seem, would be just as rational, and scriptural, and useful, as it is to baptize them.

THE MODE OF BAPTISM

Baptism, as to the manner of its administration, has been subject to a great variety of changes, of which we shall now give a brief account. **Baptism, beyond all doubt, was administered, in the apostolic age, by**

immersion. A cloud of witnesses bear testimony to this point, and place it beyond a doubt in the mind of every candid and unprejudiced man.

Ordinary baptism was universally performed by single or trine immersion for thirteen hundred years; from thence till after the reformation, it was generally performed by trine immersion.

Baptism was administered by pouring or sprinkling in cases of necessity all along from the third century to Calvin's time.

The first appearance of sprinkling for baptism was in the third century, in Africa, in favor of clinics or bedridden people. Baptism was now considered essential to salvation; the poor sick people, who could not go to the baptistery, but were in danger of destruction if they died unbaptized, made the best shift they could, and were sprinkled as they lay upon their beds. But the African Catholics reputed this no baptism, or at least a very imperfect one.

The first appearance of baptizing by pouring, was in the eighth century, when Pope Stephen III allowed the validity of such a baptism of infants in danger of death. His Infallible Holiness had been driven from Rome by Astulphus, king of the Lombards; he fled to France to implore the assistance of Pepin, who had lately been proclaimed king. During his residence in the monastery of St. Denis, some monks consulted his opinion on nineteen questions; one of which was: whether in case of necessity, occasioned by the illness of an infant, it were lawful to baptize by pouring water out of the hand or a cup on the infant. Stephen answered, if such a baptism were performed in such a case of necessity, in the name of the holy Trinity, it should be held valid. The learned James Basanage makes several very proper remarks on this canon: as that "although it is accounted the first law for sprinkling, yet it doth not forbid dipping; that it allows sprinkling only in case of imminent danger: that the authenticity of it is denied by some Catholics: that many laws were made after this time in Germany, France, and England, to compel dipping, and without any provision for cases of necessity: therefore that this law did not alter the mode of dipping in public baptisms: and that it was not till five hundred and fifty years after, that the Legislature, in a council at Ravenna, in the year thirteen hundred and eleven, declared dipping or sprinkling indifferent." The answer of Stephen is the true origin of private baptism and of sprinkling. [Robinson, p. 429, 430.]

Modern Pede-baptist writers have picked up historical scraps of these clinical and necessitous baptisms, and have endeavored to derive evidence from them of the universality of infant sprinkling. I say modern Pede-baptists, for Dr. Wall, who was a strenuous advocate for infant baptism, also warmly contended for immersion. He published his elaborate *History of Infant Baptism* in 1705. This work was answered by Dr. John Gale, a famous General Baptist, in a very learned work, entitled, *Reflections*, etc. Dr. Wall published a Defence of his History in 1720. He appears to have been half right and half wrong, and he was as strenuous for the wrong half as for the right. He warmly contends that infant baptism is of divine appointment, and he as warmly contends that infant sprinkling is a "scandalous thing." "Calvin, (saith he) was I think the first in the world, that drew up a liturgy that prescribed pouring water on the infant, absolutely, without saying any thing of dipping. It was (as Mr. Walker has shown) his admirers in England, who, in queen Elizabeth's time, brought pouring into ordinary use, which before was used only to weak children. But the succeeding Presbyterians in England, about 1644, when their reign began, went farther yet from the ancient way; and instead of pouring, brought into use, in many places, sprinkling; declaring, at the same time, against all use of fonts, baptisteries," etc.

"There has (saith he again) no novelty or alteration, that I know of, in the point of baptism, been brought into the church, but in the way and manner of administering it. The way that is now ordinarily used we cannot deny to have been a novelty, brought into this church (of England) by those that had learned it in Germany, or at Geneva. And they were not contented with following the example of pouring a quantity of water, which had there been introduced instead of immersion, but improved it, (if I may so abuse that word) from pouring to sprinkling, that it might have as little resemblance of the ancient way of baptizing as possible."

I cannot leave this ingenious author, before I select another passage.

"Another struggle [says he, whether the child shall be dipped or sprinkled] will be with the midwives and nurses, etc. These will use all the interest they have with the mothers, which is very great, to dissuade them from agreeing to the dipping of the child. I know no particular reason, unless it be this: A thing, which they

value themselves and their skill much upon, is, the neat dressing of the child on the christening-day; the setting all the trimming, the pins, and the laces, in their right order. And if the child be brought in loose clothes, which may presently be taken off for the baptism, and put on again, this pride is lost: And this makes a reason. So little is the solemnity of the sacrament regarded by many, who mind nothing but the dress, and the eating and drinking" [Dr. Wall's *Defence*, p. 146, 147, 403].

Christians at first baptized in rivers and fords, and wherever water of sufficient depth could be found. About the middle of the third century baptisteries began to be built. They at first, like the manners and conditions of the people, were very simple, and were merely for use; but in the end they arose to as high degree of elegant superstition, as enthusiasm could invent.

By a baptistery, which must not be confounded with a modern font, is to be understood an octagon building, with a cupola roof, resembling a dome of a cathedral; adjacent to a church, but no part of it. All the middle part of this building was one large hall, capable of containing a great multitude of people, the sides were parted off, and divided into rooms, and, in some, rooms were added without-side, in the fashion of cloisters. In the middle of the great hall was an octagon bath, which, strictly speaking, was the baptistery, and from which the whole building was denominated. This was called the pool, the pond, the place to swim in, besides a great number of other names of a figurative nature, taken from the religious benefits, which were supposed to be connected with baptism; such as the laver of regeneration, the luminary, and many more of the same parentage. Some had been natural rivulets before the buildings were erected over them, and the pool was contrived to retain water, sufficient for dipping, and to discharge the rest. Others were supplied by pipes, and the water was conveyed into one or more of the side rooms. Some of the surrounding rooms were vestries, others school rooms, both for the instruction of youth, and for transacting the affairs of the church; and councils have been held in the great halls of these buildings. It was necessary they should be capacious; for as baptism was administered only twice a year, the candidates were numerous, and the spectators more numerous than they. [Robinson's *Hist. of Baptism*, p. 59.] It may be proper here to give a brief description of a few of those splendid buildings which were erected for the purpose of performing baptism by immersion.

We will begin with the one attached to the splendid church of St. Sophia, of Constantinople, which church is now converted into a Mahometan mosque. The church of St. Sophia was built by Constantine, the first christian emperor.

Succeeding emperors amplified and adorned it. Justinian at an immense cost rebuilt it, and his artists, with elegance and magnificence, distributed variegated marbles of exquisite beauty, gold, silver, ivory, mosaic work, and endless ornaments, so as to produce the most agreeable and lasting effects on all beholders.

The baptistery was one of the appendages of this spacious palace, something in the style of a convocation room in a cathedral, it was very large, and councils have been held in it, and it was called the great Illuminatory. In the middle was the bath, in which baptism was administered; it was supplied by pipes, and there were outer rooms for all concerned in the baptism of immersion, the only baptism of the place. Everything in the church of St. Sophia goes to prove, that baptism was administered by trine immersion, and only to instructed persons; the canon laws, the officers, the established rituals, the Lent sermons of the prelates, and the baptism of the archbishops themselves. [Robinson, p. 63.] To the account of this baptistery, I will subjoin the following extracts from the discourses of Basil, archbishop of Caesarea, which may serve to show both how and for what purpose they baptized in the Greek established church, in the fourth century.

"It is necessary for the perfection of a christian life, that we should imitate Christ; not only such holy actions and dispositions, as lenity, modesty, and patience, which he exemplified in his life, but also his death, as Paul saith, I am a follower of Christ, I am conformable to his death, if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. How can we be placed in a condition of likeness to his death? By being buried with him in baptism. What is the form of this burial, and what benefits flow from an imitation of it? First, the course of former life is stopped. No man can do this, unless he be born again, as the Lord hath said. Regeneration, as the word itself imports, is the beginning of a new life; therefore, he that begins a new life must put an end to his former life. Such a person resembles a man got to the end of a race, who, before he sets off again, turns about, pauses, and rests a little; so in a change of life it seems necessary, that a sort of death should intervene, putting a period to the past, and giving a beginning to the future. How are we to go down with him into the grave? By imitating the burial of Christ in baptism; for the bodies of the saints are, in a sense, buried in water. For this reason the Apostle speaks figuratively of baptism, as a laying aside the works of the flesh; ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh

by the circumcision of Christ, buried with him in baptism. -- Two things are proposed in baptism; to put an end to a life of sin, lest it should issue in eternal death; and to animate the soul to a life of future sanctification. The water exhibits an image of death, receiving the body as into a sepulcher; the spirit renews the soul, and we rise from a death of sin into a newness of life. This is to be born from above of water and the Spirit; as if by the water we were put to death, and by the operation of the Spirit brought to life. -- **If there be any benefit in the water, it is not from the water, but from the presence of the Spirit; for baptism doth not save us by putting away the filth of the flesh, but by the answer of a good conscience toward God**" [Basil, Robinson *S Hist. Baptism*, p. 65, 66, 67].

It seems clear that the homilies of archbishop Basil were addressed, not to pagans old or young, but to the children of christians, whom he calls the church. That the Greek church of those times did not force a profession of christianity upon their children, but conducted them to baptism by instruction and argument - that baptism was administered by trine immersion -- and that, as the sermons of their bishops were intended to persuade, so the lessons for the day, read openly in the church, were intended to explain and enforce the subject of baptism. Nothing like this is to be found in the Lent sermons of modern times; and a translation of the Lent homilies of the ancient Greek bishops could not be read to any congregation of modern christians, without great absurdity, except to Baptist assemblies, and there they would be heard in raptures, for their singular propriety and beauty.

The baptistery pertaining to the church of St. John Lateran, at Rome, is thus described by Mr. Robinson: "A traveler, entering Rome by the gate Del Popolo, must go up the street Strada Felice, till he arrive at the church St. John Lateran. Turning in and passing along through the church, he must go out at the door behind the great choir, which lets him into a court surrounded with walls and buildings. On the left hand is a porch supported by two marble pillars, which leads into the octagon edifice, called the baptistery. On entering, he will observe that eight large polygonal pillars of porphyry support the roof, and there is a spacious walk all round between them and the wall. In the center of the floor under the cupola, is the baptistery, properly so called, lined with marble, with three steps down into it, and about five Roman palms, that is thirty-seven inches and a half deep; for the Roman palm is seven inches and a half English measure. Some antiquaries are of opinion that this baptistery was deeper formerly. Perhaps it might be, before the baptism of youths was practiced; but this, all things considered, is the most desirable of all depths for baptizing persons of a middle size; and in a bath, kept full as this was, by a constant supply of fresh water, the gauge was just, and any number might be baptized with ease and speed." [Robinson, p. 72, 73.]

Mr. Robinson has given similar descriptions of the baptisteries of Revenna, Venice, Florence, Novara, and Milan; but those which have been mentioned will give the reader an idea of the form and design of these baptismal structures, which were erected in the front of christian temples, to show that baptism was the entrance into the church.

I shall here insert an account of a baptism performed by the pope in the baptistery of St. John Lateran, about the eighth or ninth century.

"At nine in the morning the pontiff, attended by a great number of prelates and clergy, went to the sacristy, and after they had put on the proper habits, proceeded in silent order into the church. Then the lessons for the day were read, and several benedictions performed. When this part was finished, his holiness, with his attendants, proceeded to the baptistery, the choir singing all the way the forty-second psalm: *As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God,* and so on. This ended at the porch of the first chapel, where his holiness sat down. Then the cardinals presented themselves before him, and one, in the name of the rest, prayed for his benediction, which was bestowed. This was repeated thrice, and immediately after the last, the pontiff added, *Go ye and baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* The cardinals having received their mission, withdrew immediately, and, mounting their horses, proceeded each to his own station to baptize. The pope went on to the baptismal hall, and after various lessons and psalms consecrated the baptismal water. Then while all were adjusting themselves in their proper places, his holiness retired into the adjoining chapel of St. John the Evangelist, attended by some acolothists, who took off his habits, put on him a pair of waxed drawers, and a surplice, and then returned to the baptistery. There three children were waiting, which was the number usually baptized by the pontiff. Silence was ordered. When the first was presented, he asked, *What is his name?* The attendant answered *John.* Then he proceeded thus: *John, dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth?* *I do believe.* *Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord, who was born and suffered death?* *I do believe.* *Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic church, the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body and life eternal?* *I do believe.* *John, do you desire to be baptized?* *I desire it.* *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, dipping him once, and of the Son, dipping him a second time, and of the Holy Ghost, dipping him a third time. The pontiff added, May you obtain eternal life!* John answered, *Amen.* The

same was then repeated to Peter and Mary, the other two. Attendants with napkins received the children, and retired to dress them. The attendants of his holiness threw a mantle over his surplice, and he retired. The rest of the catechumens were baptized by deacons, who in clean habits, and without shoes, went down into the water, and performed the ceremony as the pontiff had set them an example. After all was over and the children dressed, they waited on the pope in an adjacent room, where he confirmed them, and delivered to each crism and a white garment."

The part, relative to the habits of the pope, is taken from the twelfth ordinal in the collection of Father Mabillon, and it was written by a cardinal in the latter end of the twelfth century.

"That these ordinals were originally composed for the baptism of those of riper years, seems not to admit of a doubt, and that baptism was performed by immersion cannot be questioned, nor can any one hesitate to determine, that the candidates were the children of christians. The scrutiny; the service in part in the night; the command of silence; the change of deacons_ habits; the wax or oil-skin drawers, breeches, or trousers for the pontiff; the interrogations and answers; the kneeling and praying of the candidates; the proper lessons for the days; the services for susceptors, parents, patrini, and matrini, who were uncles, aunts, relations, or assistants, and not modern god-fathers performing sponsors; the addresses to the young folks; the total omission of charges to sponsors; all go to prove the point" [Robinson_s *History of Baptism*, p. 78, 79, 80].

When the baptism of infants became an established custom, it was unnecessary for the administrators to go into the water, and they contrived cisterns which they called fonts, in which they dipped children without going into the water themselves. In the first baptisteries, both administrators and candidates, went down steps into the bath. In after ages the administrators went up steps to a platform, on which stood a small bath which they called a font, into which they plunged children without going into the water themselves. In modern practice the font remains, but a bason of water set into the font serves the purpose, because it is not now supposed necessary either that the administrator should go into the water, or that the candidate should be immersed.

Fonts were made of different materials, some of wood, some of stone, and at Canterbury, in England, there was one of silver, in which many of the English nobility were baptized. In these fonts infants were baptized naked, and accidents frequently happened while they were in the font, which were painful to the feelings of parents and spectators, and which a good Doctor of Massachusetts would doubtless consider altogether "indecorous." But the poor babes ought not to be blamed. [In consequence of an accident of this kind, the Emperor Constantine, in the eighth century, received from his enemies the nick-name of Copronimus, which signifies that he did that in the sacred font, which he ought not to have done. Many others received nick-names on the same account. Mosheim; Robinson.] But baptisteries and fonts are all become useless, since it has been found out, that for a priest to moisten his hand in a bason, and lay it gently on the child_s face, or to scatter a few drops from his flexible fingers, will answer all the purposes of baptism.

To recapitulate what has been said on this subject, everything tends to prove, that baptism means dipping or immersion, and that it has been so understood and practiced in most ages of the christian church.

Baptisteries, baptismal fonts, going down into the baptistery, coming up out of it, dressing, undressing, napkins, vestments, and so on, all agree with this mode; and we may add collections of pictures, inscriptions, medals, coins, festivals, and histories of all kinds of the middle ages, have some connection, near or remote, with baptism by immersion. [Thomas Armitage, in the first volume of his *History of the Baptists*, has included graphics and descriptions of many ancient baptismal fonts. -- D.W. Cloud] Even punsters and writers of jest-books, have dipping in baptism for the object of their wit. In the history of the Byzantine theater, it is said that in the year two hundred and ninety seven, the players on a theater in a city in Asia, diverted the pagan spectators with a mock baptism. For this purpose they provided a large bathing tub, filled it with water, and plunged Gelasinus into it, to the no small diversion of the company.

The evidences in favor of immersion are so numerous that it is difficult, in this short sketch, to ascertain which are the most proper to select. We will, however, proceed next to the **CONCESSIONS WHICH PEDO-BAPTISTS HAVE MADE ON THE SUBJECT**, and begin with the Roman Catholics.

Learned men of that community differ, as may naturally be supposed, concerning the time when infant sprinkling was introduced; but none of their accurate writers pretend to say, the first christians did not baptize by dipping. On the contrary they laugh at such as affect either to render the word baptism sprinkling, or to give a high antiquity to the practice. It would be easy to adduce a great number of examples; but four shall suffice. The first is that learned and elegant antiquary, Paul Maria Paciandi. This great man published by authority at Rome, in the year 1755, dedicated to pope Benedict XIV a beautiful volume of christian antiquities. His holiness, being fond of antiquities, admitted him to his presence, and took pleasure in examining his compilations. In the fourth chapter of the second dissertation, he speaks of the two baptisteries at Ravenna, and finds fault with the artists for representing John the Baptist pouring water on the head of Jesus. "Nothing (exclaims he) can be more monstrous than these emblems! Was our Lord Christ baptized by aspersion? This is so far from being true, that nothing can be more opposite to truth, and it is to be attributed to the ignorance and rashness of workmen." The officers of the apostolical palace, and the other examiners of this work speak of it in terms of the highest approbation.

The second is that excellent judge, Dr. Joseph De Vicecomes, of Milan, whose book on the mass was examined and approved by the head of the college of St. Ambrose, by one officer of the inquisition, another of the Cardinal Archbishop, and a third of the Senate of Milan. In the sixth chapter of the fourth book, on the ceremonies of baptism, he says, "I will never cease to profess and teach, that only immersion in water, except in cases of necessity, is lawful baptism in the church. I will refute the false notion, that baptism was administered in the primitive church by pouring or sprinkling." He proceeds through the whole chapter to prove, and particularly refutes the objection, taken from the baptism of three thousand in one day by the apostles, by observing that it was a long summer day; that the words pronounced in baptism were as long in the mode of sprinkling, as in that of dipping; that dipping might be performed as quick as sprinkling; that many ceremonies now in use were not practiced then; and that even since several ceremonies had been added, many fathers at Easter and Whitsuntide had been known to baptize great numbers in a day by dipping. He remarks in another place, that some men were highly fitted for this service, as, for example, Ambrose, bishop of Milan, who, Paulinus affirms, (and he knew him well) had such spirits and strength, that he baptized as many persons in a day by immersion, as five ordinary men could do after his decease. [A man always dreaming of sprinkling, concludes that the apostles could nowhere in Jerusalem, find places for immersion. He can imagine there was an abundance of pitchers and basins; but to think of dipping places in this great city, is altogether improbable and absurd. But Dr. Gill has shown that Jerusalem was not so destitute of this refreshing element as many Pedit-baptists suppose. "In the city of Jerusalem, (says he) in private houses, they had their baths for purifications, by immersion, as in the case of menstruas, gonorrhoeas, and other defilements, by touching unclean persons and things, which were very frequent; so that a digger of cisterns, for such uses, and others, was a business in Jerusalem. And in the temple there was an apartment, called the dipping-place or room, where the high-priest dipped himself on the day of atonement. And besides these were ten lavers of brass, made by Solomon; and every laver held forty baths of water, and each was four cubits broad and long, sufficient for immersion of the whole body of a man. Add to this that there was the molten sea also for the priests to wash in, 2 Chronicles 4:6, which was done by immersion; on which one of the Jewish commentators has these words: "The sea was for the dipping of the priests; for in the midst of it they dipped themselves from their uncleanness; but in the Jerusalem Talmud, there is an objection, is it not a vessel? as if it was said how can they dip in it, for is it not a vessel? and there is no dipping in vessels: R. Joshua ben Levi replied, a pipe of water was laid to it from the fountain of Etam, and the feet of the oxen, which were under the molten sea, were open at the pomegranates; so that it was as if it was from under the earth, and the waters came to it, and entered and ascended, by the way of the feet of the oxen, which were open beneath them and bored." And it may be observed, that there was also in Jerusalem the pool of Bethesda, into which persons went down at certain times, John 5:1, and the pool of Siloam, where persons bathed and dipped themselves, on certain occasions. So that there were conveniences enough for baptism by immersion in this place.] [Thomas Armitage, in *A History of the Baptists*, Vol. 1, "Pentecost and Saul," lists several other large pools in Jerusalem. --D.W. Cloud]

The third is Father Mabillon. He says, that although there is mention made in the life of S. Lindger of baptizing a little infant by pouring on holy water, yet it was contrary to an express canon of the ninth century; contrary to the canon given by Stephen, which allowed pouring only in cases of necessity; contrary to the general practice in France, where trine immersion was used; contrary to the practice of the Spaniards, who used single immersion; contrary to the opinion of Alwin, who contended for trine immersion; and contrary to the practice of many, who continued to dip till the fifteenth century. For all this he quotes his authorities.

The fourth is the celebrated Lewis Anthony Muratori. -- This perfect master of the subject, in the fourth volume of his antiquities of the middle ages of Italy, in the fifty-seventh dissertation, treats of the rites of the church of Milan, called the Ambrosian, from St. Ambrose, the first compiler of the ritual of that church. As usual, he confirms every word, by original, authentic papers. Speaking of baptism by trine immersion, which was the Ambrosian method, he says: "Observe the Ambrosian manner of baptizing. Now-a-days, the priests preserve a shadow of the ancient Ambrosian form of baptizing, for they do not baptize by pouring as the Romans do; but taking the infant in their arms, they dip the hinder part of his head three times in the baptismal water, in the form of a cross, which is a vestige yet remaining of the most ancient and universal practice of immersion" [Robinson's *History of Baptism*, p. 433, 434, 435].

A Catholic is not unwilling to acknowledge, that infant sprinkling is a human tradition; "he is not shocked to find that a ceremony is neither scriptural nor ancient, because an order of the council of Trent is as valid with him as an apostolical command."

All the authors, just quoted, believed in infant sprinkling, not because it was found in scripture, but because it had been established by law in the church of Rome. And when Protestant Pedo-baptists rail against their superstitious rites, they often retort upon them their own arguments, and expose the sandy foundation of infant baptism. A curious anecdote of this kind is related of a Roman Catholic priest, who was called by king Charles II to dispute with a Baptist minister by the name of Jeremiah Ives, whom the Catholic supposed to have been a church priest. The affair will be related at large in the History of the English Baptists.

A short time since, a pamphlet was published in Baltimore by the Roman Catholic College of St. Mary, against an attack from the Presbyterians on them, (for their unwritten traditions) to which the Catholics reply: "Presbyterians with Catholics admit the baptism of infants. Baptism by sprinkling, by effusion, etc. Let them find for all this, and for many other practices, any foundation in scripture." Again, "It is then an unquestionable fact, that even for Presbyterians, tradition has preserved many unwritten dogmas and religious institutions" [*Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine*, vol. 3. p. 207].

A Catholic, by thus acknowledging that infant baptism is an unwritten tradition, saves himself an infinite deal of labor; but a Protestant, who will not give to such traditions, however solemnly established, the force of a scripture command, finds himself in an awkward situation, and is obliged to go in search of proof, which none ever did and never can find, until two or three more words are added to the Bible.

While Catholics and Presbyterians are contending about unwritten traditions, the Baptists look on as calm spectators, and rejoice, that for their practice, they have a "thus saith the Lord."

We will not, however, confine our attention to the concessions of Catholics. **A HOST OF PROTESTANTS MIGHT BE PRODUCED, who have all conceded that the primary meaning of baptize, is to dip, to immerse, and so on; and that in this manner baptism was administered in the primitive church.**

CALVIN, in his commentary on the passage in Acts 8:38, they went down into the water, thus remarks: "Here we see the rite used among the men of old time in baptism; for they put all the body into the water; now, the use is this, that the minister doth only sprinkle the body or the head." After several remarks upon the use of the ordinance, he adds, "It is certain that wee want nothing which maketh to the substance of baptisme. Wherefore the church did grant liberty to herself since the beginning, to change the rites somewhat excepting this substance. Some dipped them thrice, same but once; wherefore there is no cause why we should be so strait-laced in matters which are of no such weight; so that that external pompe doe no whit pollute the simple institution of Christ" [Baldwin's Letters to Dr. Worcester, p. 201].

DR. CAMPBELL, a late learned Scotch writer, in his *Preliminary Discourses to the Translation of the Four Gospels*, observes, that "in several modern languages we have, in what regards Jewish and Christian rites, generally followed the usage of the old Latin version, though the authors of that version have not been entirely uniform in their method. Some words they have transferred from the original into their language; others they have translated. But it would not always be easy to find their reason for making this difference.

Thus the word *peritome* they have translated *circumcisio*, which exactly corresponds in etymology; but the word baptisms they have retained, changing only the letters from Greek to Roman. Yet the latter was just as susceptible into Latin as the former. *Immersio*, *tinctio*, answers as exactly in the one case as *circumcisio* in the other." He further adds, "We have deserted the Greek names where the Latins have deserted them. Hence we say circumcision, and not peritomy, and we do not say immersion, but baptism. Yet when the language furnishes us with materials for a version so exact and analogical, such a version conveys the sense more perspicuously than a foreign name. For this reason, I should think the word *immersion* (which though of Latin origin, is an English noun, regularly formed from the verb to immerse a better name than baptism, were we now at liberty to make a choice." The same writer thus translates the passage in Luke 12:50: "I have an IMMERSION to undergo, and how am I pained till it be accomplished."

MR. BOOTH, in his *Pedo-baptism examined*, has quoted eighty *Pedo-baptist* writers, who concede that the original meaning of the Greek verb *baptizo*, is to dip, to immerse, and so on.

The Baptists do not rely on these concessions, to establish their opinion of baptism; they have other reasons for believing that immersion is an apostolical rite; but **they are produced to show, that *Pedo-baptists* were more candid and consistent in former times, than they are in general at the present day.** One would think that these concessions must have some effect upon the minds of those, who, in any measure, lay themselves open to conviction. Sure I am, that if one respectable Baptist writer should concede half so much in favor of pouring or sprinkling, as Calvin has in favor of immersion, it would be instantly taken for proof, and trumpeted from Dan to Beersheba against them.

But it is an indisputable fact that no Baptist writer, and their number is considerably great, and some of them have been very learned, their enemies being judges, has ever had the least misgiving on the subject, or in any way conceded, that any thing short of a total dipping, plunging, or immersion of the body in water, can be valid baptism.

But few of the Baptists pretend to understand Greek; some, however, do undoubtedly understand it, as well as do their adversaries, and have gone laboriously into the investigation of the meaning of the terms *bapto*, *baptizo*, *baptisma*, and so on, not so much to establish their own opinions, as to refute the skeptical evasions and unsound criticisms of their opponents. [That learned Baptist, Dr. John Gale, has taken much pains in this matter. He hath traced the original word in profane writers, and hath proved by a great variety of examples, that with the Greeks, *bapto* signified to dip, *baptai* dyers, *baphis* a dye house, *bapsis* dying by dipping, *bammata* dying drugs, *baphi kee* the art of dying, *dibaphos*, double-dyed, *baptisterion* a dying-vat, etc. In these senses were *bapto* and its derivatives understood before they were selected to describe a christian institute. --Gale's *Reflections upon Wall's History of Infant Baptism*, Letter III. Mohammed, in the Alcoran, calls baptism *sebgatallah*, that is, divine dying, or the *tinging* of God, from *sebgah* dying and *dallah* God. A celebrated orientalist says, Mohammed made use of this compound term for baptism, because, in his time, christians administered baptism as dyers tinge, by immersion, and not as now (in the west) by aspersion. Robinson's *Hist. of Baptism*, p. 7.]

"The meaning of doubtful words is best fixed by ascertaining the facts which they are intended to represent; " and when we read that they were baptized in Jordan, buried in baptism, went down into the water before baptism, and came up out of it after; I say, when the Baptists read these and many similar passages, no man, woman, or child, among them, has, or can have, any doubt of the meaning of the word baptize. And if *Pedo-baptists* will still spend their time in hammering Abraham's covenant and the Greek prepositions, *eis* and *en*, and *ek*, and *apo*, to prove that *baptizo* may mean to sprinkle or pour, they are welcome to all the pleasure and fruits of their labor.

The Greeks have always understood baptism to mean immersion. The Greek christians according to Dr. Wall, are more numerous than Roman Catholics, [*Defence*, etc. p. 148.] which, if I mistake not, are estimated at a hundred millions or more; The Greek religion, according to Robinson, is professed through a considerable part of Greece, the Grecian isles, Wallachia, Moldavia, Egypt, Nubia, Lybia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Lyria, Cilicia, and Palestine, the Russian empire in Europe, greater part of Siberia in Asia, Astracan, Casan, Georgia, and White Russia in Poland. [*Ecclesiastical Researches*, p. 93.] Besides the established Greek church, which is governed by the four patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, there are many communities of Greek christians, called oriental churches, which never were

of any hierarchy, but have always retained their original freedom. These churches are dispersed all over Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Nubia, Ethiopia, India, Tartary, and other eastern countries. The most considerable of them are the Nestorians, the Armenians, the Georgians, and so on.

Now it is an indisputable fact, acknowledged by all historians, that all these millions of Greeks, ever have, and now do, administer baptism by immersion. They generally baptize infants, but they do it by dipping not only in the warm climes of Arabia and Lybia, but in the frozen regions of Russia and Siberia. [It is said by an English historian, that St Petersburg, they sometimes baptize their children in a river or canal, by cutting a hole through the ice, upon which he observes, "I have heard that a priest, in immersing a child, (for baptism is performed by the immersion of the whole body) let it slip, through inattention, into the water. The child was drowned; but the holy man suffered no consternation. "Give me another," said he, with the utmost composure, "for the Lord hath taken that to himself." The Empress, however, having other uses for her subjects, and not desiring that the Lord should have any more in that way, at least, gave orders, that all children, to be baptized in a hole in the river, should henceforth be let down in a basket." Baldwin's *Baptism of Believers*, 2d edit. p. 100.] This circumstance outweighs ten thousand criticisms upon Abraham's covenant, Greek prepositions, the little sprinkling brooks of Palestine, and the baptism of the three thousand.

Mr. Robinson has made a very good use of this circumstance in his *Ecclesiastical Researches*, under the head "Greek Church," pages 91 and 92, which I will here transcribe in his own forcible words.

"The state of baptism in the Greek church is an article of more consequence than it may at first appear. If pity for the wretched be a generous passion, who can help indulging it when he sees an illiterate Baptist hang his head daunted and dismayed by the unfair criticism of a learned teacher, who tells him the word *baptize* is Greek, and signifies pouring as well as dipping? Great men love sometimes to trifle. The inference which these translators draw from their own version, is not exactly logical; for I prove, says a Vossius, going to baptize an infant, that the word baptize signifies to pour as well as to dip. In virtue of this, what does he? He takes the infant and neither pours nor dips, but sprinkles, and then lifts up his voice and says to a congregation of English peasants, the Greek will bear me out. Verily, this is not fair!

"Suppose an honest Baptist peasant should stand up and say to such a man, _Sir, I have understood that Jesus lived and died in the east; that four of his disciples wrote his history in the Greek language; that his apostles preached in Greek to the inhabitants of Greece, and that the Greeks heard, believed and were baptized; **every nation understands its own language best, and no doubt the Greeks understand Greek better than we do**; now I have been informed, set me right if I be wrong, **that from the first preaching of the apostles to this day, the Greeks have always understood, that to baptize was to dip; and, so far are they from thinking that to baptize is to pour or to sprinkle, I have been told they baptize by dipping three times**. I do not understand Greek, but I think the Greeks themselves do. If, therefore, I were not to dip for other reasons; and if I were obliged to determine my practice, by the sense of the single word baptism; and if I were driven to the necessity of trusting somebody, my reason would command me to take that sense from the natives of Greece, rather than from you a foreigner._ That this honest man would suppose a true fact is beyond all contradiction. -- In determining the precise meaning of a Greek word, used to signify a Greek ceremony, what possible chance hath a session of lexicographers against whole empires of native Greeks? Let the illiterate then enjoy themselves, and recollect when they baptize by dipping, they understand Greek exactly as the Greeks themselves understand it.

"Greatly as the Greeks were divided in speculative opinions, and numerous as the congregations were, which dissented from the church, **it is remarkable, and may serve to confirm the meaning of the word baptize, that there is not the shadow of a dispute, in all their history, in favor of sprinkling. Because they were Greeks, they all thought that to baptize was to baptize, that is, to dip was to dip**. They all baptized, and rebaptized; the established church, as was observed before, by order of council, for speculative reasons, and the dissenters for moral reasons."

["Since my arrival in this country, I was once in the company of a gentleman, whose vernacular tongue was the Greek. One of the company asked him the meaning of the word *baptizo*, he said it meant *baptizo*, what else could it mean? After asking more particularly, he signified, that it meant *immersion*." Dr. Staughton's account of the India Mission, p. 209.]

Nothing of the kind staggers the charity of the Baptists so much, as for a learned man, with all these historical evidences before his eyes, to tell his hearers, and publish to the world, that nothing definite can be determined respecting the meaning of the Greek word *baptizo*. And many are tempted to think that they do but half believe their own assertions, but that they make them merely to gain time, or to bewilder the minds of inquirers. "If, (says Robinson) there be a word in the New Testament, of a determinate meaning,

it is the word baptism. Yet by a course of sophistry, it shall be first made synonymous with washing, and then washing shall be proved synonymous with sprinkling, and then sprinkling shall be called baptism. Thus the book, intended to instruct, shall be taught to perplex; the book in the world the most determinate shall be rendered the most vague; the book, the credit of which is absolutely ruined if it admit of double meanings, shall of all others be rendered the most mysterious book in the world, saying every thing, and of course narrating and proving nothing."

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES NEARLY OR REMOTELY CONNECTED WITH BAPTISM.

Baptism is one of the most curious and complicated subjects of ecclesiastical history. Among men who stepped off the ground of scripture, and laid another foundation, it was variable as the wind, and in every province practiced for a different reason. At Alexandria, inserted into rules of academical education; at Jerusalem, administered to promiscuous catechumens; in the deserts of Egypt, united to monastical tuition; in Cappadocia, applied as an amulet to entitle the dying to heaven; at Constantinople, accommodated to the intrigues of the court; in all places, given to children extraordinarily inspired and in the end it was employed by an African monk, to wash away original sin.

According to Cardinal Bellarmine, the Roman Catholics have no less than two and twenty ceremonies at baptism. Twelve are preparatory to it, five are at the administration of it, and the remaining are after it. Others, it is said, make many more. These twenty-two are all stated in their order by Mr. Robinson, but we have not room to do it here. The principal ones, however, are the Scrutiny, Exsufflation, by which devils are expelled, Insufflation, by which the Spirit of God is communicated, Consecration of the water, the Chrismal Unction, the Lighted Taper, and the Milk and Honey. [Everything pertaining to baptism was marked with pomp and extravagance, and the preparations for a christening day, among the nobility, were as great as they are now for a public dinner in a populous town. The following is a bill of fare of a dinner at Tynningham, the house of the Right Hon. the Earl of Haddington, on Thursday the 21st of August 1679, when his Lordship's son was baptized: Food Amount Fresh beef 6 pieces Mutton 16 do. Veal 4 dozen Legs of Venison 3 Geese 6 Pigs 4 Old Turkeys 2 Young do 8 Salmon 4 Tongues and Udders 12 Ducks 14 Roasted fowls 6 Boiled fowls 9 Chickens roasted 30 do. stewed 12 do. frickaseed 8 do. in pottage 10 Lamb 2 sides Wild Fowl 22 Pigeons baked, roasted, and stewed 182 Hares roasted 10 do. frickaseed 6 Hams 3 A puncheon of Claret, etc. No one will think it strange, after reading this account, that Dr. Wall accused many in this day, of regarding nothing at a christening but the dress, and the eating and drinking. In Venice, the meanest plebeian hath at least three god-fathers, the wealthy have twenty, and sometimes a hundred.]

Many of these ceremonies, which now appear altogether absurd and unmeaning, may be traced to a rational origin. We will mention only two, the lighted taper, and the milk and honey. What use is a lighted taper to an infant eight days old? Yet President Brisson hath proved by undeniable evidence, from ancient and allowed authorities, that in the middle ages, when baptism was administered by dipping only at Easter and Whitsuntide, the number of catechumens being very great, the administrators began to baptize in the night, or at least long before break of day, and so many flambeaus were lighted up for public convenience, that the darkness was turned into day. Could any thing be more natural than for some of the attendants to give a taper to a person coming up out of the water, or to walk before him and light him? It served at once to distinguish him in the crowd for freedom of passage, and to light him from the baptistery to the dressing room.

After these baptized persons had retired from the baptistery to the dressing room, it was very common to refresh themselves with milk and honey. Many other of these ceremonies may be explained in a similar manner, but some originated in the capricious fancies of superstitious people, and others go to show the invisible and salutary benefits of the baptismal rite, which Catholics have magnified to a most extravagant degree. What can be more shocking and irrational, than to suppose that in a world inhabited by eight or nine hundred millions of rational beings, the eternal destiny of any should depend on the precarious application of a few drops of water to their faces, soon after they were born? Yet thousands and millions have professed to believe this monstrous doctrine, and if an ill-fated infant was likely to expire, before water could be obtained, the priest or midwife would baptize it with wine. [Some in Upper Saxony, a little before the Reformation, practiced baptism upon sickly new-born infants With only using the baptismal form of words, without the application of water in any form whatever. There is an account of a Jew, who suddenly

turned christian where there was no water, and at the point of death, was baptized with sand. Some of the Irish, in the twelfth century, baptized their children by plunging them into milk, and were superstitious enough to imagine, that every part so plunged became invulnerable. Robinson; Baldwin. How long must the Baptists be accused of holding, that baptism is a saving ordinance and essential to salvation, when they expressly and uniformly declare, that none but christians are entitled to it, and that it is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but is the answer of a good conscience towards God?]

We will not accuse the Protestants of holding an opinion so shockingly absurd, but still, all Pedo-baptists, however evangelical, do attach to the baptism of a child, certain invisible benefits, which, as may well be supposed, no person yet could ever discover; and some, even of the Independents, have accused the hard-hearted Baptists of holding "an infant damning doctrine -- and of maintaining with an audacious cruelty, a principle, which evidently excluded dear infants from the kingdom of God -- and would send them by swarms into hell -- and strike darts of anguish into the hearts of both parents and children." [Robinson's *History of Baptism*, p. 476.]

The liturgy of the Church of England defines baptism to be regeneration, and the funeral service is refused to such infants as die unbaptized. [The following anecdote is related by Dr. Baldwin, in his Letters to Rev. Samuel Worcester, in a note, p. 183: "A few years since, I was called to attend the funeral of an infant in this town, in a family, which, I was informed, belonged to the Episcopal church. I asked where the Rev. Dr. was? and was answered he was out of town. Where is the Rev. Mr.? It was said, he was engaged. At length the gentleman of the house told me plainly, "The child was not baptized!" To this I replied, that I had the happiness to believe the child was gone equally as safe, as though it had been baptized."] The meaning of the term *Infant* has been a matter of much dispute, in baptismal controversies. Pedo-baptist writers have generally gone upon the supposition, that it always means a babe. But Mr. Robinson has produced numerous and undeniable proofs, that in ancient ecclesiastical history, **the words *pais, brephos, brephullion, puer, puerulus, infans, infantulus, and so on, were used indiscriminately for minors.*** Out of the multitude of examples, which that ingenious author has produced, I shall select the following:

"THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF ADALD, A LITTLE INFANT OF LUCCA.

"In the name of God -- in the twenty-first year of the reign of our Lord Charles, by the grace of God, king of the Franks and Lombards -- I, Adald, the little infant son of Waltper, being sick and in danger of death, considering in myself the mercy of Almighty God, for the redemption of my soul, and according to a statute of king Liutprand, of holy memory, offer to God, and to the church of blessed St. Martin -- my house -- out housesgardens -- lands -- vineyards -- olive yards -- woodsunderwoods -- meadows -- pastures, cultivated and uncultivated -- and all my effects, moveable and immovable -- and also my house at and also all other rights, whatsoever and wheresoever -- I offer as aforesaid, and confirm by this deed, which Ghislebert wrote at my request. Done at Lucca, in the year of Christ, seven hundred and ninety four."

This Will was witnessed by five infants, viz. Gumpert, Asprand, Pascal, Ghisprand, Erminari, four of whom were then presbyters. [[It was very customary, at this time, to introduce boys into holy orders for purpose of securing them a future living, and of laying an early foundation for promotion.] **The truth of the case, says Mr. Robinson, is, circumstances must determine the ages of those, who were anciently called infants.** The various words, translated infant, taken singly, crumble away in the hands of an investigator: **they may signify a new-born babe, or a little boy of seven, of a great boy of fourteen years, or a young man turned of twenty;** and in support of this proposition, he has produced evidences in abundance from manuscripts, books, inscriptions, and laws.]

In the year three hundred and seventy-four, the church of Milan assembled to elect a bishop instead of Auxentius, lately deceased. They were divided into two violent parties, the one Arian, the other Trinitarian. Disputes ran so high that the city was in an uproar, and Ambrose the Governor, who was only a catechumen, and therefore had no vote, went thither to keep the peace. No sooner had he, by a conciliatory address, quieted the tumult, than to his great surprise, the whole assembly shouted, "Let Ambrose be bishop! Let Ambrose be bishop!" and he soon found himself unanimously elected. And the

first person who exclaimed, "Let Ambrose be bishop!" was an infant, that is, a church member who was under age.

Origen is quoted to prove infant baptism; but Origen's infants were capable of repentance and martyrdom; and infants are said to have nominated kings, erected churches, composed hymns, and so on. [Robinson's *History of Baptism*, p. 157.]

The passage in Acts, "the promise is unto you and your children," has been much disputed. On this passage, many Pedo-baptists build half their superstructure. But it is evident the term children there is applied to posterity, without any regard to their age. We read of the children of Israel -- the children of Benjamin -- the children of promise -- the children of God -- the children of light -- and so on. Infant baptism may as well be proved from either of these passages, as from the one in Acts.

A zealous Pedo-baptist lately asserted, that he could prove infant baptism from this passage, "Ephraim is a cake unturned." And cardinal Bellarmine contended that he could prove the pope's supremacy from the first chapter of Genesis. And truly one may be done as easily as the other.

Dr. Wall observes that all national churches practice infant baptism. "Very true, (says Mr. Robinson) infant baptism, as it was intended, created national churches, and gives them continuance, as it gave them being. Let what will be said in praise of such churches, it can never be affirmed that they were either formed or continued by the free consent of their members. It was for this reason the learned Dr. Gill called infant baptism the main ground and pillar of popery, and a great number of Baptists are of the same opinion. Time only can discover what the fate of this singular ceremony will be. If a judgment of the future may be formed by the past, infant baptism, like infant monachism, will fall into total disuse, and for the same reasons. It was formerly a practice, both in France and England, but most in England, to make monks and nuns of infants of seven, five, two, and even one year old; but this is now every where disused."

"Baptism (says this same writer--Dr. Robinson--in another place) arose pure in the east: it rolled westward, diminished in luster, often beclouded with mists, and sometimes under a total eclipse; at length it escaped the eye, and was lost among attenuated particles, shades, non-entities, and monsters; then it took a contrary direction, and probably in time it will emerge from every depression, and shine in its original simplicity and excellence."

PROSELYTE BAPTISM demands a few words of attention. Many Pedo-baptist writers have depended much upon it to help them to evidence, which the Bible does not furnish; and Dr. Wall founds his main argument in favor of infant baptism on the practice. But after all that has been said about proselyte baptism, it remains a very doubtful affair, and Pedo-baptist writers are much divided among themselves respecting it. **Dr. John Owen calls the opinion, that christian baptism came from the Jews, an opinion destitute of all probability.**

That the Jews had frequent ablutions or washings, no one ever denied, but the washing of proselytes, which is improperly called baptism, is not found in the law of Moses, nor in the writings of Philo, or Josephus, but was evidently introduced after the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem. "It is remarkable (says Robinson) of this controversy, that they, who most earnestly take the affirmative, are of all men the least interested; for could a christian rite be taken off the ground of immediate divine appointment, and placed on that of human traditions, christianity would lose much of its glory; least of all are they interested in it, who intend to establish a law to sprinkle the infants of christians, upon proving, that the Jews had a custom of dipping men and women when they renounced Paganism. In this hopeless affair, could the fact be demonstrated, no advance would be made in the argument; for it would be easy to prove, that if it were by tradition, Jewish traditions neither have, nor ought to have, any force with christians; and that if it were even an institute of Moses, the ceremonies of Moses were abolished in form by an authority, which no christian will oppose."

I have now gone through with narrating all the incidents, which the limits of this sketch will permit me to insert, and shall recapitulate the whole in the words of the author I have so often named. Protestants have discovered great genius in inventing arguments for the support of infant baptism, and to some Baptists they

seem to reason in this manner: It is written, God made a covenant with Abraham and his family: therefore, though it is not written, we ought to believe he makes a covenant with every christian and his family. God settled on Abraham and his family a large landed estate: therefore, he gives every christian and his family the benefits of the christian religion. God commanded Abraham and his family to circumcise their children: therefore, all professors of christianity ought, without a command, not to circumcise but to baptize their children. Jesus said, "suffer little children to come unto me:" therefore, infants who cannot come ought to be carried, not to Jesus, but to a minister, not to be healed, but to be baptized. Paul advised married believers at Corinth not to divorce their unbelieving yoke-fellows, lest they should stain the reputation of their children, with the scandal of illegitimacy: therefore, children, legitimate and illegitimate, ought to be baptized. A man of thirty years of age says he believes the gospel: therefore, his neighbor's infant of eight days ought to be baptized, as if he believed the gospel. And finally, the scripture does not mention infant baptism; but it is, notwithstanding, full of proof that infants were and ought to be baptized.

Really, the Baptists ought to be forgiven for not having a taste for this kind of logic; yea, they ought to be applauded for preferring argument before sophistry.

St. Austin and his company were the first who attacked believer's baptism at law; but Zuinglius and Calvin are said to be the first, who invented the method of proving infant baptism from Abraham's covenant. The dispute between Baptists and Pedo-baptists has long been maintained, and still it remains unsettled. Every thing which slander could utter has been cast upon the Baptists, and every cruelty, which malicious ingenuity could devise, has been practiced against them. Thousands of them have been slain, and thousands more have been dispersed into obscure corners and caves of the earth. But still they remain, and are rapidly advancing in numbers and strength. As a body, like others, they have been much divided on many other points, but in the article of baptism they have been uniform and unshakingly fixed. They have never persecuted, although they have had it in their power to do so. **BUT THEY HAVE REASONED AND REMONSTRATED, AND AGAINST INFANT BAPTISM THEY HAVE URGED THE FOLLOWING OBJECTIONS:**

First. It is not in our Lord's commission; and what is not in a commission, must, of necessity, be out of it.

Second. It is nowhere found in the Bible; and, therefore, it cannot be a Bible institution.

Third. They deny that infants derive any benefit from baptism, and thousands of them have had the opportunity of knowing; but on the contrary affirm, that a great injury is done them by it, because they grow up in a prejudice, that they are christians, and, therefore, never examine what christianity is.

Fourth. Every person ought to be left free to choose his own religion; but infant baptism imposes a religion upon its subjects, before they know it, and they often have much trouble to get rid of it, when they become capable of refusing the evil and choosing the good.

For these and many other reasons, the Baptists without the least misgiving, reject infant baptism; and if saint Austin, and a thousand other saints beside, have said that it was an apostolical tradition, it does not in the least affect their belief, so long as they find that saint Luke, saint Paul, and saint Peter, have nowhere mentioned it, but have laid down principles, which go entirely to exclude it. They do not wonder that many saints have asserted what none ever proved, but they wonder that some of them have not interpolated scripture to serve their hypothesis.

The Baptists are accused by their opponents of having an assurance peculiar to themselves. This accusation they are not unwilling to admit. Their peculiar assurance arises from the clear and peculiar evidence with which their sentiments are supported. This assurance has been called presumption, and those who persisted in it, in former days, were denounced obstinate heretics, and doomed to suffer fire and sword in this world, and eternal perdition in the world to come. But a gracious Providence has now delivered us from the force of these terrible arguments.

While Pedo-baptists send inquirers to their pamphlets and doctors, the Baptists send them to the Bible, and they cannot but exult that their sentiments are there so plainly expressed. And what emboldens them, and disgusts their opponents is, that every man, woman, and child has the leading passages by heart, on which their sentiments are founded, and can, at once, produce arguments, which the greatest doctors cannot answer without much time, nor then without much sophistry.

It is a very unlucky circumstance, that infant baptism is no where mentioned in the Bible, and I pity the person, who, with a tender conscience, sets out, to find it there; for, sure I am, he will have a hard and fruitless task, and if he finally succeeds, it must be by subverting his own understanding.

The study of infant baptism is the most perplexing study in the world, as many, who are now Baptists, know by experience. And the reason is, it perverts the order of scripture. But in the study of believer's baptism every thing is plain and easy.

Infant baptism is supported by a long string of texts from the Old Testament and New, none of which mention the thing, and none of which refer to such a practice, any more than Hagar's going out into the wilderness of Beersheba, leading her sulky son Ishmael, and carrying with her a loaf of bread and a bottle of water. In this passage we find a child and water, and these are not found in many of the passages brought to support infant baptism.

As to all the shocking consequences which follow from Baptist principles, we have only to say, they are drawn by Pedo-baptists, and not by us. And since three-fourths of the terraqueous globe is covered with water, we never expect to find any difficulty in procuring a full supply of this element.

The substance of this sketch has been selected from Robinson's incomparable history of baptism, to which I have often referred; and many sentiments and sentences, for which no formal credit has been given, have been taken from that laborious and invaluable work. There are but few copies of it in this country. It is a quarto volume of between six and seven hundred pages, with very copious Latin notes. This work will bear to be abridged; and by omitting the notes and some other articles, it might be reduced to an octavo volume of four or five hundred pages, without leaving out any of the important matter which relates to baptism. In making out the above sketch, which has been selected from every part of it, I have been obliged to study it with considerable attention, and have conceived the design of undertaking to abridge it, after I have had a little respite from my present labor. [Many articles which are largely and learnedly discussed by Mr. Robinson, have not been referred to in the preceding sketch; as baptism connected with Monachism - with social obligations - with Human Creeds - with Judaism - with Chivalry - with Sacerdotal Habits - and with Witchcraft; The baptism of Bells, Tropical Baptism, the Christening of Fleets, and so on.]

A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE BAPTISTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND ANCIENT CITIES.

This chapter will extend from the introduction of christianity to about the time of the reformation under Luther and his associates.

All sects trace their origin to the Apostles, or at least to the early ages of christianity. But many, and especially the powerful ones, have labored hard to cut off the Baptists from this common retreat. They have often asserted and taken much pains to prove that the people now called Baptists originated with the mad men of Munster, about 1522. We have only to say to this statement, that it is not true. And notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, we still date the origin of our sentiments, and the beginning of our denomination, about the year of our Lord twenty-nine or thirty; for at that period John the Baptist began to immerse professed believers in Jordan and Enon, and to prepare the way for the coming of the Lord's Anointed, and for the setting up of his kingdom.

But before we proceed, any farther, it is proper that the terms Baptist and Anabaptist should be defined.

A Baptist is one, who holds that a profession of faith, and an immersion in water are essential to baptism. An Anabaptist is one who is rebaptized. The name of Baptist we admit is significant and proper; but that of Anabaptist we reject as slanderous, and no ways descriptive of our sentiments and practice; and when our opponents accuse us of Anabaptism, we always understand the charge as the language either of ignorance or malice. In one sense there were never any Anabaptists in christendom, and yet according to historians there have been multitudes in different ages and countries. All, who ever administered baptism a second time, did it upon the supposition that the first baptism was imperfect. No party of christians ever held to two baptisms, or presumed to repeat the baptismal rite, after it had been, in their opinion, once properly administered. In this sense there never have been any Anabaptists, although multitudes have rebaptized, or, in other words, performed in a right manner, what, upon their principles, had been improperly done. According to Robinson there have been six sorts of christians, who have been called Anabaptists, as different from one another, as can well be imagined. The first placed the essence of baptism in the virtue of the person baptized; the second placed it in the form of words pronounced in the administration; the third in the virtue of the administrator; the fourth in the consent of the person baptized; the fifth in dipping; and the sixth in both a profession of faith and an immersion.

By all of these classes multitudes were rebaptized, and yet no party acknowledged themselves Anabaptists; for they all thought that there was one Lord, one faith, and one baptism, and that their own. The Catholics most eagerly contend that pope Sylvester baptized Constance the Great into the faith of the Trinity at Rome, and the evidence seems respectable. It is however certain that he was baptized at Nicomedia just before his death, and it is supposed by Eusebius, into the Arian faith. Both affirm they baptized him; neither says he was rebaptized, because neither accounted the other a valid baptism. Probably, some Catholic writers express the matter exactly as it was. Sylvester baptized the emperor, and Eusebius rebaptized him. They affirm the same of the emperor Valens, and denominate both these emperors Anabaptists.

Dionysius and his followers in Egypt, the Acephali, Novatus of Rome, Novatian of Carthage, all the Novatian churches, Donatus and his numberless followers, called after him Donatists, of whom there were four hundred congregations at one time in Africa, all rejected the baptism administered by those, who have since been called Catholics, whom they reputed heretics, and whose churches they called habitations of impurity, and all such as came from those churches to them they rebaptized. In the year 325, the council of Nice decreed, that all who came over to the established church, from the Paulianists, both men and women, should be rebaptized, while proselytes from the Novatians or Puritans were admitted by the laying on of hands. The reason for this difference was, that the Novatians baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, while the Paulianists, who denied the Trinity, omitted this form. For a long time the Catholics rejected the baptism of the Arians, and the Arians in return rejected theirs. Both parties rebaptized their proselytes, and all practiced dipping.

These are a few of the many facts, which might be adduced to show that Anabaptism, as it is improperly called, is not peculiar to the Baptists. According to the common acceptance of the term, her imperial majesty Catherine III late empress of all the Russias, was an Anabaptist. "For it is strictly true," as an elegant and accurate historian observes, "that in the year 1745, Peter, afterwards Czar Peter III espoused Sophia Augusta, princess of Anhalt Zerbst, who, upon being rebaptized, according to the rites of the Greek church, was called Catherine Alexiefna, and so on" [Robinson's *History of Baptism*, p. 459, 460]. Thus much for the general subject of rebaptization. Whatever notions of impiety people may now attach to the practice, it is certain that all parties have been more or less guilty of it.

We shall now turn our attention to that class of Anabaptists, with whom we claim relation, and who would now be considered Baptists, by whatever name they were formerly called. This is the sixth class in Mr. Robinson's list of rebaptizers. They have ever held, that a personal profession of faith, and an immersion in water are essential to baptism. Christians of these sentiments have existed in every age, and their number has been larger than their friends generally imagine, or than their opposers are ever willing to acknowledge. The first christians were undoubtedly all Baptists, and we believe they will all be Baptists again, when they are all brought to keep the ordinances of Christ as they were first delivered to the saints. For almost three centuries baptism was in the main rightly administered by all parties, for they all required a profession of faith, and all immersed.

We do not pretend that the primitive saints were called Baptists; an went under the general denomination of Christians, and when they began to the off into parties, they took the names of the men by whom they were led. **It is not the history of a name, but the prevalence of a principle, of which we are in search.** No denomination of Protestants can trace the origin of its name farther back than about the time of the reformation, and most of them have originated since that period. And I suppose it was about this time that our brethren began to be called Baptists. And I am inclined to think that they assumed the name in opposition to that of Anabaptists, with which their enemies were continually reproaching them. But that all the primitive christians would have been called Baptists, if sentimental names had then been in use, and **that there always has been a people on earth, from the introduction of Christianity, who have held the leading sentiments by which they now are, and always have been peculiarly distinguished, is a point which I most firmly believe, and which I shall now attempt to prove.**

I know that all denominations take this ground, and attempt to prove that their sentiments have existed from the Apostles through every age. The Catholic pretends that his church is of Apostolic origin, and was founded by St. Peter, and he can easily prove that a very large portion of the christian world, has, for many centuries, been and now is of his belief. The Churchman pleads that all the first christians were Episcopalians, and that Bishops Paul, Peter, Timothy, and Titus, governed the churches; and he moreover supposes that Paul's parchment, which he left at Troas, contained his episcopal authority. The Presbyterians, Independents, Congregationalists, Quakers, Methodists, and all contend that their churches are built after the Apostolic model. And even the Shaking Quaker, although he can make no good pretension to Apostolical succession, yet claims relation to the hundred and forty and four thousand who have not defiled themselves with women. I am not about to dispute the pretensions or proofs of any one sect in christendom. It is not my object to show what is not true respecting them, but what is true respecting ourselves. The Episcopalian can find Bishops, and the Presbyterian Elders or Presbyters among the primitive christians, and the Congregationalist and Independent, have good grounds for saying that the Apostolic churches were of their belief respecting church government. The Baptists believe in Episcopacy and Presbyterianism or eldership, when explained according to their sense of the terms. They hold to the zeal of the Methodists, and the inward light of the Quakers, when regulated and explained according to their sense of propriety and correctness. With most denominations they find something with which they agree. But in the article of baptism they differ from all. While their brethren all around admit infants to baptism, they have always confined the rite to professed believers, and a baptism without an immersion is, in their opinion, "like a guinea without gold."

The Baptists have been distinguished from other sects, not only in their views of the subjects and mode of baptism, but they have always held to other sentiments peculiar to themselves, and which they consider essential important truths, but which their opponents have branded with the name of dangerous errors or damnable heresies.

The supporters of believer's baptism have, under every form of government, been the advocates for liberty; and for this reason, they have never flourished much except in those governments where some degree of freedom has been maintained. Arbitrary states have always oppressed them, and driven them for refuge to milder regions. "They cannot live in tyrannical states, and free countries are the only places to seek for them, for their whole public religion is impracticable without freedom." In political changes they have always been friendly to the cause of liberty, and their passion for it has at different times led some into acts of indiscretion, and scenes of danger. But with a few exceptions, we may say in truth, that the Baptists have always adhered to their leading maxim, to be subject to the powers that be; and all the favor they as christians have asked of civil governments has been, to give them their Bibles, and let them alone. The interference of the magistrate in the affairs of conscience, they have never courted, but have always protested against. Classical authority and priestly domination, they have ever opposed and abhorred, and the equality of christians as such, and the absolute independency of churches, they have most scrupulously maintained. Learning they have esteemed in its proper place; but they have also uniformly maintained, that the servants of God may preach his gospel without it. The distinction between their ministers and brethren is less than in almost any other denomination of christians; whatever abilities their ministers possess, they reduce them to the capacity of mere teachers; and they consider all not only at liberty, but moreover bound to exercise, under proper regulations, the gifts they may possess, for the edification of their brethren.

We have thus endeavored to define the term Anabaptist, and have shown that it never has been admitted by any party as a significant term, but has always been considered slanderous and improper. We shall frequently make use of it in the following sketches, but it must be understood, that we use it as a word, which custom has made necessary.

We have also attempted to give a brief definition of the term Baptist, and have at the same time exhibited some of the leading principles and features of the people to whom it is applied. We shall endeavor to give some few sketches of the history of that class of christians, whom we consider Baptists, or who have maintained the ordinances of Christ as they were first delivered to the saints. **This chapter embraces a period of about fifteen hundred years; most of which time the church was in the wilderness, and for that reason we cannot expect to learn much respecting her. No human pen has recorded her history with any degree of correctness, but it is registered on high, and will be exhibited in the great day of accounts.** In travelling down the records of a worldly sanctuary we get a glimpse now and then of the friends of godliness, and we generally behold them destitute, afflicted, and tormented. Some of the saints mistook the time of their Lord's coming, and ventured out from their obscure retreats, in hopes to meet him in his providential dealings, but they generally met with disaster and death. Antichrist sent his archers into the wilderness to hunt the disciples of Jesus, and by them some reports have been communicated of their character and situation. But after all, we know but very little of the real church of Christ, for the long lapse of many hundred years. We have very ample accounts of the antichristian church through all her movements; and the affairs of some of the saints in Babylon are very minutely detailed. But **the history of the uncorrupted church, which maintained the worship and ordinances of Christ, while all the world was wondering after the beast, is covered with obscurity, and probably lost in oblivion.**

From the New-Testament account of the primitive christians, we are led to think they were Baptists. But we will quote the accounts given of them by two authors, and then the reader may judge for himself. Mosheim was no friend to the Baptists, and yet he has made many important concessions in their favor; and in relating the history of the primitive church, he has given a description, which will not certainly apply to his own church, the Lutheran, nor to any sect in christendom except the Baptists. "**Baptism**," he observes, "was administered in the first century without the public assemblies, in places appointed for that purpose, and **was performed by immersion of the whole body in water.**" By this account it appears that the first christians went "streaming away (as Dr. Osgood would say) to some pond or river" to be baptized. Respecting church discipline, the same writer observes: "**The churches in those early times were entirely independent, none of them subject to any foreign jurisdiction, but each one governed by its own rulers and laws.**" For though the churches, founded by the Apostles, had this particular deference shown them, that they were consulted in difficult and doubtful cases, yet they had no juridical authority, no sort of supremacy over the others, nor the least right to enact laws for them. Nothing on the contrary is more evident than the perfect equality that reigned among the primitive churches,"* and so on. "A bishop, during the first and second century, was a person who had the care of one christian assembly, which at that time was, generally speaking, small enough to be contained in a private house. In this assembly he acted not so

much with the authority of a master, as with the zeal and diligence of a faithful servant," [Mosheim, vol. 1. p. 103, 104, 105, 126.] and so on.

[* Respecting the council at Jerusalem, Mosheim has the following note, vol. 1. p. 105. "The meeting of the church at Jerusalem, mentioned in the 15 chapter of the Acts, is commonly considered as the first christian council. But this notion arises from the manifest abuse of the word council. That meeting was only of one church; and if such a meeting be called a council, it will follow that there were innumerable councils in the primitive times. But every one knows, that a council is an assembly of deputies or commissioners sent from several churches associated by certain bonds in a general body, and therefore the supposition above mentioned falls to the ground." Mosheim appears to understand the word council in a high ecclesiastical sense, and in this point of view his observations are doubtless correct; but according to the ideas which a Baptist would affix to the term council, I see no impropriety in applying it to this assembly. But I find our brethren differ in their opinions respecting the nature of this council, whether it was advisory or authoritative. Dr. Gill gives the decisions of this assembly no higher name than advice, sentiments, determinations, etc. and in this point of view, I think it proper to consider them. But it ought to be observed at the same time, that the advice of so respectable a body as the apostolic mother church at Jerusalem, assisted in its deliberations, by the apostles and elders, and all acting under the influence of the Holy Ghost, became a law or a rule of action to the church at Antioch, and to other christians in the primitive ages. "This advice," says Dr. Gill, "was regarded as a law," etc.]

"There was," says Robinson, "among primitive christians, an uniform belief that Jesus was the Christ, and a perfect harmony of affection. When congregations multiplied, so that they became too numerous to assemble in one place, they parted into separate companies, and so again and again, but there was no schism; on the contrary all held a common union, and a member of one company was a member of all. If any person removed from one place to reside at another, he received a letter of attestation, which was given and taken as proof; and this custom very prudently precluded the intrusion of impostors. In this manner was framed a catholic or universal church. One company never pretended to inspect the affairs of another, nor was there any dominion, or any shadow of dominion, over the consciences of any individuals. Overt acts were the only objects of censure, and censure was nothing but voting a man out of the community."

Let any candid man compare the different denominations of christians of the present day with these descriptions of the primitive church, and he will, we think, be at no loss to determine which comes the nearest to it. But Mr. Robinson goes farther, and determines the matter just as a Baptist believes. "During the three first centuries, christian congregations all over the east subsisted in separate, independent bodies, unsupported by government, and consequently without any secular power over one another. All this time they were Baptist churches, and though all the fathers of the four first ages down to Jerome were of Greece, Syria, and Africa, and though they gave great numbers of histories of the baptism of adults, yet **there is not one record of the baptism of a child till the year 370**, when Galates, the dying son of the emperor Valens, was baptized by order of a monarch, who swore he would not be contradicted. The age of the prince is uncertain, and the assigning of his illness as the cause of his baptism indicates clearly enough that infant baptism was not in practice." But the primitive Baptist churches, in process of time, became corrupted with many errors, and with infant baptism among the rest. And **when Constantine established christianity as the religion of his empire, errors, which before had taken root, soon grew up to maturity, the christian church as established by law became a worldly sanctuary, and those who would maintain the gospel in its purity were obliged to separate from the great mass of professors, and retire to the best refuges they could find.** We have shown in the Review of Ecclesiastical History, that the church of Rome and the Greek church have ever comprehended the great majority of those, who have borne the christian name. But from these two extensive establishments multitudes have dissented. The dissenters have been of every possible description and character, and it may be truly said of every religious absurdity and fantastical opinion, that there is nothing new under the sun, for they have all been broached and maintained in former times. **All dissenters were denounced heretics, and in many cases the name was not misapplied; but on the other hand it is certain, that for many centuries we must search among reputed heretics, for what little of godliness remained on the earth.**

Mr. Robinson, in his *Ecclesiastical Researches*, under the head Greek Church, has entered largely into the history of dissenters from that wide spread community, and the following sketches collected from different parts of the article, contain the substance of what he has said respecting them.

"The first founders of the dissenting sects were primitive christians, who would not conform. They had, as an ancient writer says, neither head nor tail, neither princes nor legislators, and consequently no slaves; they had no beginning nor no end, and in this respect they answered one of their nick names, which was Melchisedecians, for like Melchisedec they were without father, without mother, without beginning of days or end of life. The church thought them enthusiasts and blasphemers. The truth is, they followed no one, but acted as their own understandings ordered them, as good men in all ages have always done." "This large body of dissenters was resident in the empire from the first establishment of the church in the fourth century to the destruction of it in the thirteenth. They were named *Massalians* and *Euchites*, the one a Hebrew, the other a Greek name, and both signifying a people that pray, for they placed religion, not in speculation, but in devotion and piety. **Euchite among the Greeks was a general name for a dissenter, as Waldensian was in the Latin church, and as Nonconformist is in England.**" [Mosheim has given a similar account of the Massalians or Euchites and the Waldenses, and Dr. Maclaine has explained the matter more fully in a note, vol. 3. pp. 105-6.].

"Some of these dissenters dogmatized as the established clergy did, and they became Manichean, Arian, and Athanasian Euchites. Others were named after the countries where they most abounded, as Bulgarians, Macedonians, Armenians, Phrygians, Cataphrygians, Galatians, Philippopolitans, or, as it was correctly sounded in the west, Popolicans, Pobicans, Publicans. Others were named after some eminent teacher, as Paulicians, and Paulianists from Paul of Samosata, or, says the princess Comnena, from Paul and John the sons of Callinices, Novatians, Dormtists, Artemonites, and many more were of this class."

The first council of Nice took notice of two sorts of dissenters, the Cathari or Puritans, and the Paulianists.

"The first held the doctrine of the Trinity, as the Athanasians in the church did; but thinking the church a worldly community, they baptized all that joined their assemblies by trine immersion, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, on their own personal profession of faith, and if they had been baptized before, they rebaptized them. The latter baptized by dipping once in the name of Christ, and though they varied from the Arians, yet they all thought Christ only a man."

The Cathari or Puritans would, according to this author's account, now be called Predestinarians or Calvinists; and the Paulianists would be entitled to the appellation of Arminians and Socinians.

Dr. Mosheim, in speaking of the Greek dissenters, says truly, "that the accounts, which have been given of them, are not in all respects to be depended upon; and there are several circumstances, which render it extremely probable, that many persons of eminent piety and zeal for genuine christianity, were confounded by the Greeks with these enthusiasts, and ranked in the list of heretics, merely on account of their opposing the vicious practices and the insolent tyranny of the priesthood, and their treating with derision that motley spectacle of superstition that was supported by public authority. In short, the righteous and the profligate, the wise and the foolish, were equally comprehended under the name of Massalians, whenever they opposed the reigning superstition of the times, or looked upon true and genuine piety, as the essence of the christian character" [Mosheim, Vol. 3. pp 105-6].

The sum of the matter seems to be, that the established Greek church held both the subject and the mode of baptism as the first institution prescribed for four or five hundred years, losing the subject by degrees, but retaining the mode to this day: and that the bulk of the dissenters, perhaps all, retained both the subject and the mode, always dipping, and never dipping any but on their own personal profession of faith."

Much the same may be said respecting the number and character of dissenters from the church of Rome. Some separated, because the leading party had become corrupt, and others to follow reveries of enthusiastic zeal. The Novatians appear to have been among the earliest dissenters of the former kind. **In the third century, when the primitive simplicity of the gospel was fast going into decay, a great separation took place at Rome, and multitudes bore a noble testimony against the prevailing corruption of the times. At Rome, these dissenters were called Novatians, from Novatus, one of the chief managers of the affair. They called themselves Puritans, or, as the Greeks translated the word, Cathari; and they intended by the name to signify the fact, that they separated from the rest, because their morals were impure.** [Robinson's *Ecclesiastical Researches*, pp. 124-5.]

As yet, all baptized by immersion; and the Novatians or Puritans rebaptized all, who came over from the prevailing party. They were of course Baptists.

Milner acknowledges that the Novatians were the most respectable of all the dissenting churches; notwithstanding he complains much of their narrow bigotry in things of no moment. [Milner's *Church History*, Vol. 2. p. 240.]

Mosheim, always disposed to be the advocate of the great body which he calls the church, has, amidst his severe strictures on the Novatians, given them a character, which all evangelical christians cannot but in the main approve. "This sect," says he, "cannot be charged with having corrupted the doctrine of christianity by their opinions; their crime was that by the unreasonable severity of their discipline, they gave occasion to the most deplorable divisions, and made an unhappy rent in the church. They considered the christian church as a society where virtue and innocence reigned universally, and none of whose members, from their entrance into it, had defiled themselves with any enormous crime; and, of consequence, they looked upon every society, which readmitted heinous offenders to its communion, as unworthy of the title of a true christian church. It was from hence also, that they assumed the title of Cathari, i.e. the pure; and what showed still a more extravagant degree of vanity and arrogance," [this language is perfectly understood by all the advocates for believer's baptism] "they obliged such as came over to them from the general body of Christians, to submit to be baptized a second time, as a necessary preparation for entering into their society" [Mosheim, vol. 1. p. 299, 301].

The church, whose tranquillity the Novatians disturbed, was, according to Mosheim's own account, in a most deplorable condition. "Her rulers were sunk in luxury and voluptuousness, puffed up with vanity, arrogance, and ambition, possessed with a spirit of contention and discord, and addicted to many other vices." All nonconformists know what is meant by the crime of disturbing the church.

It is generally admitted by all who have written their history, that the Novatians laid it down as a fundamental principle, that no apostate or heinous offender, should be readmitted into their communion, however genuine his repentance might appear. This maxim unquestionably deserves the name of "unreasonable severity." It was probably suggested by the corruptions of the times, and we cannot suppose it was long maintained. [The Catholic party tax Novatian with being the parent of an innumerable multitude of congregations of Puritans all over the empire. And it is probable that the people, who were afterwards called Waldenses, were his descendants. "Great numbers," says Robinson, "followed the example of Novatian, and all over the empire, Puritan churches were constituted and flourished through the succeeding two hundred years. Afterward, when penal laws obliged them to meet in corners and worship God in private, they were distinguished by a variety of names, and a succession of them continued till the reformation." Mr. Robinson supposes that a church of the Novatians would address a candidate for admission in the following manner: "If you be a virtuous believer, and will accede to our confederacy against sin, you may be admitted among us by baptism, or if any Catholic has baptized you before, by rebaptism; but, mark this, if you violate the contract by lapsing into idolatry or vice, we shall separate you from our community and do what you will, we shall never readmit you. God forbid we should injure either your person, your property or your character, or even judge of the truth of your repentance, and your future state; but you can never be readmitted to our community, without, our giving up the best and only coercive guardian we have of the purity of our morals."]

"It is impossible to prove that the nonconformists of early times baptized their children; on the contrary, it is certain some of them did not" [*Ecclesiastical Researches*, p. 126-7].

In other countries, within the jurisdiction of the church of Rome, we meet with many dissenters, who appear to have maintained the peculiar sentiments of the Baptists.

SPAIN, which was long one of the main pillars of the papal power, and in which the bloody inquisition has displayed all the terrors of its sanguinary spirit, was once a land of piety, where a good degree of freedom was enjoyed. **As the established church sunk into corruption, the pious dissented from it,** and for a time were permitted, without much molestation, to enjoy their peculiar opinions. But in process of time, the inquisition, with its solemn horrors, like death, put all under its feet, and dissenters were either terrified into conformity, or dispersed into other countries.

While dissenters were permitted to reside in Spain, they were called, in general, Anabaptists. They baptized converts from pagans and Jews, and rebaptized all Catholics, who came over to their communion, and they baptized none without a personal confession of faith. [Robinson's *Ecclesiastical Researches*, p. 246]

The PATERINES OF ITALY were, for a time, a numerous and flourishing sect. Different accounts are given of their doctrinal sentiments. They were charged by their enemies with being Manicheans; this charge, however, was often brought against the most pious and orthodox. Mr. Robinson thinks they were Unitarians, but it is not probable they all rejected the doctrine of the Trinity. They were sometimes called Gazari, which is a corruption of Cathari or Puritans. But Patrini or Paterines, was the name by which they were generally distinguished. In Milan, where this name was first used, it answered to the English words vulgar, illiterate, low-bred; intimating what was a fact, that these despised Christians were of the lower order of people. It is remarkable of the Paterines, that in their examinations, they were not accused of any immoralities, but were condemned for speculations, or rather for virtuous rules of action, which all the world counted heresies. They said -- a Christian church ought to consist of only good people -- that it was unlawful to kill mankind -- that the church ought not to persecute any, even the wicked -- that there was no need of priests, especially wicked ones. In these and other reasons and rules they all agreed, but in doctrinal speculations they widely differed.

As the Catholics of those times baptized by immersion, the Paterines, by what name soever they were called, as Manicheans, Gazari, Josephists, Arnoldists, Passagiae, Bulgarians or Bougares, made no complaint of the mode of baptizing: but, when they were examined, **they objected vehemently against the baptism of infants, and condemned it as an error.** They said, among other things, that a child knew nothing of the matter, that he had no desire to be baptized, and was incapable of making any confession of faith, and that the willing and professing of another, could be of no service to him. [*Ecc. Researches* p. 408.]

The great **WALDENSIAN** body demands our next attention, and in giving their history we shall comprehend that of most of the other Baptist dissenters in the dark ages of popery, for they all appear to have been in some measure connected with it.

The Waldenses are, by all parties of Protestants, considered to have been witnesses for the truth, through all the dark reign of superstition and error. And the Waldensian heresy, was by the Catholics counted the oldest in the world and the most formidable to the church of Rome. These people, for a number of centuries, had their chief residence in the valleys of Piedmont, and from thence, in process of time, they spread over most of the countries of Europe.

PIEDMONT is a principality of Italy 175 miles long and 40 broad, bounded north by Vallais, east by Milan and Montferrat, south by Nice and Genoa, west by France and Savoy. This country was formerly a part of Lombardy, afterwards it was subject to the king of Sardinia, but in 1800 it was conquered by France. Piedmont lies at the foot of the Alps, and contains many high mountains, among which are rich and fruitful valleys, as populous as any part of Italy. Turin is the capital. But we must distinguish between the principality of Piedmont and the valleys which were famous for the Waldenses, between the common inhabitants and the established religion of the country, and the faithful witnesses for the truth, which resided here from time immemorial.

The church of Rome is the established religion of the principality of Piedmont, and has been from early times; but several causes contributed to render the establishment, for many centuries, more mild and less troublesome to dissenters here, than in other parts of the papal dominions. The bishop of Turin, the capital of Piedmont, was not a Metropolitan, till 1515. No bishops before were subject to him, At present, there are in the principality of Piedmont, eight bishoprics. Of these only three are suffragan to the archbishopric of Turin. One of them was not erected into an episcopal see till the year 1388, nor another till 1592, and one hath only seven parishes in it. Three of the remaining five are subject to the archbishop of Milan; one is an exempt, and subject only to the pope, and the other is united to another province. This is the modern arrangement; but in the middle ages, what few bishops there were, considered themselves in the province of Milan, and subject to the archbishop; but as their bishoprics were in different states, none of which suffered the incumbents to exercise temporal dominion, except in particular cases on their own lordships, and

generally not there, it is easy to infer that episcopacy in Piedmont was not materially injurious to the liberties of the people.

Under these circumstances the Waldenses enjoyed a degree of repose, and maintained the pure worship of God, in the remote ages of idolatry and superstition.

It is supposed by President Edwards that the ancient Waldenses dwelt mostly in five vallies on the southern side of the Alps, which were begirt around with high and almost impassable hills, and if any local residence is intended in the twelfth chapter of Revelation, this mountainous retreat promises most of all others to be the one.

But it is evident these people dwelt in many other vallies, on both sides of the Alps, in France and Italy, and were dispersed in many places in all the surrounding country. But the cruel inquisitors at length found their way to the happy asylums of these faithful witnesses, multitudes were slain, and others were dispersed in almost all the European kingdoms. It will be proper, before we proceed any further, to give some account of the beginning of the Waldenses, and of the manner in which they received their name. And respecting the origin of this body of christians, two leading sentiments have prevailed. The papists date their origin in the twelfth century, under the famous reformer Peter Waldo. With this account Mosheim and some others seem to agree. The papists are interested in disputing the antiquity of the Waldensian sect, and dating its origin as late as possible; for if they can prove that they had no existence until the twelfth century, they thence infer that the church of Rome prevailed universally from the early ages up to that time. But Protestants generally of all classes contend that the Waldenses are of much higher antiquity than the time of Peter Waldo of Lyons; but they are not all agreed respecting the time and circumstances of their origin.

Robinson and Milner consider CLAUDE, BISHOP OF TURIN, the founder of the sect of the Waldenses. The former calls him the Wickliff of Turin, and the latter the christian hero of the ninth century. This famous reformer was a native of Spain. He was chaplain to the emperor Lewis the Meek, who preferred him to the bishopric of Turin, where he distinguished himself by his zeal against images, relics, pilgrimages, and crosses, all of which abounded ill his diocese. Three or four French monks wrote against him as a blasphemer and a heretic; and his own people were so refractory that he went in fear of his life. He bore a noble testimony against the prevailing errors of his time, and was undoubtedly a most respectable character. He was alive in the year 859. He denied the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; but it is also said that he expressed a great respect for catholicism, and opposed schism and heresy with all his might. [Robinson_s *Ecc. Res.* p. 447-8.] Thus far the history of Claude of Turin appears plain; but respecting the effects of his ministry in Turin and other parts of Piedmont different opinions are entertained. But it appears evident he was a man of evangelical zeal; that he was the means of promoting the cause of the dissenters in Piedmont, while he himself remained in the establishment; that he laid down principles in his preaching, which he did not carry through in his practice, a thing very common for reformers of his character; that his disciples reasoned consequentially on the principles of their master, and after his death, if not before, renounced the communion of the church of Rome, together with all the pompous and superstitious appendages with which it was surrounded. **But I cannot think that Claude of Turin was the founder of the sect of the Waldenses. They doubtless profited by his ministry, and received great accessions from his converts; but from the suggestions of both enemies and friends, I must believe that there was a body of christians in the valleys of Piedmont and in the recesses of the Alps, of the same character of the Waldenses, long before the time of Claude.**

Dr. Allix, in his history of the churches of Piedmont, gives this account of the origin of the Waldenses: That for three hundred years or more, the bishop of Rome attempted to subjugate the church of Milan under his jurisdiction; and at last the interest of Rome grew too potent for the church of Milan, planted by one of the disciples; insomuch, that the bishop and the people, rather than own their jurisdiction, retired to the vallies of Lucern and Angrogne; and thence were called Vallerises, Wallenses, or the People of the Valleys. [See Allix_s *History of the churches in Piedmont*, and Perrin_s *History of the Waldenses*, as quoted by Hannah Adams, in her *View of Religion*, p. 304.]

President Edwards, as quoted by Mr. Merrill in his *Miniature History of the Baptists*, has the following observations respecting these ancient witnesses for the truth: "It is supposed that these people first betook themselves to this desert, secret place among the mountains, to hide themselves from the severity of the

heathen persecutions, which were before Constantine the great, and thus the woman fled into the wilderness from the face of the serpent, as related in Revelation." etc.

Cranz, in his history of the United Brethren, as quoted by Ivimey, has the following statement respecting the origin of the Waldenses. "**These ancient christians**, (who, besides the several names of reproach given them, were at length denominated Waldenses, from one of the most eminent teachers, Peter Waldus, who is said to have emigrated with the rest from France into Bohemia, and there to have died) **date their origin from the beginning of the fourth century; when one Leo, at the great revolution in religion under Constantine the great, opposed the innovations of Sylvester, bishop of Rome,**" etc. [Ivimey, p. 57.]

The cruel Reinerus, who spent much time in examining these people, observes, that "some aver their existence from the days of Sylvester,* and others from the very time of the Apostles." This account the inquisitor seems to have taken from the Waldenses themselves, and it appears highly probable, that it is in substance correct. Their doctrine had existed from the time of the Apostles, and they, as a body, had probably existed from the time of Sylvester, when the church sunk into superstition and formality, and the pious retired from the pompous parade of a worldly minded throng. [* The Sylvester whose name thus frequently occurs, was the bishop of Rome in the time of Constantine, and the one, who, the Catholics contend baptized the emperor.]

I might quote concurring testimonies of the high antiquity of the Waldensian christians. Some popish writers own that they never submitted to the church of Rome, and all acknowledge, that all her cruel laws and persecuting measures, could never extirpate them. The before mentioned inquisitor pretends, that there had been more than seventy sects of heretics, of which, through the grace of God, all were extinct, except four, Manicheans, Arians, Runcarians, and Leonists, or the poor men of Lyons, another name of the Waldenses.

From all we can learn it appears, that the recesses of the Alps and the Pyrenees, together with the adjoining hills and rallies in France, Spain, and Italy, were distinguished retreats of the faithful friends of God, in the darkest ages of the christian world. Mr. Robinson with his usual singularity, observes "that Greece was the parent, Spain and Navarre the nurses, France the step-mother, and Savoy the jailer of this class of christians called Waldenses" [Robinson's Res. p. 320; Piedmont was, for a long time, subject to the dukes of Savoy].

The Waldenses received their name either from the vallies which they inhabited, or from Peter Waldo or Valdus of Lyons, in France. From the Latin *vallis*, came the English valley, the French and Spanish *valle*, the Italian *valdesi*, and the low Dutch *valleye*. The word for *valley* in the language of Piedmont is *vaux*, and the inhabitants of valleys were hence called *vaudois*, the name, which the people now in question gave themselves. But English and Latin writers used the term *Vallenses* instead of *vaudois*, which was, in process of time, changed into *Valdenses* and then into *Waldenses*, which last term, all at present agree to use.

This account of the origin of the name Waldenses is highly probable, and would seem to admit of no dispute, were it not for **Peter Waldo**, a famous reformer of the twelfth century. This eminent man was a wealthy merchant of Lyons, in France, who, upon his embracing the truth, quitted his mercantile employment, distributed his wealth among the poor, procured a translation of the Scriptures in the French language, became a zealous and successful preacher of the gospel, had many disciples and followers, who formed religious assemblies first in France and afterwards in Lombardy, and in a short time throughout the other provinces of Europe. His followers were sometimes called **Leonists**, or the **poor men of Lyons**, but generally they were denominated Waldenses. And Mosheim asserts that the whole sect of the Waldenses received their name from Waldo. But Dr. Maclaine, his translator, asserts the contrary, and contends that Waldo derived his name from the true Valdenses or Waldenses of Piedmont.

["Certain writers, says Mosheim, give different accounts of the origin of the Waldenses and suppose that they were so called from the valleys in which they had resided for many ages before the birth of Peter Waldus. But these writers have no authority to support this assertion, and beside this, they are refuted amply by the best historians. I do not mean to deny, that there were in the valleys of Piedmont long before this period, a set of men, who differed widely from the opinions adopted and inculcated by the church of

Rome, and whose doctrine resembled, in many respects, that of the Waldenses; all that I maintain is that these inhabitants of the valleys above mentioned are to be carefully distinguished from the Waldenses, who according to the unanimous voice of history, were originally inhabitants of Lyons and derived their name from Peter Waldus, their founder and chief." "We may, says **Mariainc**, venture to affirm the contrary with the learned Beza and other writers of note; for it seems evident from the best records, that Valdus derived his name from the true *valdenses*, of Piedmont, whose doctrine he adopted, and who were known by the names of *vaudois* and *valdenses*, before he or his immediate followers existed. If the *valdenses* or *waldenses*, had derived their name from any eminent teacher, it would probably have been from Valdo, who was remarkable for the purity of his doctrine in the ninth century, and was the contemporary and chief counselor of Berengarius. But the truth is, that they derive their name from their vallies in Piedmont, which in their language are called *Vaux*, hence *Voidois*, their true name; hence Peter, or as others call him, John of Lyons, was called in Latin, *Valdus*, because he had adopted their doctrine; and hence the term *valdenses* and *waldenses* used by those, who write in English or Latin, in the place *vaudois*. The bloody inquisitor Reinerus Sacco, who exerted such a furious zeal for the destruction of the waldenses, lived but about eighty years after Valdus of Lyons, and must therefore be supposed to know whether or not he was the real founder of the valdenses or leonists; and yet it is remarkable that **he speaks of the leonists, mentioned by Dr. Mosheim in the preceding page as synonymous with Waldenses, as a sect that had flourished above five hundred years; nay, mentions authors of note, who make their antiquity remount to the apostolic age.** See the account given of Sacco's book by the jesuit Gretser, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. I know not upon what principle Dr. Mosheim maintains, that the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont are to be carefully distinguished from the waldenses; and I am persuaded, that whoever will be at the pains to read attentively the 2d, 25th, 26th, and 27th chapters of the first book of Leger's *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, will find this distinction entirely groundless. When the papists ask us where our religion was before Luther; we generally answer, in the Bible; and we answer well. But to gratify their taste for tradition and human authority, we may add to this answer, and in the valleys of Piedmont." Mosheim, vol. 3. p. 118, 119.]

But leaving the dispute about the manner in which the Waldenses received their name, it is certain that they had existed as a distinct and peculiar people, many ages before Waldo, that his numerous followers united with them in promoting the cause of godliness, that they all, together with all others of their character, were henceforward denominated Waldenses; and that besides the name of Waldenses, they had many more which were taken from their peculiar sentiments, their habitations, their circumstances, their connections, their teachers, their own infirmities, or the inventive malice of their enemies. [Robinson's *Researches*, p. 307.]

Bruno and Berengarius, Peter de Bruis and Henry his disciple, Arnold of Briscia, Peter Waldo, and Walter Lollard, seem to have been among the principal leaders of the Waldenses in ancient times. They all had numerous followers, who, according to the custom of the times, were called after the names of their leaders. **We have the testimony of Mosheim, Robinson, and others, that the papists comprehended all the adversaries of the pope and the superstitions of Rome, under the general name of Waldenses.** The **Albigenses** or **Albienses**, a large branch of this sect, were so denominated from the town of Albi, in France, where the Waldenses flourished. [Milner's *Church History*, vol. 3. p. 455.] The term Cathari or Puritans, was also frequently applied to the Waldensian christians, as it was to evangelical dissenters in other countries. Whenever, therefore, in the following sketches, the terms **Berengarians, Petrobrusians, Henricians, Arnoldists, Waldenses, Albigenses, Leonists**, or the **poor men of Lyons, Lollards, Cathari**, etc. occur, it must be understood that they intend a people, who agreed in certain leading principles, however they might differ in some smaller matters, and that all of them were by the Catholics comprehended under the general name of Waldenses.

Most of our information respecting the character of the Waldenses must be taken from the accounts of their enemies, and therefore every favorable hint concerning them will be the more likely to be true. I have not been able to obtain Moreland's and Allix's histories of the Waldenses; I must therefore avail myself of the labors of those who have consulted them, and shall, for the present, quote mostly from the third volume of Milner's *Church History*, and Ivimey's *History of the English Baptists*. These writers appear to have consulted with much attention all the records which shed any light on the history of this ancient people of God.

Evervinus of Steinfield, in the diocese of Cologne, wrote to Bernard, a little before the year 1140, a letter preserved by Mabillon, concerning certain heretics in his neighborhood. He was perplexed in his mind concerning them, and wrote for a resolution of his doubts to the renowned abbot, whose word was a law at that time in christendom. Some extracts of this letter are as follows.

"There have been some heretics discovered among us near Cologne, though several of them have, with satisfaction, returned again to the church. One of their bishops and his companions openly opposed us in the assembly of the clergy and laity, in the presence of the archbishop of Cologne, and of many of the nobility, defending their heresies by the words of Christ and the apostles. Finding that they made no impression, they desired that a day might be appointed for them, in which they might bring their teachers to a conference, promising to return to the church, provided they found their masters unable to answer the arguments of their opponents, but that otherwise they would rather die, than depart from their judgment. Upon this declaration, having been admonished to repent for, three days, **they were seized by the people in the excess of zeal and burnt to death**; and what is very amazing, they came to the stake, and bare the pain, not only with patience, but even with joy. Were I with you, Father, I should be glad to ask you, how these members of Satan could persist in their heresy with such courage and constancy, as is scarce to be found in the most religious believers of christianity. Their heresy is this: they say, that the church is only among themselves, because they alone of all men follow the steps of Christ, and imitate the apostles, not seeking secular gains, possessing no property, following the pattern of Christ, who was himself perfectly poor, and did not allow his disciples to possess anything. Ye (say they to us) join house to house and field to field, seeking the things of this world; so that even those who are looked on as most perfect among you, namely, those of the monastic orders, though they have no private property, but have a community of possessions, do yet possess these things. Of themselves they say, we, the poor of Christ, who have no certain abode, fleeing from one city to another, like sheep in the midst of wolves, do endure persecution with the apostles and martyrs; though our lives are strict, abstemious, laborious, devout, and holy, and though we seek only what is necessary for the support of the body, and live as men who are not of the world. They do not believe infant baptism to be a duty, alleging that passage of the gospel, whosoever shall believe, and be baptized, shall be saved. They put no confidence in the intercession of saints, and all things observed in the church, which have not been established by Christ himself or his apostles, they call superstitious. They do not admit of any purgatory after death; but affirm, that as soon as the souls depart out of the bodies, they enter into rest or punishment, proving their assertion from that passage of Solomon, which way soever the tree falls, whether to the south or to the north, there it lies, whence they make void all the prayers and oblations of believers for the deceased. Those of them, who have returned to our church, told us, that great numbers of their persuasion was scattered almost every where, and that among them were many of our clergy and monks."

St. Bernard, the furious adversary of the Waldenses, amidst all his railing accusations against them, has given them a character much better than christians in general have given him. He condemns their scrupulous refusal to swear at all, which, according to him, was one of their peculiarities. He upbraids them with the observance of secrecy in their religious rites, not considering the necessity which persecution laid upon them. He finds fault with a practice among them of dwelling with women in the same house without being married to them; though it must be owned, he expresses himself as one, who knew very little of the manners of the sect. From the strength of prejudice, and from the numberless rumors propagated against them, he suspects them of hypocrisy; yet his testimony in favor of their general conduct seems to overbalance all his invectives. "If, (says he) you ask them of their faith, nothing can be more christian; if you observe their conversation, nothing can be more blameless; and what they speak they prove by deeds. You may see a man for the testimony of his faith, frequent the church, honor the elders, offer his gift, make his confession, receive the sacrament; what more like a christian? As to life and manners, he circumvents no man, overreaches no man, and does no violence to any. He fasts much, he eats not the bread of idleness, he works with his hands for his support. The whole body, indeed, are rustic and illiterate; and all whom I have known of this sect are very ignorant."

Egbert, a monk, and afterwards abbot of Schonauge, tells us, that he had often disputed with these heretics, and says, "These are they who are commonly called Cathari or Puritans. **They are armed with all those passages of holy scripture, which in any degree seem to favor their views; with these they know how to defend themselves, and to oppose the catholic truth**, though they mistake entirely the true sense of scripture, which cannot be discovered without great judgment. They are increased to great multitudes throughout all countries, their words spread like a cancer. In Germany we call them Cathari; in Flanders, they call them Piphles; in France, Tisserands [weavers], because many of them are of that occupation."

"It appears," says Milner, "that their numbers were very considerable in this century (the twelfth;) but Cologne, Flanders, the South of France, Savoy, and Milan were their principal places of residence."

This people, says the same writer, continued in a state of extreme persecution throughout this century. Galdinus, bishop of Milan, who had inveighed against them during the eight or nine years of his episcopacy, died in the year 1173, by an illness contracted through the excess of his vehemence in preaching against them.

Reinerus, an apostate and persecutor of the Waldenses in the thirteenth century, writes, that amongst all sects none is more pernicious than that of the Poor of Lyons, for three reasons:

1st. Because it is the most ancient. Some aver their existence from the days of Sylvester; others from the very time of the apostles.

2d. Because it is so universal; for there is scarcely a country into which this sect has not crept.

3d. Because all others render themselves detestable by their blasphemies; but this has a great appearance of godliness, they living a righteous life before men, believing right concerning God, confessing all the articles of the creed, only hating the pope of Rome, etc.

The same inquisitor owns that the Waldenses frequently read the Holy Scriptures, and in their preaching cited the words of Christ and his apostles concerning love, humility and other virtues; insomuch that the women who heard them were enraptured with the sound. He further says, that they taught men to live by the words of the gospel and the apostles; that they led religious lives; that their manners were seasoned with grace and their words prudent; that they freely discoursed of divine things, that they might be esteemed good men. He observes, likewise, that they taught their children and families the epistles and gospels.

Jacob de Riberia says, that he had seen peasants among them, who could recite the book of Job by heart; and **several others, who could perfectly repeat the whole New Testament.**

The **bishop of Cavaillon** once obliged a preaching monk to enter into conference with them, that they might be convinced of their errors, and the effusion of blood be prevented. This happened during a great persecution in 1540, in Merindal and Provence. **But the monk returned in confusion, owning that he had never known in his whole life so much of the Scriptures as he had learned during those few days in which he had held conferences with the heretics.** The bishop, however, sent among them a number of doctors, young men, who had lately come from the Sorbonne, which was at that time the very center of theological subtlety at Paris. One of them openly owned, that he had understood more of the doctrine of salvation from the answers of the little children in their catechism, than by all the disputations, which he had ever heard.

Heretics, an ancient inquisitor observes, are known by their manners and words; for they are orderly and modest in their manners and behavior. They avoid all appearance of pride in their dress, they neither wear rich clothes, nor are they too mean and ragged in their attire. They avoid commerce, that they may be free from falsehood and deceit. They live by manual industry, as day-laborers or mechanics, and their preachers are weavers and tailors. They seek not to amass wealth, but are content with the necessities of life. They are chaste, temperate, and sober. They abstain from anger. They hypocritically go to the church, confess, communicate, and hear sermons, to catch the preacher in his words. Their women are modest, avoid slander, foolish jesting, and levity of words, especially falsehood and oaths.

But notwithstanding the enemies of these ancient saints made so many reluctant acknowledgments of their worth; yet they looked upon them as vile heretics, fit objects for ecclesiastical vengeance, and the more pious and devout they were, the more dangerous they became to the church of Rome, whose abominations they opposed.

The Waldenses rejected the whole economy of the priesthood, and laughed at the distinctions between the clergy and laity; yet they had pastors whom they called Barbs, which is a contraction of Barbanus, and signifies first, an uncle, and then it was used figuratively for father, guardian, tutor, etc.

The Waldenses were often accused of worshipping their pastors or barbs; a charge which they easily refuted. They were at the same time complained of for obliging them to follow some trade. Both these charges put together prove, that these people made gods of their pastors, and then obliged them to work for their living. "We do not think it necessary, (said they) that our pastors should work for bread. They might be better qualified to instruct us, if we could maintain them without their own labor; but our poverty has no remedy." So they speak in letters published in 1508. [Milner, vol. 3. p. 428.]

Nothing, says Milner, can exceed the calumnies which were cast on these innocent people. Poor men of Lyons, and dogs, were the usual terms of derision. In Provence they were called *cut-purses*; in Italy, because they observed not the appointed festivals, and rested from their ordinary occupations only on Sundays, they were called *insabathas*, that is, regardless of sabbaths. In Germany, they were called *gazares*, a term expressive of everything flagitiously wicked. In Flanders they were denominated *turlupius*, that is, inhabitants with wolves, because they were often obliged to dwell in woods and deserts. And because they denied the consecrated host to be God, they were accused of Arianism, as if they had denied the divinity of Jesus Christ.

Rapin, in relating the transactions of the councils of Henry II gives the following account of these people: "Henry ordered a council to meet at Oxford in 1166, to examine the tenets of certain heretics, called *Publicani*. Very probably they were disciples of the Waldenses, who began then to appear. When they were asked in council, who they were? they answered they were christians, and followers of the apostles. After that, being questioned upon the creed, their replies were very orthodox as to the trinity and incarnation. But (adds Rapin) they rejected baptism, the eucharist, marriage, and the communion of saints. They shewed a great deal of modesty and meekness in their whole behavior. When they were threatened with death, in order to oblige them to renounce their tenets, they only said, Blessed are they that suffer for righteousness_ sake."

There is no difficulty, Mr. Ivimey judiciously observes, in understanding what were their sentiments on these heretical points. When a monk says, they rejected the eucharist, it is to be understood that they rejected the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation; when he says, that they rejected marriage, he means, that they denied it to be a sacrament, and maintained it to be a civil institution; when he says, that they rejected the communion of saints, nothing more is to be understood, than that they refused to hold communion with the corrupt church of Rome; and when he says, that they rejected baptism, what are we to understand but that they rejected the baptism of infants? These were the errors for which they were branded with a hot iron in their foreheads, by those who had "the mark of the beast, both in their foreheads and in their hands" [Ivimey, p. 56-7].

PERSECUTIONS AGAINST THE WALDENSES

We can give but a very brief account of the persecutions which the Waldenses suffered and of the success which attended their exertions. They underwent the most dreadful persecutions; and every means which malice and cruelty could invent, was used to exterminate them and their principles from the earth. The crusade against them consisted of five hundred thousand men. More than three hundred gentlemen_s seats [estates] were razed, and many walled towns destroyed. [Ibid, p. 55.]

The subjects of Raymond, earl of Toulouse, and of some other great personages in his neighborhood, so generally professed the Waldensian doctrines, that they became the peculiar objects of papal vengeance. The inhabitants of Toulouse, Carcassone, Beziers, Narbonne, Avignon, and many other cities, who were commonly called the Albigenses, were exposed to a persecution as cruel and atrocious as ally recorded in history. Rainerus indeed owns, that the Waldenses were the most formidable enemies of the church of Rome, "because," saith he, "they have a great appearance of godliness; because they live righteously before men, believe rightly of God in all things, and hold all the articles of the creed; yet they hate and revile the church of Rome; and in their accusations they are easily believed by the people."

It was reserved to Innocent III than whom no pope ever possessed more ambition, to institute the inquisition, and the Waldenses were the first objects of its cruelty. He authorized certain monks to frame the process of that court, and to deliver the supposed heretics to the secular power. **The beginning of the thirteenth century saw thousands of persons burned or hanged by these diabolical devices,**

whose sole crime was, that they trusted only in Jesus Christ for salvation, and renounced all the vain hopes of self-righteous idolatry and superstition.

About the year 1400, the persecutors attacked the Waldenses of the valley of Pragela. The poor people seeing their caves possessed by their enemies, who assaulted them during the severity of the winter, retreated to one of the highest mountains of the Alps, the mothers carrying cradles, and leading by the hand those little children, who were able to walk. Many of them were murdered, others were starved to death, a hundred and eighty children were found dead in their cradles, and the greatest part of their mothers died soon after them. In the valley of Loyse, four hundred little children were found suffocated in their cradles, or in the arms of their deceased mothers, in consequence of a great quantity of wood being placed at the entrance of the caves and set on fire. On the whole, above three thousand persons belonging to the valley were destroyed, and this righteous people were in that place exterminated. The Waldenses of Pragela and Fraissiniere, alarmed by these sanguinary proceedings, made provision for their own safety, and expected the enemy at the passage and narrow straits of their valleys, and were in fact so well prepared to receive them, that the invaders were obliged to retreat. Some attempts were made afterwards by the Waldenses of Fraissiniere to regain their property, which had been unjustly seized by their persecutors. The favor of Lewis XII of France was exerted towards them; yet they could never obtain any remedy.

The princes of Piedmont, who were the dukes of Savoy, were very unwilling to disturb their subjects, of whose loyalty, peaceableness, industry, and probity they received such uniform testimony. A fact, which seemed peculiarly to demonstrate their general innocence, must be noticed. Their neighbors particularly prized a Piedmontese servant, and preferred the women of the valleys above all others, to nurse their children. Calumny, however, prevailed at length, and such a number of accusations against them appeared, charging them with crimes of the most monstrous nature, that the civil power permitted the papal to indulge its thirst for blood. Dreadful cruelties were inflicted on the people of God; and these, by their constancy, revived the memory of the primitive martyrs. Among them **Catelin Girard** was distinguished, who, standing on the block, on which he was to be burned at Revel, in the marquisate of Saluces, requested his executioners to give him two stones; which request being with difficulty obtained, the martyr holding them in his hands, said, "when I have eaten these stones, then you shall see an end of that religion for which ye put me to death," and then he cast the stones on the ground. But our limits forbid our pursuing any farther an account of the sufferings of these people. It is sufficient to observe, that their enemies were far from accomplishing their designs. Archbishop Asher observes, that as the persecution about Stephen proved for the furtherance of the gospel in other parts of the world, so was it here. Insomuch that Eneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II confessed, that neither the decrees of popes, nor armies of christians could extirpate the Waldensian sect.

Various accounts mention their dispersion abroad, and the papists complain much of their infesting most parts of their dominions and disturbing the peace of the church.

We learn from Fox, on the authority of Robert Guisborne, that in the time of Henry II about the year 1158, two eminent Waldensian preachers or barbs, Gerhardus and Dulcinus, came into England to propagate the gospel; and archbishop Usher, from Thomas Walden, says, that "several Waldenses, that came out of France, were apprehended, and by the king's command were marked in the forehead with a key or hot iron," "Which sect (says William of Newbury, in his history of England) were called the Publicani, whose original was from Gascoyne; and who, being as numerous as the sand of the sea, did sorely infest both France, Italy, Spain, and England."

Archbishop Usher informs us on the authority of Matthew Paris of Westminster, that "the Berengarian or Waldensian heresy had, about the year 1180, generally infected all France, Italy, and England." Guitmond, a popish writer of that time, also says, that "not only the weaker sort in the country villages, but the nobility and gentry in the chief towns and cities, were infected therewith; and therefore Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, who held this see both in the reigns of William the Conqueror and of his son William Rufus, wrote against them in the year 1087." The archbishop adds from Poplinus' history of France, that "the Waldenses of Aquitain did, about the year 1100, during the reigns of Henry I, and Stephen, kings of England, spread themselves and their doctrines all over Europe," and mentions England in particular. [Ivimey, p. 55, 56.]

From the recesses of the Alps and Pyrenees and the adjoining vallies, **these people were driven out by heretic hunters, and were obliged to seek refuge in other countries.** Wherever they went, light increased and persecution raged. The word of God, says Milner, grew and multiplied, in the places where Waldo planted churches, and even in still more distant regions. In Alsace and along the Rhine, the gospel was preached with a powerful effusion of the Holy Spirit; persecutions ensued, and **thirty-five citizens of Mentz were burned at one fire in the city of Bingen, and at Mentz eighteen.** The bishop of Mentz was very active in these persecutions, and the bishop of Strasburg was not inferior to him in vindictive zeal; for, through his means, **eighty persons were burned at Strasburg.** Every thing relating to the Waldenses resembled the scenes of the primitive church. Numbers died praising God, and in confident assurance of a blessed resurrection; whence the blood of the martyrs again became the seed of the church; and in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary, churches were planted, which flourished in the thirteenth century, governed by Bartholomew, a native of Carcassone, a city not far distant from Toulouse, which might be called in those days the metropolis of the Waldenses, on account of the numbers who there professed evangelical truth. In Bohemia in the country of Passaw, the churches were reckoned to have contained eighty thousand professors in the former part of the fourteenth century. **Almost throughout Europe Waldenses were to be found; and yet they were treated as the off scouring of the earth,** and as people against whom all the power and wisdom of the world were united. But "the witnesses continued to prophesy in sackcloth," and souls were built up in the faith, the hope, and the charity of the gospel.

"From the borders of Spain, (says the same writer) throughout the south of France, for the most part among and below the Alps, along the Rhine, on both sides of its course, and even to Bohemia, thousands of godly souls were seen patiently to bear persecution for the sake of Christ, against whom malice could say no evil, but what admits the most satisfactory refutation; men distinguished for every virtue, and only hated because of godliness itself. Persecutors with a sigh owned, that, because of their virtue, they were the most dangerous enemies of the church."

One quotation more from Mr. Milner, shall close this part of the narration. From the year 1206, when the inquisition was first established, to the year 1228, the havoc made among helpless christians was so great, that certain French bishops, in the last mentioned year, desired the monks of the inquisition to defer a little their work of imprisonment, till the pope was advertised of the great numbers apprehended; numbers so great, that it was impossible to defray the charge of their subsistence, and even to provide stone and mortar to build prisons for them. Yet so true is it that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, that in the year 1550, there were in Europe above eight hundred thousand who professed the religion of the Waldenses.

It is proper that we should now take notice of some of the evidences on which we ground our opinion, that many, if not most of the Waldenses, were Baptists. We have already seen that one of the grievous sins, which their enemies laid to their charge, was denying infant baptism. We shall exhibit in one view, the substance of what can be gathered from different historians on this subject.

Chessonion, in his history of the Albigenses, has given the following very candid account of this matter. "Some writers (he says) affirm, that the Albigenses approved not the baptism of infants; others, that they entirely slighted this holy sacrament, as if it were of no use either to great or small. The same may be said of the Waldenses, though some affirm that they have always baptized their children. This difference of authors kept me sometime in suspense before I could come to be resolved on which side the truth lay. At last considering what St. Bernard saith of this matter in his sixty-sixth homily, on the 2d chapter of the Song of Songs, and the reasons he brings to refute this error and also what he wrote at Hildefonsum Comitem sancti Egidii, I cannot deny but the Albigenses, for the greatest part, were of this opinion. And **that which confirms me yet more in this belief is, that in the history of the city of Treves, there were some, who denied that the sacrament of baptism was available to the salvation of infants;** and one **Catherine Saube**, who was burnt at Montpelier, in the year 1417, for being of the mind of the Albigenses in not believing the traditions of the Romish church, **was of the same mind respecting infant baptism;** as it is recorded in the register of the town-house of the said city of Montpelier. The truth is, (continues Chessonion) **they did not reject the sacrament and say it was useless, but only counted it unnecessary to infants, because they are not of age to believe, nor capable of giving evidence of their faith.** That which induced them, as I suppose, to entertain this opinion is, what our Lord says, He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned."

This statement is in part at least corroborated by Dr. Wall in his *History of Infant Baptism*; and as he was desirous of establishing the contrary opinion, his concessions in our favor are certainly of weight. Speaking of the **Petrobrussians**, whom he calls a sect of the Waldenses, he says, "withdrawing themselves about the year 1100, from the communion of the church of Rome, which was then very corrupt, **they did reckon infant baptism as one of the corruptions, and accordingly renounced it, and practiced only adult baptism.**" Part 2. Chap. 7. Section 5, 6, 7.

Mosheim, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, speaking of **Peter de Bruis**, who was a celebrated itinerant preacher, and who was burnt to death by an enraged populace at St. Giles, in the year 1130, says, "**It is certain that one of his tenets was, that no persons whatever were to be baptized before they were come to the full use of reason.**"

The testimony of Mr. Brandt, respecting the antiquity of these churches and of their sentiments respecting baptism is of importance to our argument. He says, that "the errors and crafty inventions of popery had never been able to find a passage to these people; since being shut up in their vallies, separate from the rest of the world, and conversing chiefly among themselves they had retained a great deal of the simplicity and purity of the Apostolic Doctrine: That this antiquity of the doctrine of the Waldenses, is acknowledged even by their greatest enemies. **Some of them likewise rejected infant baptism.**"

To corroborate this last clause many things are produced by Dr. Allix in his remarks on the ancient churches of Piedmont. "The followers of Gundulphus in Italy were many of them examined by Gerhard bishop of Cambray and Arras upon several heads in the year 1025. It seems as if these people were surfeited with the vicious and debauched lives of the Romish clergy, and did rather choose to go without any baptism, rather than have it administered by such lewd hands, or that they had agreed to have it performed privately in their own way. Let things have been as it would, **it is plain they were utterly against infant baptism.**"

In a little time after this, lived the noted **Arnold of Brescia**, a follower of Berengarius, who eminently opposed the Romish corruptions. And amongst some notions imputed to him, it is observed, "there was yet a more heinous thing laid to his charge, which was this; that he was unsound in his judgment about the sacrament of the altar and infant baptism." This excellent man was condemned, hanged, and his body burnt at Rome, and the ashes case into the Tiber. But there is a letter of Everinus to St. Bernard, a little before the year 1146, wherein **he speaks clearly of a sect which approved of adult baptism upon believing and strenuously opposed infant baptism.** The words of the letter are, "They make void the priesthood of the church and condemn the sacraments besides baptism only, and this only in those who were come to age, who, they say, are baptized by Christ himself, whosoever be the ministers of the sacraments. They do not believe infant baptism, alleging that place of the gospel, whosoever shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved."

The same learned gentleman gives us an extract taken by Claudius Caissord in the year 1548, out of an old manuscript of Rainerus a friar, wrote by him 296 years before, against the Waldenses, wherein he has these words, "They say, that when first a man is baptized, then he is received into this sect. **Some of them hold, that baptism is of no advantage to infants, because they cannot actually believe**" [Ivimey, pp. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64].

Dr. Wall allows, that the Lateran council under Innocent II 1139, condemned Peter Bruis and Arnold of Breseia, who seems to have been a follower of Bruis, **for rejecting infant Baptism.** [27]

Bishop Bossuet, a Catholic, complaining of Calvin's party, for claiming apostolical succession through the Waldenses, observes, "You adopt Henry and Peter Bruis among your predecessors, but **both of these, everybody knows, were Anabaptists.**"

"The Waldenses," says Francowitz, "scent a little of Anabaptism; but they were nothing like the Anabaptists of our times." "Yes," replies Limborch, "to say honestly what I think, of all the modern sects of christians, the Dutch Baptists most resemble both the Albigenes and the Waldenses, but particularly the latter" [Ivimey, p. 25].

The following passage from Robinson, though somewhat lengthy, I will take the liberty to transcribe, as it must be gratifying to the reader, to hear what an account a sulky enemy could give of one of these ancient christians: Reinerus thus describes the manner in which the Waldenses insinuated their principles into the gentry:

"Sir, will you please to buy any rings, or seals, or trinkets? Madam, will you look at any handkerchiefs, or pieces of needle-work for veils? I can afford them cheap." If, after a purchase, the company ask, "Have you any thing more? " The salesman would reply, "O yes, I have commodities far more valuable than these, and I will make you a present of them, if you will protect me from the clergy." Security being promised, on he would go: "The inestimable jewel I spoke of is the word of God, by which he communicates his mind to men, and which inflames their hearts with love to him. In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God into a city of Galilee named Nazareth;" and so he would proceed to repeat the remaining part of the first chapter of Luke. Or he would begin with the thirteenth of John, and repeat the last discourse of Jesus to his disciples. If the company should seem pleased, he would proceed to repeat the twenty-third of Matthew, "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses_ seat...Woe unto you, ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. ..Woe unto you, ye devour widows_ houses" "And pray," should one of the company say, "against whom are these woes denounced think you?" he would reply, "Against the clergy and the monks. The doctors of the Roman church are pompous both in their habits and their manners, they love the uppermost rooms, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and to be called Rabbi, Rabbi. For our part, we desire no such Rabbies. They are incontinent; we live each in chastity with his own wife. They are the rich and avaricious, of whom the Lord says, "Woe unto you rich, for ye have received your consolation;" but we "having food and raiment are therewith content." They are voluptuous and devour widows_ houses; we only eat to be refreshed and supported. They fight and encourage war, and command the poor to be killed and burnt, in defiance of the saying, "he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." For our parts, they persecute us for righteousness_ sake. They do nothing, they eat the bread of idleness; we work with our hands. They monopolize the giving of instruction, and "woe be to them that take away the key of knowledge;" but among us women teach as well as men, and one disciple as soon as he is informed himself teaches another. Among them you can hardly find a doctor, who can repeat three chapters of the New Testament by heart; but of us there is hardly man or woman, who doth not retain the whole. And because we are sincere believers in Christ, and all teach and enforce a holy life and conversation, these scribes and Pharisees persecute us to death, as their predecessors did Jesus Christ."

Father Gretzer, the first editor of the complete book of Reinerus, has put in the margin against the above, these words: "This is a true picture of the heretics of our age, particularly Anabaptists." Happy for the Anabaptists, indeed, (says Robinson) if they can affirm all that with truth of themselves, which the old Waldensian preaching peddler affirmed of himself and his company" [Robinson_s *Researches*, p. 476. Ibid. p. 311].

To recapitulate the sum of the preceding extracts, we find that the Waldenses, by whatever name they were called, were constantly, for the space of many centuries, charged with the heinous crime of denying infant-baptism, and that the reasons which they gave for so doing, as taken from the mouths of their enemies, were many of them verbatim, and all of them in substance, just such as the Baptists now give. Have not then the Baptists good reasons for believing that the Waldenses were generally of their sentiments?

I admire the piety of Mr. Milner, and every evangelical christian has reason to respect his memory; and to his laborious researches, I am indebted for many of the preceding sketches respecting these ancient witnesses for the truth; but in his account of their baptism, his prepossessions in favor of the rites of his own church, lead him to state the matter in a manner peculiarly vague and unfair. He seems much at a loss to know how to support his own theory, and satisfy his own mind. But he at length concludes, "I cannot find any satisfactory proofs that the Waldenses were, in judgment, Antipedobaptists strictly!" But soon after, as if dissatisfied with this statement, he observes, "I lay no great stress on the subject, for the Waldenses might have been a faithful, humble, and spiritual people, as I believe they were, if they had differed from the general body of christians on this article" [*Ch. Hist.* vol. 3. pp. 426-7]. Thus he at last reluctantly gives up the matter in favor of the Baptists.

But Dr. Mosheim, notwithstanding all the hard names which he has bestowed on the Baptists, has, in the following passages, put this matter beyond all doubt or disputation. "The true origin," says he, "of that sect which acquired the denomination of the Anabaptists, by their administering anew the rite of baptism to those who came over to their communion, and derived the name of Mennonists from the famous man, to whom they owe the greatest part of their present felicity, is hid in the remote depths of antiquity, and is, of consequence, difficult to be ascertained" [Mosheim Vol. 4. p. 424].

This we look upon as a most important concession by one of our most powerful adversaries. **This account utterly refutes the long repeated, slanderous story, that the Baptists originated with the madmen of Munster in 1522.** "This uncertainty," continues the doctor, "will not appear surprising, when it is considered, that this sect started up, all of a sudden, in several countries, at the same point of time, under leaders of different talents and different intentions, and at the very period when the first contests of the reformers with the Roman pontiffs drew the attention of the world, and employed the pens of the learned, in such a manner, as to render all other objects and incidents almost matters of indifference. The modern Mennonites not only consider themselves as the descendants of the Waldenses, who were so grievously oppressed and persecuted by the despotic heads of the Roman church, but pretend, moreover, to be the purest offspring of these respectable sufferers, being equally averse to all principles of rebellion, on the one hand, and all suggestions of fanaticism on the other."

In the above quotation it is acknowledged that the origin of the Baptists is hid in the remote depths of antiquity; in the following passage the same subject is amplified and more fully explained.

"It may be observed that the Mennonites (that is, the Baptists of Germany) are not entirely mistaken, when they boast of their descent from the Waldenses, Petrobrussians and other ancient sects, who are usually considered as witnesses of the truth, in the times of universal darkness and superstition. **Before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed in almost all the countries of Europe, particularly in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, and Germany, many persons, who adhered tenaciously to the following doctrine, which the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites had maintained,** some in a more disguised, and others in a more open and public manner, viz. **That the kingdom of Christ or the visible church he had established upon earth, was an assembly of true and real saints,** and ought therefore to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous, and also exempt from all those institutions, which human prudence suggests, to oppose the progress of iniquity, or to correct and rearm transgressors. This maxim is the true source of all the peculiarities that are to be found in the religious doctrine and discipline of the Mennonites; and **it is most certain that the greatest part of these peculiarities were approved of by many of those, who, before the dawn of the reformation, entertained the notion already mentioned,** relating to the visible church of Christ" [Mosheim Vol. 4. p. 424-429].

This grand maxim, which is thus acknowledged to be the true source of all the peculiarities of the Mennonites, and of all the ancient Waldenses, is most fairly stated, and when stripped of the verbose attire, with which the learned doctor has arrayed it, is, by every Baptist, most heartily adopted. This maxim goes to exclude all the inventions and traditions of men, and infant baptism among the rest. With this maxim in his heart, and his Bible in his hand, a Baptist marches forward in his religious course, and leaves the world and worldly christians, to dispute among themselves about the traditions of the fathers, and rites, which God has never commanded. But strange to tell, this maxim the great Mosheim calls a fanatical principle, productive of errors, chimeras, tumults, seditions, etc. Well might Robinson say, that a Baptist day-laborer understands liberty better than this learned historian and divine. It seems evident enough from the tenor of Mosheim's writings, that he could not comprehend how a man could be a good citizen, and yet hold, that magistrates, as such, have nothing to do with the kingdom of Christ. It is this grand maxim with its appendages, and not rebaptizing, that hath occasioned most of the persecutions, which our brethren have endured in ancient or modern times. A few general observations shall close this chapter, which has already been extended to a greater length than was at first intended.

The Waldenses, like the scriptures, have been resorted to by all parties of protestants in defense of their peculiar sentiments. The papists accused the protestants of being a new sect, whose principles had no existence till the days of Luther. This charge they all denied, and each party went to rumaging to find predecessors, and trace a line of succession down to the apostles. The corruptions of popery stood as a mountain in the way, and there was no alternative but to find a by-path through the land of the Waldenses. This circumstance induced many learned men of different communities, to investigate the history of this people with more care and attention, than it is any ways likely they would otherwise have done. They doubtless had no thought of helping the cause of the Baptists, who were, at the time of these altercations, universally despised and trodden under foot. But it has so happened, that these researches have furnished us with important evidence, which was not intended for our use; and it now appears plain, that of all parties the Baptists have the best claim to the ancient Waldenses as their predecessors.

But the same researches which have assisted the Baptists in their inquiries into the character of the Waldenses, have caused them much perplexity and trouble. For the researchers having each one a different standard set up, went in quest of a people who would conform to it. The natural consequence was, that they were all tempted to mould the character of the Waldenses to suit their views. The pious Milner is a notable example of this kind. But a number of older writers, who do not seem to have thought of the Baptists, nor in the least suspected that they would derive any advantage from their statements, have told without reserve all that the accusers of these people said of their rejecting infant baptism, and they have also stated their arguments in favor of the baptism of believers and of them only.

"Little," says Robinson, "did the old Waldenses think, when they were held in universal abhorrence, and committed every where to the flames, that a time would come, when the honor of a connection with them, would be disputed by different parties of the highest reputation. So it happened, however, at the reformation, and every reformed church put in its claim" [Robinson's Researches, p. 310].

Uninterrupted succession was the cause of these different claims, but all attempts to prove such a succession have proved ineffectual. "Protestants by the most substantial arguments have blasted the doctrine of papal succession; and yet these very protestants have undertaken to make proof of an unbroken series of persons of their own sentiments, following one another in due order from the apostles to themselves. The papal succession is a catalogue of names of real and imaginary men, of christians and atheists, blasphemers and saints. The Lutheran succession runs in the papal channel till the reformation, and then in a small stream changes its course. The Calvinist succession, which includes the Presbyterians and all sects which originated from Geneva, is a zig-zag, and it is made up of men of all principles and all communities, and, what is very surprising, of popes, arians, and anabaptists, exactly such men as Calvin and his associates committed to the flames for heresy.

"The doctrine of uninterrupted succession is necessary only to such churches as regulate their faith and practice by tradition, and for their use it was first invented" [Robinson's Researches, p. 476].

But a Baptist has not the least trouble about what is called a lineal or apostolical succession. His line of succession is in faithful men, and it is a matter of indifference with them, when or where they lived, by what name they were called, or by whom they were baptized or ordained. But one thing is certain, that if any thing has been omitted or done wrong, they are sure to correct it according to their views of the apostolical model.

One observation farther, respecting the Waldenses, ought not to be omitted. Some have attempted to prove that they were all Pedeo-baptists, and others, that they were all Baptists. Both, in my opinion, attempt to prove too much. That many and probably most of them were Baptists, or would now be esteemed such, I think has been clearly proved; but it is evident that others baptized their children, and some of them fell in with Calvin's party at Geneva, soon after the commencement of the reformation. Some of them appear to have been like the Quakers, and rejected baptism altogether. Some were Arians, Unitarians, etc. Some are represented as a turbulent faction in the church, while others had wholly separated from it. Some, we find, engaged in political struggles and in scenes of war, while others would not swear at all, nor bear arms in any case, nor shed human blood. This circumstance seems to cast a gloom over the character of the Waldenses, but it admits of an easy and satisfactory explanation.

We have shown that the terms Waldenses and Albigenses were, by the papists, generally applied to all the adversaries of the pope and the tyranny and superstitions of Rome.

The term Waldenses was most generally used and answered very nearly to that of Nonconformist in England, which every one knows comprehends a multitude of sects, among whom there exists a great variety of opinions and practices. **Considering then the term Waldenses as a general name for a dissenter, it is easy to conceive that it would comprehend a great variety of characters; and it is a well known fact that this term was applied without any distinction, to the righteous and profligate, to the wise and foolish, to the orthodox and heterodox, to the sober christian and the turbulent incendiary.** The adversaries of Rome dissented for different reasons, some for conscience_ sake, and others from political motives, some were christians and others were not; but it is always found that an infidel is as anxious for liberty of conscience as a christian. These things make it necessary to distinguish between the evangelical Waldenses, who are usually considered as the ancient witnesses for the truth, and that promiscuous assemblage of dissenters, to whom the papists misapplied the name.

The people properly called Waldenses were remarkable for the purity of their morals and the simplicity of their faith, their enemies themselves being judges; and so far from engaging in any political struggles, many of them would not in any case bear arms nor shed human blood. Others seem to have believed in defensive war, and when their enemies came to molest them in their valleys and obscure retreats, they assembled at the defiles of the mountains, and with bows and arrows disputed their passage, and often repelled them.

It has often been the lot of christians to be charged with tumults and seditions in which they had no hand, but which they heartily abhorred. It has also often happened, that they have had officious patrons and defenders, who have done them more hurt than good. There is a remarkable example of this kind in the history of the Waldenses. In the beginning of the twelfth century, these people were very numerous in the southern parts of France, and particularly in the dominions of Raymond, count of Toulouse. They appear to have emigrated hither from the other side of the Alps. Raymond strongly protected his Waldensian subjects, though there seems no evidence that he understood or felt the vital influence of their doctrine. At this time the horrid inquisition was just established, and its cruel instruments were dispersed in different countries. But this bloody engine met with violent opposition, and in many cases the inquisitors were apprehended and confined, and some were murdered either by an enraged populace, or by the secret contrivances of princes. Two inquisitors were sent into the dominions of Raymond, who met with rough treatment, and one of them was murdered, and Raymond was considered the author of his death. This circumstance furnished pope Innocent with a specious pretence for executing his bloody purposes; a holy war was undertaken against Raymond and his subjects, and multitudes of the innocent Waldenses were slain and dispersed, in revenge for one rash act of their patron, which was committed without their knowledge or desire.

Among the people properly called Waldenses, there was doubtless some diversity of opinion as it respects matters both of faith and practice. But it is certain from the testimony of both friends and enemies, that many of them rejected infant baptism, and held, that professed believers were the only subjects of the baptismal rite. It is, on the other hand, evident, that some of them baptized their children, but all were obnoxious to the Church of Rome, and sorely felt the weight of her revengeful hand. But "as thunder storms drive timorous animals together for shelter," so the storms of persecution induced these christians to associate together for their common safety and mutual edification in the things of God. Some further information respecting the Waldenses will be given in the accounts which will follow in the next chapter. And it will be found that wherever they prevailed infant baptism was opposed, and the baptism of believers was maintained.

A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF BAPTISTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES CONTINUED

All the scenes described in the preceding chapter transpired before the reformation in the sixteenth century. We have seen that the Waldenses were first found in the valleys of Piedmont, in Italy; that they were thence dispersed into France, Spain, Germany, England, and other European kingdoms. We have hitherto considered them as a collective body, without any regard to the kingdoms or countries which they inhabited. In this chapter we shall treat of them and their descendants, and of all who maintained their principles, under the heads of the governments in which they were found, and in some cases we shall find it necessary to go back beyond the period, to which in the last chapter we arrived.

GERMANY

The German empire, properly so called, before the late revolutions in Europe, contained twenty-eight millions of inhabitants. It was six hundred miles in length, and five hundred and twenty in breadth. It was divided into ten circles or great districts, which were called Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, Upper Rhine, Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Austria, Burgundy, Lower Rhine, and Upper Saxony. This great empire was singular for being a combination of upwards of three hundred sovereignties, independent of each other, but composing one political body under an elective head, called the emperor of Germany. Eight princes of the empire, called the electors, had the right of electing the emperor. The seventeen provinces known by the name of the Netherlands, in which are the seven United Provinces of Holland, were not included in the great Germanic body. Great changes have taken place in the civil divisions and government of this country since the revolution.

Our information respecting the **Baptists in Germany** in ancient times is extremely limited. But **Mosheim assures us that they were in this empire long before the rise of Luther and Calvin. They were the descendants of the Waldenses, Petrobrussians, and other eminent sects. They were called by their ancient names, until about the time of the reformation; then they began to be denominated Anabaptists**, and according to Robinson, this name was given to them by a Swiss pedant, who could not be easy without letting the world know that he understood Greek. In this chapter we shall treat of the Baptists under three different names. They were first called **German Anabaptists**, which term is familiar to all who have studied the history of the Baptists as related by their adversaries. After Menno they were generally called **Mennonites**. But the Mennonites in process of time settled mostly in Holland, and here they received the common name of the inhabitants of the country, and were called **Dutch Baptists**. These few explanatory remarks the reader ought to bear in mind while perusing the following sketches.

It is said the Dutch Baptists have published voluminous histories of themselves, but I do not find that any of their works have been translated into English, or that the Baptists in England or America have had much acquaintance with them. I find Crosby and other writers often make mention of a folio volume, called the martyrology of the foreign Anabaptists. I have taken much pains to learn something about this book, but have hitherto been unsuccessful. It is said however to contain a numerous list of ancient Baptist martyrs.

Most of the information I can find respecting the old German Anabaptists, is contained in Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, and his accounts are taken from slanderous reports, and the writings of Lutherans, who, like himself, were all intent on covering the Baptists with shame, and exalting on their ruins, their own august Pedobaptist establishment. "Mr. Arnoldi and Dr. Schyn, two Dutch Baptist writers, have proved by irrefragable evidence from state papers, public confessions of faith, and authentic books, that Ezechiel and Frederic Spanheim, Heidegger, Hoffman, and others have given a fabulous account of the history of the Dutch Baptists, and that the younger Spanheim, **had taxed them with holding thirteen heresies, of all which, not a single society of them believed one word; yet later historians quote these writers as devoutly, as if all they had affirmed were undisputed and allowed to be true.**"

No Pedobaptist writer has made more important concessions in favor of the advocates of believer's baptism than Mosheim, and yet no writer has treated them with more roughness and asperity, or loaded them with a greater number of reproachful terms. Whenever he has referred to their history, he has given full scope to his stupendous verbosity, and poured upon them a tremendous shower of invective and reproach. The German Anabaptists, according to this writer, were a wrongheaded, a hotheaded, dangerous, deluded, fanatical chimerical tumultuous, seditious, furious, ferocious, pestilential, heretical, rebellious, turbulent, odious, pernicious, wild, savage, detestable, flagitious, mad, insane, delirious, miserable rabble of wretches, a motley tribe of enthusiasts, mad-men and monsters, whom all sober people abhorred, and whom the magistrates found it necessary to put to the most miserable deaths, for the safety of the church and the peace of the land. These and many other expressions of a similar nature are found in Mosheim's account of the Anabaptists of Germany; indeed, he seems to have almost exhausted the vocabulary of slander, in describing this despised and unfortunate people. But in the midst of this thunder-storm of defamation, there are some intervals of candor and correctness; and some of the statements of this majestic writer every Baptist most heartily approves. And after all the frightful stories about Nicholas Stork and the mad-men of Munster, he, like other writers on the same subject, "concludes with a compliment to the modern Baptists, for having seen into the errors of their ancestors, and behaved with propriety for several years past, like a very good sort of men."

But after all these reproachful invectives, **it is found, upon strict examination, that the tumults in Germany were first commenced by Catholics, that all parties helped to carry them on, and that the affair at Munster was begun, not by the Anabaptists, but by Bernard Rotman, a Pede-baptist minister of the Lutheran persuasion,** as will be shown in its proper place.

That there were tumultuous scenes in Germany, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, no person can deny. That some real and many reputed Baptists had a hand in them, every understanding Baptist will allow; but that the Baptists were the principal promoters of these scenes, and that their Baptistical sentiments led them to engage in political struggles, and that their denomination originated at this time, are statements which they now do, and have always contended, are slanderous and false. But leaving this subject for the present, we will attempt to give some brief sketches of the history of the Baptists in Germany, and some of the neighboring states.

Before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed in almost all the countries of Europe, particularly in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland and Germany, many persons who adhered tenaciously to the doctrine which the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites had maintained.

These concealed christians we have good reasons for believing were mostly Baptists; and by Mosheim's concessions, and a number of concurring testimonies, they were the remains of the ancient Waldenses, who had been driven hither by papal persecutions. This hint of Mosheim's, is the first account we have of them; and from this period we must begin to trace their progress. "The drooping spirits of these people, who had been dispersed through many countries, and persecuted everywhere with the greatest severity, were revived when they were informed that Luther, seconded by several persons of eminent piety, had successfully attempted the reformation of the church. They now started up, all on a sudden, under different leaders in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands," and fondly hoped that the happy and long expected period had arrived, in which God was about to visit his people, and restore his church to her primitive purity and simplicity. They looked up to Luther and his associates, with the most lively hopes and expectations; they commenced their labors in an open and zealous manner, great success attended their exertions, and great numbers fell in with their views. Their progress was rapid and extensive, and soon, in a great part of Europe, they had a prodigious multitude of followers. They were pleased to find the pillars of Babylon shaken, by means of Luther and his companions; but they soon became dissatisfied with the plan of reformation proposed by the Saxon reformer. "They looked upon it as much beneath the sublimity of their views," and therefore undertook to carry it forward to greater perfection. **Luther built his church after the old popish model, or rather he christened the old church with a new name, and called it reformed. Luther repaired the old house, but the Baptists thought it should be taken down, the rotten timbers left out, and be built anew of what good materials remained.** Luther's churches were not made-up of good [saved] people only, but they embraced all within the parish bounds, and all, whether righteous or wicked, were admitted to communion, This mode of building, which makes all church and no world, was contrived in Babylon, but it is still followed by many, who profess to have come out of her. The Baptists

held then, as they have done in every age, that the church of Christ was an assembly of true and real saints, and ought, therefore, to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous. It is not strange, therefore, that Luther's plan of reformation was much beneath the sublimity of their views.

The Baptists were also dissatisfied with Luther, and much disappointed when they found he had determined on retaining the old popish custom of admitting infants to baptism. They vainly hoped to see a reformation in this matter, and it is asserted on respectable authority, that "infant baptism was agitated among the reformers themselves, and that some of them were for rejecting it."

Arnoldus Meshovius, a historian of those times, says, "that the business of Anabaptism began at Wittenburg in 1522. Luther then lurking in the castle of Wartburg in Thuringia, and that he had companions at first, Carolostadt, Philip Melancthon, and others; and that Luther, returning from his Patmos, as he called it, banished Carolostadt and the rest, and only received Philip Melancthon into favor again" [Crosby's *Hist. of the English Baptists*, vol. 1, p. 20].

Carolostadt, one of Luther's associates, was almost constantly charged, even by his own party, of being a favorer of the Anabaptists; and John Gerhard, a Lutheran minister says, that he was called the father of the Anabaptists, by Erasmus Alberus. [Ibid p. 19.] Zuinglius the famous Swiss reformer, who flourished about the year 1520, was, according to his own confession, for a time inclined to reject infant baptism; but he, like many other Pedobaptist ministers, at length gained a victory over his scruples, and afterwards became a bitter persecutor of the depised Anabaptists, whose snare he had so mercifully escaped. [Crosby's *Hist.* p. 20.] And even the great Luther himself at first suggested some Baptistical opinions. In a conference with some of the Vaudois, who practiced infant baptism, he contended that faith and baptism ought always to be connected together; and to support his opinion, brought the passage, _He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved._ This reasoning of the reformer appears strange; however, he retained infants, and found out a very convenient and ingenious way of getting rid of the charge of inconsistency. [Robinson's *Researches*, p. 541.]

The mode of baptism Luther at first clearly defined to be dipping. "The term," says he, "is Greek, and may be rendered dipping, as when we dip anything in water, so that it is covered all over. And although the custom be now abolished among many, (for they do not dip children, but only pour on a little water) yet they ought to be wholly immersed, and immediately taken out. The etymology of the word seems to require this. The Germans call baptism *tauff*, from *tieif*, *depth*, signifying, that to baptize, is to plunge into the depth. [Johannes Bugerchagius Pomeranius, who was a companion of Luther, and succeeded him in the ministry at Wittenburg, a very pious and learned divine, tells us in a book he published in the German tongue in 1542, "that he was desired to be a witness of a baptism at Hamburg, in the year 1529. That when he had seen the minister only sprinkle the infant wrapped in swathing-clothes on the top of the head, he was amazed; because he neither heard nor saw any such thing, nor yet read in any history, except in case of necessity, in bed-ridden persons. In a general assembly, therefore, of all the ministers of the word, that was convened, he did ask a certain minister, John Fritz by name, who was some time minister of Lubec, how the sacrament of baptism was administered at Lubec? Who, for his piety and candor did answer gravely, that infants were baptized naked at Lubec, after the same fashion altogether as in Germany. But from whence and how that peculiar manner of baptizing hath crept into Hamburg, he was ignorant. At length they did agree among themselves, that the judgment of Luther, and of the divines of Wittenburg, should be demanded about this point. Which, being done, Luther did write back to Hamburg, that this sprinkling was an abuse, which they ought to remove. Thus plunging was restored at Hamburg. Crosby, vol. 1. p. 22, 23.]

"The Catholics tax Luther with being the father of the German dippers, some of the first expressly declare, they received their first ideas of it from him,* and the fact seems undeniable, but the article of reforming without him he could not bear." [Bishop Burnet in his history of the reformation, as quoted by Crosby, says, "At this time (1549) there were many Anabaptists in several parts of England. They were generally Germans, whom the revolutions there had forced to change their seats. Upon Luther's first preaching in Germany, there arose many, who, building on some of his principles, carried things much farther than he did. The chief foundation he laid down was, that the Scripture was to be the only rule of Christians." This maxim has been generally laid down by all evangelical reformers, and has ever proved dangerous to the cause of infant baptism. The famous Whitefield was a notable example of this kind. He appears to have had

no design of undermining infant baptism, and yet I am inclined to think, by what I have learnt in my travels, that some thousands in this country, were led to embrace the sentiments of the Baptists by following his principles up to their legitimate consequences. It is reported of Whitefield, that he once pleasantly said many of his chickens had turned ducks, and gone into the water.]

Luther fell out with Carolstadt, for breaking down popish images without his consent, with Zuinglius and others, for holding that the bread and wine were mere symbols, and with Munzer, Stork, and the Baptists generally, for refusing to admit whole parishes to their communion, and for endeavoring to restore the ordinance of baptism, to its original purity. Luther was undoubtedly an instrument of great good to the church of God, but his rough and dogmatizing spirit caused distensions among the reformers, and they soon filed off into separate parties. **The advocates for Pedo-baptism had great patrons, but the Baptists had none. They had always been persecuted by the papists, and soon the protestants engaged in the same cruel business.**

I find no accounts by which we can form an estimate of the probable number of those, who embraced the sentiments of the Baptists in these times. According to Mosheim there was a prodigious multitude, but we are informed at the same time that they were an ignorant miserable rabble. There is every reason for believing that the number of real Baptists was great, but it is also evident that the number of those, who were falsely so called, was much greater. Formerly all who opposed the corruptions of Rome, were, by the papists, called Waldenses; and now by the protestants, all who opposed infant baptism, sighed for liberty, or even projected any new plan of a civil or religious, of a sober or visionary nature, were denominated Anabaptists. This circumstance is suggested by Mosheim, and it is doubtless correct.

When we consider that the term Anabaptist was thus indiscriminately applied to such a heterogeneous assemblage of character, it will not appear strange that the number was great, and that many of them were visionary and seditious. But it is grievous to relate that the sword of justice, or rather of persecution, was unsheathed against all who bore the name of Anabaptists, and the innocent and guilty were involved in the same cruel fate. Even Mosheim laments that so little distinction was made between the sober and seditious, by the cruel executioners of persecuting edicts. He acknowledges that those who had no other marks of peculiarity than their administering baptism to adult persons only, and excluding the unrighteous from their communion, met with the same treatment as seditious incendiaries, who were for unhinging all government, and destroying all authority. "It is true indeed," says this writer, "that many Anabaptists suffered death, not on account of their being considered as rebellious subjects, but merely because they were judged incurable heretics; for in this century the error of limiting the administration of baptism to adult persons only, and the practice of rebaptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of infancy, were looked upon as most flagitious and intolerable heresies."

Thus the old popish doctrine, that obstinate and incurable heretics ought to die, was adopted into the protestant creed. Some protestant princes appear to have been unwilling to imbrue their hands in the blood of heretics, but we are obliged to believe that the protestant ministers stimulated them to the practice. While all parties were disputing in defense of their peculiar tenets, the Baptists took the liberty of holding disputations in defense of theirs. "In the years 1532 and 1528, there were public disputations at Berne, in Switzerland, between the ministers of the church there and some Anabaptist teachers; in the years 1529, 1527, and 1525, Oecolampadius had various disputes with people of this name at Basil, in the same country; in the year 1525 there was a dispute at Zurich, in the same country, about Pedobaptism, between Zuinglius, one of the first reformers, and Dr. Balthasar Hubmeierus, who afterwards was burnt and his wife drowned at Vienna, in the year 1528; of whom Meshovius, though a papist, gives this character: that he was from his childhood brought up in learning; and for his singular erudition was honored with a degree in divinity; was a very eloquent man, and read in the scriptures and fathers of the church. Hoornbeck calls him a famous and eloquent preacher, and says he was the first of the reformed preachers at Waldshut. There were several disputations with others in the same year at this place. And in the year 1526 or 1527, according to Hoornbeck, Felix Mans or Mentz, was drowned at Zurich; this man, Meshovius says, whom he calls Felix Mantscher, was of a noble family; and both he and Conrad Grebel, whom he calls Conrad Grebbe, who are said to give the first rise to Anabaptism at Zurich, were very learned men, and well skilled in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. [Ivimey, p. 17.]

But the liberty of defending their sentiments by arguments was soon denied our brethren by the intolerant reformers. The cause of infant baptism lost ground so much that penal statutes were called in to its aid. **And Anabaptism prevailed so fast, that to prevent its growth the magistrates of Zurich published a solemn edict against it in 1525, requiring all persons to have their children baptized, and forbidding rebaptization, under the penalty of being fined, banished, or imprisoned. Another was put forth in 1530, making it punishable with death.**

A few cases of capital punishments for denying infant baptism are thus related by Mr. Crosby: "In the year 1528, Hans Kaeffer and Leonard Freek, for opposing infant baptism, were beheaded at Schwas in Germany, and Leopald Suyder at Augsburg for the same. At Saltzburg eighteen persons of the same faith were burnt; and twenty-five at Waltzen the same year. In the year 1529, twenty of them were put to death in the Palatinate; and three hundred and fifty at Altre in Germany. The men for the most part beheaded, and the women drowned. In 1533, Hugh Crane, and Margaret his wife, with two more, were martyred at Harlem; the woman was drowned; the three men were chained to a post, and roasted by a fire at a distance till they died. This was the very same year that the rising was at Munster. Likewise, in the protestant cantons in Switzerland, they were used as hardly about the same time. In 1530, two of the baptized brethren were burnt. In 1531, six more of the congregation of Baptists, were martyred in the same place. In 1533, two persons, Lodwick Test and Catharine Hamgen, were burnt at Munster.

But the rustic war now coming on, which concluded with the tragedy at Munster, in which some of the Anabaptists were concerned, the name now became unspeakably odious, and always excited the idea of a seditious incendiary, a pest to human society. All who were called by this name, whatever was their character or sentiments, became the objects of reproach and vengeance, and were every where exposed to ravages and death.

We shall for the present leave our German brethren in the most deplorable situation, every where hunted like savages and exposed to death in its most tormenting and revengeful forms. The Munster affair with its causes and consequences will be considered under a separate head. It is natural to conclude that while the terrors of death in the most dreadful forms were presented before all, who opposed the baptism of infants, or in the least favored the Anabaptists, that many deserted them, and especially that promiscuous multitude, which Mosheim describes, who never entered into the spirit of their principles, and who were connected with them by most feeble ties. But on the other hand some excellent characters became members of their communion, among whom **MENNO SIMON** appears to have held the most distinguished rank. Menno, for by his first name he appears to have been generally called, was born at Witmars in Friesland, in 1505. He was ordained a popish priest, and continued a famous preacher and disputer in the Catholic connection until 1531, when he began to suspect the validity of many things in the church of Rome, and among the rest that of infant baptism. He first discovered his suspicions to the doctors of his own fraternity, then to Luther, but failing of satisfaction from any, he next betook himself to the study of the New Testament and ecclesiastical history, and as it generally happens in all such cases, he brought up at last on Baptist ground. Mosheim asserts that he went over to the Anabaptists first in a clandestine manner, and frequented their assemblies with the utmost secrecy; but in the year 1536, he threw off the mask, resigned his rank in the Romish church and publicly embraced their communion. About a year after this, he began his ministry among the Anabaptists, and "from this period to the end of his days, (that is, during the space of twenty-five years) he traveled from one country to another, with his wife and children, exercising his ministry under pressures and calamities of various kinds, that succeeded each other without interruption, and constantly exposed to the danger of falling a victim to the severity of the laws. East and West Friesland, together with the province of Groningen, were first visited by this zealous apostle of the Anabaptists; from thence he directed his course into Holland, Gelderland, Brabant, and Westphalia, continued it through the German provinces that lie on the coast of the Baltic sea, and penetrated so far as Livonia. In all these places his ministerial labors were attended with remarkable success, and added to his sect a prodigious number of proselytes. Hence he is deservedly looked upon as the common chief of almost all the Anabaptists, and the parent of the sect that still subsists under that denomination. The success of this missionary will not appear very surprising to those who are acquainted with his character, spirit, and talents, and who have a just notion of the state of the Anabaptists at the period of time now under consideration. Menno was a man of genius; though, as his writings show, his genius was not under the direction of a very sound judgment. He had the inestimable advantage of a natural and persuasive eloquence, and his learning was sufficient to make him pass for an oracle in the eyes of the multitude. He appears, moreover, to have been a man of probity, of a meek and tractable spirit, gentle in his manners, pliable and obsequious in his commerce with persons of

all ranks and characters, and extremely zealous in promoting practical religion and virtue, which he recommended by his example, as well as by his precepts." [Menno was born at Witmarsum, a village in the neighborhood of Bolswert, in Friesland in the year 1505, and not in 1496, as most writers tell us. After a life of toil, peril, and agitation, he departed in peace in the year 1561, in the dutchy of Holstein, at the country-seat of a certain nobleman, not far from the city of Oldesloe, who, moved with compassion at a view of the perils to which Menno was exposed, and the snares that were daily laid for his ruin, took him, together with certain of his associates, into his protection, and gave him asylum. We have a particular account of this famous Anabaptist in the *Cambria Literata* of Mollerus, tom. 2. p. 835. See also *Hemon Schyn Plenior Deductio Historia Mennonitarum*, cap. 6. p. 116. The writings of Menno, which are almost all composed in the Dutch language were published in folio at Amsterdam, in the year 1561" Mosheim, Vol. 4. p. 441]

"Menno," says Morgan Edwards, "continued preaching and planting churches in various parts of the low countries, for a course of about thirty years, and died in peace Jan. 31, 1561, after having been hunted like a partridge on the mountain, by both protestants and papists. The faith and order of this eminent reformer may, in some measure, be gathered from the fragments of his works, which are now extant. A general Baptist (as that character is understood in Great-Britain) he certainly was; but I have not seen sufficient evidence of his being what is now called an Arian or Socinian. I rather think that the term Arminian or Remonstrant would better suit his religious sentiments."

"Menno," Edwards further observes, "was a man of parts and learning, and carried the reformation one step farther than Luther or Calvin did, and would, no doubt, have been ranked with the chief reformers, had there not been some cross-gained fatality attending the laudable deeds of Baptists, to prevent their having in this world the praise they deserve."

Some farther account of Menno and his sentiments may be found in the account of the American Mennonites.

We have no account of the number of churches founded by Menno, but it was doubtless great; and not only the churches of his planting, but most, if not all, of his sentiments appear from his time to have been distinguished by the name of Mennonites. Ecclesiastical writers, however, have generally affixed to them the old reproachful name of Anabaptists. About the middle of the sixteenth century, according to Mosheim, there was a warm contest among the Mennonites concerning excommunication, which terminated in the division of their extensive community. One party was distinguished by the name of rigid, and the other of moderate Anabaptists. The **moderate Anabaptists** consisted at first of the inhabitants of a district in North-Holland called Waterland, and hence their whole sect was distinguished by the denomination of Waterlandians. The **rigid part of the community** were, for the most part, natives of Flanders; and hence their sect acquired the denomination of Flemings or Flandrians. The rigid Anabaptists were again divided on the subject of excommunication, into Flandrians and Frieslanders, who differed from each other in their manners and discipline. And to them a third denomination was added, who took the name of their country, like the former, and were called Germans; "for the Anabaptists of Germany passed in shoals into Holland and the Netherlands." But the greatest part of these three sects came over by degrees to the moderate community of the Waterlandians, etc. Thus the great body of the Mennonites about the middle of the last century, the time Mosheim's history was published, had come into the moderate class of Anabaptists. Mosheim considers the change was much for the better, but we may safely conclude the contrary. What this author would esteem a mark of wisdom and charity, others would count a worldly compromise, the natural consequence of a defection in evangelical zeal and purity. The rigid Anabaptists undoubtedly carried some of their principles to extremes, but I think there is no hazard in concluding that of the two they had the most evangelical creed.

The Mennonites have established a college in Amsterdam, for the benefit of their society, which is called the College of the Sun. I conclude from an expression in Mosheim, that it was founded in the former part of the last century. But I have not been able to obtain any particulars respecting the nature or extent of the establishment.

The Mennonites were, at first, every where persecuted and destroyed. "But after being a long time in an uncertain and precarious situation, they at length obtained a fixed and unmolested settlement in the United

Provinces,. under the shade of a legal toleration procured for them by William, prince of Orange, the glorious founder of Belgic liberty. This illustrious chief, who acted from principle in allowing liberty of conscience and worship to christians of different denominations, was moreover engaged by gratitude to favor the Mennonites, who had assisted him in the year 1572, with a considerable sum of money, when his coffers were almost exhausted" [Mosheim, vol. 4. p. 461].

The doctrinal sentiments of the people we have been describing, are differently represented. They have published a number of confessions of faith; the most ancient and respectable, in Mosheim_s opinion, was published by the Waterlandians. Robinson says the Dutch Baptists have published creeds, which for the fundamental points, even Luther and Calvin might have subscribed; he also intimates that they have published others less orthodox in their contents. It seems evident, that the Dutch and German Baptists have, generally speaking, been of an Arminian cast. Arminianism originated in Holland, and all parties seem to have been more or less infected with it. [Christians who have refused to follow Calvin_s theology have commonly been branded "Arminians" by Calvinists, but this is usually a false charge. Many Christians merely take the Bible alone as their authority and do not follow the theology either of Calvin or Arminius. --D.W. Cloud]

Dr. Rippon gives an account of a church of Mennonites in Dantzic, who were Calvinists. "In consequence of letters and registers," says he, "sent to the Rev. Messrs. Henry Roots, Isaac Van Duhrin, Erdmann Stobbe, and Peter Klein, the four ministers of a Baptist church at Dantzic, in Polish, otherwise in Royal Prussia, the following information has been communicated: Dantzic is a place of great commerce, very populous, and perhaps about the size of Liverpool. The Damzicers have numerous places of worship for Lutherans and Calvinists, the steeples of which, as you come from sea, begin to appear at the distance of about five leagues from the city. They have also an English place of worship, and a Baptist or Mennonist congregation. Your letters to the ministers of the last named society, I delivered with my own hand. Their place of worship of about 40 feet by 32 is very neat. Mr. Roots, the elder or pastor of the church, is the youngest man of their four ministers. They have one deacon, an organ in their meeting, and one service in a day, which begins at about half after eight in the morning, and ends at eleven, They enter on worship with singing, then pray, sing again, and preach about three parts of an hour, and conclude nearly as our Baptists congregations do in England. On Lord_s day evening, by a previous appointment, I was introduced to them at Mr. Roots_: All the four ministers were present, the deacon, and also an attorney, who understood and spoke English as well as myself. I was received in a very friendly way, and, according to the custom of the place, saluted with a kiss. All five, the ministers and deacon saluted me. Your letters were read to them, and I observed peculiar emotions in their countenances at your question; "Whether internal piety or the religion of the heart flourished among them, or in any part of Poland or Prussia?" In the conversation, which was maintained between us by the attorney our interpreter, they asked how the Baptists administered ordinances in England? How often the death of Christ was celebrated? Whether there were collections made for the poor? How we sing, and what psalms? Whether the psalms of David only, or other compositions? I showed them Dr. Watts_ hymns and psalms, some of which the gentleman read off in Dutch; and some of theirs to me in English, consisting of psalms, and also of hymns suited to the Lord_s supper. They asked if we had organs in our chapels? I told them that they were not approved of; and was informed that in general they were not used in their congregations. They wished also to know how long the sermons of our ministers are? Whether most of our preachers are learned men? Whether they are in business, or receive salaries from the congregations? I replied as well as I could. By the questions I proposed to them I find that they are Calvinistic Baptists, and are quite clear in this truth, that it is impossible for any man to be saved without a real change of heart. They are enemies to all war, and asked me, If any part of England was besieged, whether the Baptists would fight? I said, to be sure they would defend themselves against their enemies. But they said, Christ has told us we should love our enemies. I then asked, what is the difference between my going to war, and sending another in my room? as I gathered from their conversation they had provided substitutes. They replied that both were totally disagreeable to them; but the laws of the country forced them to the latter" [Rippon_s Register, No 10, for April, 1795].

The Germans and Dutch Baptists appear always to have held some sentiments peculiar to themselves. They neither admit civil rulers into their communion, nor allow any of their members to perform the functions of magistracy. _They deny the lawfulness of repelling force by force, and consider war, in all its shapes, as unchristian and unjust. They are averse to capital punishments, and feeling themselves bound to swear not at all, they will not confirm their testimony with an oath.

Respecting the number of communicants in the Dutch or Mennonite Baptist churches, I have obtained no information whatever. According to a list in *Rippon's Register*, there were, in 1790, in and out of the Netherlands, two hundred and fifty-two churches of the Dutch and Mennonite Baptists, in all of which were five hundred and thirty three ministers. Of these a hundred and seventy-five churches, and two hundred and seventy-one ministers were in the Netherlands and Generalities_ Lands. Fifteen churches, in which were ninety-six ministers, were in Prussia. Twenty-seven churches and ninety-two ministers were in Upper Saxony. Twenty-seven churches and forty-nine ministers were in France. The rest were in Switzerland, Poland, and Russia.

It is to be feared that vital religion is at a low ebb in these ancient churches of Baptists, and I wish I were able to say they had all maintained the ordinances of the gospel in their primitive purity, and in the manner they were maintained by their persecuted ancestors. **The American Mennonites have adopted pouring instead of immersion, and it is probable that many, and I know not but most of the European Mennonites, have done the same.** It is certain that the ancient German Anabaptists practiced dipping, and it is probable that the magistrates of those times, with a view of proportioning their punishment to their crimes, caused many of them to be drowned. Robinson says, that "Luther bore the Zuinglians_ dogmatizing; but he could not brook a further reformation in the hands of the dippers." Menno taught the doctrine of dipping exclusively. "After we have searched ever so diligently," said he, "we shall find no other baptism besides DIPPING IN WATER, which is acceptable to God, and maintained in his word." After which he adds, "Let who will oppose, this is the only mode of baptism that Jesus Christ instituted, and the Apostles taught and practiced" [Morgan Edwards_ *History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania*, p. 93].

We find in the history of the English Baptists, that about a hundred years after Menno made this declaration, a company of christians about London became convinced of believer_s baptism by immersion; but because they could not be satisfied about any administrator in England to begin the practice, and hearing that some in the Netherlands practiced immersion, they sent over one Richard Blount, who was immersed by a Dutch minister, by the name of John Batte; that on his return he administered the baptismal rite in the same mode to Samuel Blacklock a minister, and that these two baptized the rest of the company to the number of fifty-three. [Ivimey, p. 143.] At what time pouring instead of immersion was introduced among the Mennonites, I do not find. The cause of this change, according to Morgan Edwards, was as follows: "When they made proselytes in prisons, or were hindered from going to rivers, they made the best shift they could, and practiced pouring when they could not immerse. But **as in Africa so in Europe, what was done at first out of a supposed necessity, became afterwards to be practiced out of choice.**"

I have thus endeavored to give a brief account of the rise of the Anabaptists in Germany, of their sufferings, progress and character. Every Baptist will find many things in their character which he can but approve, but their defection from their ancient principles and practice he will lament. But it is some consolation to reflect that the principles of the ancient Baptists in Germany have spread extensively in other countries both in Europe and America.

Every party must have its share of mortification. Geneva, once the seat of Calvin and his orthodox compeers, is now overrun with French philosophy. Geneva, the source of Presbyterianism, has renounced the religion of its ancestors. "The present clergy of Geneva, by a public act of shameless apostasy, from pretended gratitude to France, have abandoned their religion, and betrayed their Savior. Voluntarily they have exchanged the Sabbath of christians for the decade of Atheists" [Morse and Parish_s *Gazetteer*, article of Geneva].

The primitive christians maintained baptism aright for a number of ages, and then they fell into error. The ancient Waldenses were doubtless for a long time uniform in their ideas of baptism, but in process of time some of them got to baptizing their children. The Dutch Baptists held to dipping believers at first; they still retain the subjects of the ordinance, but by a surprising change, some, I know not how many, have departed from the Apostolic mode. And although they still retain the name of Baptists, yet we can have no fellowship with their present mode of administering baptism; for with every real Baptist, pouring as well as sprinkling is null and void.

BOHEMIA

I shall not attempt to give any thing like a connected history of the people of whom we are inquiring under this and the following heads. The want of materials would render such an attempt altogether impracticable. The most that I can learn is, **that there have been at different periods large numbers of christians in Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Transylvania, and other parts of Europe, which have not yet been mentioned, who maintained believer_s baptism by immersion, but who, at the same time, were much divided in their doctrinal sentiments.** All I shall now attempt, will be to give some extracts of their history, and then collect some brief biographical sketches of some of their most distinguished characters.

Bohemia, before the late revolutions in Europe, was a distinguished member in the great Germanic body. The king of Bohemia was one of the eight electors of the Emperor, and was cup-bearer to his imperial majesty. The present situation of this kingdom I am not able to state.

In Bohemia, properly so called, were comprehended the dutchy of Silesia and the marquise of Moravia. There appears to be no information of any importance respecting the Baptists in Silesia; but of those in Moravia we have some interesting accounts. And as the Bohemian and Moravian brethren all originated from the same source, we shall connect their history under the present head.

Bohemia received the gospel from the eastern church, and not from the church of Rome. Popery, however, was introduced into this kingdom in the ninth century by two Greek monks, but it was not fully established here till the fourteenth century, and then not by the consent of the Bohemians, but by the power and artifice of the emperor Charles IV.

About this time, it appears there was an attempt made for a reformation by two of the emperors_ chaplains, whose names were Milicius and Janovius. But the attempt proved unsuccessful, and the reformers were suppressed with disgrace. But **from this period multitudes withdrew themselves from the public places of worship, and followed the dictates of their own consciences by worshipping God in private houses, woods, and caves. Here they were persecuted, dragooned, drowned, and killed, and thus they went on till the appearance of JOHN HUSS AND JEROME OF PRAGUE.** The names of John Huss and Jerome of Prague are generally mentioned in connection, and Bohemia is rendered famous in ecclesiastical history, on account of their labors. Under the ministry of Huss and Jerome, a work commenced in this kingdom, more than a hundred years before the rise of Luther and Calvin, which, in some respects, was similar to the reformation under them; for it began upon spiritual principles, and arose to a thing of political consequence. Both Huss and Jerome were destroyed by the council of Constance, in 1415. Jerome is said to have been a far more distinguished man than his friend Huss; but, for what reason I have not learnt, the followers of both were called Hussites.

Huss was professor of divinity in the university of Prague, a preacher in one of the largest churches in the city, and a man of eminent abilities and more eminent zeal. He taught much of the doctrine of Wickliff. His talents were popular, his life was irreproachable, and his manners the most affable and engaging. He was the idol of the people, but execrated by the priests. **He was not a Baptist, but as his sermons were full of what are called Anabaptistical errors, Wickliffites, Waldenses, and all sorts of heretics became his admirers and followers,** and as he, in the spirit of a true Bohemian, endeavored to curb the tyranny of the churchmen, who the nobles knew were uniting with the house of Austria to enslave the state, he was patronized by the great, and all Bohemia was filled with his doctrine and his praise.

The cruel fate of these two eminent men produced very astonishing effects in Bohemia. The news of their death flew like lightning all over the kingdom, and it was soon all in an uproar.

The barbarous conduct of the council of Constance was considered (as all other events are) in very different lights by different people, according to their various interests and passions. The pious mourned the loss of these two eminent servants of God, while others were filled with resentment for the insult offered to their nation.

We cannot trace in order the proceedings which followed; but it is sufficient to observe that a prodigious multitude possessing different characters and views collected, and chose John de Trautenau, surnamed **ZISKA**, that is one-eyed, for their general. Fugitives from all parts daily resorted to him, and put themselves under his protection, till his army amounted to forty thousand. Ziska was esteemed a man of religion, but he was distinguished mostly for his skill in war. He seems to have been much such a character as Oliver Cromwell, and his army was probably not much unlike the one which was headed by the famous Protector. **Some were bent on political changes, and others were aspiring at religious freedom.** The martial spirit of the age undoubtedly induced many sober christians to engage in this military campaign, who under other circumstances might have taken a different course. They probably, however, soon fell out with Ziska_s warlike operations; for not long after this, we find a set of christians in this country; who made it one article of their creed not to bear arms. Ziska demolished idols, discharged monks, who, he said, were only fattening like swine in sties, converted cloisters into barracks, took towns, and strongly guarded one, Cuthna, which, as it commanded the mines, he called antichrist_s purse. He routed armies, tolerated and protected all religions, and encamped his followers on a rocky mountain, about ten miles from Prague, which he soon fortified with a wall, within which the people built houses, and to which he gave the name of Tabor, in allusion to the mount of transfiguration, where the apostle Peter would have erected tents, saying, "it is good to be here." Here the feeble found shelter, and from this fortress the army sallied forth to repulse their enemies. The army continued its operations thirteen years, five under Ziska, and the rest under his successor Procopius. It resisted the power of Rome and Germany united, laughed at the bulls of the pope, and routed the armies of the empire. Ziska fought eleven battles, and won them all. When he was dying, a friend asked him where he would be buried? To which he replied, "When I am dead let the brethren take off my skin, let them give my flesh to the fowls of the air, and make a drum of my skin, the Germans will flee at the sound of it when you approach them in battle." [Ziska was probably slain in battle, but I cannot find any particular account of it.]

The **TABORITES**, for by this name the company was now called, chose **Procopius** to succeed Ziska in the command of their army. He was also a brave general, and conducted the army with courage and success. At length Sigismund, loaded with titles and misfortunes, opened a conference, and proposed an accommodation, which was accepted, preparatory to a council, which the pope had engaged to hold at Basil, for the final settlement of all religious disputes. Indeed it was high time to put a stop to the barbarous outrages committed in this distracted country, in which all parties had their share.

The council met, and among the delegates for the Taborites, Procopius was one. The general_s patience was often put to the trial in the course of their discussions. He was extremely offended with one of the orators, who was a Bohemian, and who called the delegates heretics. He started up in the council, and exclaimed, "That countryman of ours insults us by calling us heretics." Cardinal Julian, who presided, endeavored to pacify him, and told him he had been informed that his party differed from the Roman church in many other articles beside the four that had been mentioned; he had heard they taught that the fraternities of the monks were the inventions of the devil, which was an offense to christian ears. "Very true," replied the general, "for if neither the patriarchs, nor Moses, nor the prophets, nor Christ, nor the apostles appointed monkery, who does not see that the devil was the author of it?" The council set up a loud laugh at the Bohemian captain_s logic.

A part of the Taborites were won over at the council and united with the papal party; but a great part of them persisted in their claims and continued their warlike operations after the council was over. But in about two years after the council, Procopius was slain, the officers of his army, and several thousand, who were taken prisoners, were destroyed in the most perfidious manner, and the army was disbanded and dispersed in different directions.

In Cromwell_s army there were many Baptists, and we have reason to believe there were many in this.

At one time, four hundred poor men, who had lived in the mountains for the sake of enjoying religious liberty, came down with their wives and children to Prague, and committed themselves to Ziska. It is highly probable that these were Waldenses, or Picards, the descendants of those who had come and settled in remote parts of the kingdom, more than two hundred and fifty years before, for even then in the reign of Frederick Barbarossa, Bohemia was accounted the sink of all heresies.

Aeneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II visited mount Tabor for the purpose of diverting himself with the heretics. The following is a part of his description of the people and the place; "They have a sort of wooden house like a country barn, which they call a church. Here they preach to the people, here they every day expound the law, here they have one altar neither consecrated, nor fit to be consecrated, and here they give the sacrament to the people. The people are not of one faith, but every one believes what he pleases. There are as many heresies as heads, for all the heresies that have infected the church from the first ages to this day have found a way into this synagogue of satan. Here are Nicolaitans, Arians, Manicheans, Armenians, Nestorians, Berengarians, and the poor people of Lyons. The Waldenses are accounted the chief, and while they remain enemies of the vicar of Christ, and the apostolical see, while they reject all superiority and preach liberty, they must necessarily countenance all kinds of errors. When I quitted the city, I seemed as if I came out of hell." Aeneas Sylvius was one of the most accomplished men of his age. He arose from one high station to another, until he arrived at the popedom, When he visited the Taborites, he was an archbishop. In the visit above described, he tarried all night at the house of a concealed Catholic, who resided there for the sake of getting money. In his second visit, he tarried but a few hours, but all the time was busily employed in conversing and disputing with the Taborites. He reproved them for their heresy, and exhorted them to return to the church which he described as the immaculate spouse of Christ, the spotless dove, etc. One of the Taborites at length became impatient with his harangue, and rising up exclaimed, "Why do you decorate the apostolical see with such fine language? We know that the popes and the cardinals are slaves to avarice, impatient, arrogant, ostentatious, devoted wholly to gluttony and lasciviousness, ministers of sin, priests of the devil, and heralds of antichrist, whose god is their belly, and whose heaven is their wealth." This man was corpulent, and had a very prominent belly, and the archbishop, who was never at a loss, rose up, went to him, and putting his hand lightly on his belly, said with a smile, "Whence came this swelling? Why do you reduce yourself to such a skeleton by fasting and prayer?" This well-timed jest produced a loud laugh, and they all with many compliments parted in great good humor.

Out of this company of Taborites arose a church, which was denominated **Unitas Fratrum**, the unity of brethren. One article of their creed was, not to bear arms; and another was, that **the Scripture without tradition was a perfect rule of life for christians**. This church composed of Waldenses, Taborites, and others, was formed at Lititz, twenty miles from Prague, probably about 1430. Not long after they had united into a church, they sent into Austria, where they found an old Waldensian preacher, from whom their newly elected ministers, received what they supposed a true apostolical ordination.

Not long after this, we find the **United Brethren** had two hundred congregations in Bohemia and Moravia. "Authors," says Robinson, "disagree as much concerning the end of this church, as they do about the rise of it. Some affirm that it fell into the reformed churches in the time of Luther. Others say that it subsisted in Bohemia, till the reign of the emperor Ferdinand II and that it was then scattered and lost. The people among us, who are called Moravians, contend that they are the descendants of the Bohemian brethren, and therefore they denominate themselves as the ancient Bohemians did, *unitas fratrum*. It is not to our purpose to investigate this dispute. It is certain the ancient church subsisted at the reformation, and afterwards left off baptizing adults, on their own profession of faith."

"The Baptists," says the same writer, "ought always to honor this church; it was a cradle in which many of their denomination were cherished. And all allow that the Anabaptists of Moravia proceeded from a schism in it."

Leaving then the church of the *unitas fratrum*, let us turn our attention to that of the Baptists in this country; for though they were increased and multiplied by parties, who withdrew from the *unitas fratrum*, yet none of these parties were their founders. **All Bohemian historians say, Picards or Waldenses settled in Bohemia in the twelfth century** at Satz and Laun on the river Eger. Many affirm that there was a set of Arian vagrants there long before, who had fled from Mesopotamia from the Athanasian persecution, and who were joined by others fleeing from persecution in successive ages from all parts of Europe. On this account most Bohemian Catholic historians call their country a sink of heresy, and Prague the metropolis, a common and safe asylum for all sorts of heretics.

This account of the Waldenses in Bohemia is similar to those which we have of this dispersed people in other countries. We trace them in their flight, we find where they settled, and then a cloud comes over their

history. Waldo, the famous patron of the Waldenses, after being every where persecuted, fled to Bohemia, where he ended his days, about the year 1179, and according to Cranz's history of the United Brethren, as quoted by Ivimey, the company of which we are speaking, emigrated hither at the same time. This was more than two hundred years before the rise of Huss and Jerome. "These two men were not Baptists, but they taught what are called Anabaptistical errors. The following are a few of this sort: "The law of Jesus Christ is sufficient of itself for the government of the church militant." "The church is the mystical body of Christ, of which he is the head." "They are not of the world as Christ was not of the world." "The world hates them, because it hates Christ; that is, the virtue and the truth of God." "Christians ought not to believe in the church." "All human traditions savor of folly." "A multitude of human doctrines and statutes is useless, and on many accounts pernicious." "No other law beside the rule of scripture ought to be prescribed to good men." "The devil was the author of multiplying traditions in the church." "Deacons or elders by the instinct of God, by the gospel of Jesus Christ, without any license from a pope or a bishop, may preach and convert spiritual children." We do not say these reformers followed their principles whither they led, but we do contend that some of their hearers reasoned consequentially from them, and so became Baptists."

In the time of Ziska we are informed, that about Prague and in various parts of Bohemia and Moravia, heretics obtained a settlement. Some had long ago lived in remote parts of the kingdom about the forests and the mines. These were now multiplied by an accession of foreigners, and by converts of Huss and Jerome, who, reasoning on the principles laid down by their teachers, entertained the same ideas of religion as the old Vaudois did. They were all indiscriminately called Waldenses and Picards,* and they all rebaptized; but they were of very different sentiments, some held the divinity of Christ, others denied it, some believed more, others less, but all were obliged to act with caution, for though they were generally connived at, yet they were not allowed to hold their assemblies publicly by law. [*** Picards or Beghards was a term of very general meaning, and was applied in different ages to people of very different descriptions, to the pious and profligate, to monks in the church of Rome, and others who separated from it.** These people were found in many different countries in Europe. They were sometimes called Adamites, and at others, the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, and many incredible tales are told about them. I am fully persuaded that the Beghards, properly so called, originated from France. A Beghard and a beggar were synonymous terms, and probably a scoffing world applied the name to a set of christians, on account of their poverty. They were undoubtedly a branch of the Waldenses, and of the same faith with the poor men of Lyons. The Bohemians, by a change in the pronunciation of the word, called them Picards; and it seems evident they were at different times very numerous in that kingdom. Two very pleasant anecdotes, with regard to the Picards, are related in the history of Maximilian II. Maximilian, after he became emperor, openly declared to Henry III of France, as he passed through Vienna, that such princes as tyrannize over the consciences of men, attacked the Supreme Being in the noblest part of his empire, and frequently lose the earth by concerning themselves too much with celestial matters. He used to say of Huss, they very much injured that good man His physician, Crato, was one day riding with him in his carriage, when his imperial majesty, after much lamenting the contentions of mankind about religion asked the doctor, what sect he thought came nearest the simplicity of the apostles? Crato replied, "I verily think the people called Picards." The emperor added, "I think so too." During this reign every body enjoyed liberty of conscience, and when it was attacked, the effort came to nothing, A faction of catholics at Prague, envying the happiness of the Picards, formed a cabal of senators, who sent the chancellor of Bohemia to Vienna to entreat the emperor to empower them to restrain these heretics. By some means the chancellor succeeded, and set out for Prague with the instrument; but attempting to pass a bridge over the Danube, the bridge gave way, and he and his company fell into the river and were drowned. His corpse was taken up by some fishermen, but the diploma was never found. Robinson.]

The Baptists continued to increase so much that when the disciples of Luther, went into Bohemia and Moravia, they complained, that between Baptists and papists they were very much straitened, though they grew among them like lilies among thorns.

There are two events, which we must not pass over, because they cast light on two articles of some consequence. The first is, that a deputation from the Baptist churches in Poland was sent to those in Moravia. Philipowski, collector of the taxes in Poland, Simon Rouemberg, the druggist, George Schoman, the minister, and several others, who will be mentioned more at large in Poland, came to hold a conference with the brethren in Moravia, concerning both doctrine and discipline, and honored them for their piety and good morals; but they did not approve of their doctrine, for they contended warmly for the trinity, which

the Poles did not believe, however they departed in peace. This may serve to show how inconclusively they reason, who infer from the doctrine of Lewis Hetzer, that all the Moravian Baptists were Anti-trinitarians. The second event is, that some Jesuits, having got into the councils of the too easy emperor, procured an edict to enforce that which was made in the reign of Uladislaus against the Picards an hundred years before. This had no effect, for the emperor signed it with great reluctance; and as he had a little turn towards superstition, when the news was brought him immediately after he had signed the edict, that the Turks had taken Stuhl Weissenberg, one of his towns in Hungary, he exclaimed, "I expected some such blow from the moment I began to usurp dominion over the consciences of men, for they belong to God alone."

I have not been able to learn any thing respecting the number of Baptist churches in Bohemia and Moravia; nor indeed can I gain much information respecting their history. Most of what has been said and what will follow, is taken from Robinson's *Ecclesiastical Researches*, and the article relating to Bohemia and Moravia, was left in an unfinished state at his death. From what few sketches we can collect, it is evident there were many among the evangelical dissenters in these countries, who held to the leading sentiments of the Baptists. They differed among themselves on doctrinal points. In some of their maxims and modes of life, they differed somewhat from the Baptists in other countries, and large companies of them seem to have been, in their civil economy, similar to the present Moravians. They were scattered in different parts of the kingdom, and Mr. Robinson is of opinion, that multitudes lived around and within the vast herycenian forest, of whom neither friends nor enemies have obtained much information.

But Bohemia, after long and violent struggles for liberty, at length fell under the despotic and uncontrolled reign of the emissaries of Rome, and heresy, in all its shapes, was banished from the kingdom.

The pope and the court of Spain embarked in the cause, and assisted Ferdinand the emperor of Germany, to extirpate heresy and civil liberty under the opprobrious character of sedition. Having prepared matters, by reinstating the Jesuits, it was thought proper to begin with that part of the Baptists whose principles would not allow them to make any resistance, and who would remove at a word, without giving his majesty the trouble of putting them to death.

The Bohemian and Moravian Baptists were then divided into two classes, the one consisted of **Cavinist Picards**, and resided at different places all over the kingdom. Some of their ministers kept school; others practiced physic. The other class lived all together in Moravia, and are called in the edict by the new German name, **Anabaptists**. These people lived in forty-five divisions, called colleges or fraternities, exactly as their ancestors had done before their banishment from France, about four hundred and fifty years before this period. Each of these little corporations consisted of many families, who held all things common. It is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to determine the number of the inhabitants. Carafa, the Jesuit, who was the immediate cause of their banishment, mentions the least number, and he says they consisted of more than twenty thousand. Others say, that each fraternity contained between some hundreds and a thousand, and thence it is inferred that they were about forty thousand. Some of these houses carried on manufactories, others were factors and merchants, and others were employed in agriculture, and a wine trade. All were busy, peaceable, and happy, under regulations of their own making, having none of that class of mankind among them, who live on the vices and follies of their fellow-creatures. They were no burden to anybody; on the contrary, they served and enriched the community. They had founded liberty on independence, and independence on industry.

It was not an easy matter to get rid of these Baptists. The emperor's chaplains, who were privy counselors, talked of heresy; but it was difficult to bring a direct charge against a people, who had no public faith, and who never attacked any religion by publishing creeds. They could not be charged with perjury, for they had never taken any oaths, and one of their maxims was, "swear not at all." Sedition could not be pretended, for they never bore arms. They could not be awed by one another, for they had no masters. They could not be bribed, for they had no necessitous gentry. Filled with that unsuspicious freedom, which innocence inspires, they had not one patron at the imperial court, and their whole expectation was placed on the superintending providence of God. Prince Lichtenstein, on whose domain they lived, and to whom they paid rent, and many other noblemen, endeavored to save these people, on account of the benefits which they derived from them; so that the Jesuit, who effected their banishment, might well compliment himself for surmounting the seemingly insuperable difficulties. "When I thought," says he, "of proscribing the

Anabaptists of Moravia, I well knew that it was an arduous undertaking; however, by the help of God, I surmounted many obstacles, and obtained an edict for their banishment, though it was against the consent of some princes and governors, who had a worldly interest in supporting these profitable rascals."

Comenius says this cruel act was colored with a pretence that king Frederick, when he passed through Moravia, visited these people, and was hospitably entertained by them. It might be reported so at the time, but this is not mentioned in the edict. The truth is, government stood in no fear of these people, and they were banished first only by the way of trial. It was intended to rid all the emperor's dominions of all denominations except Catholics, who, as they are nursed in ignorance, and habituated to an implicit confidence in their priests, are the only subjects fit for despotical governments; but Lutherans and Calvinists were very numerous, and powerfully supported by protestant princes in the empire, and it was not time to provoke them; but the expulsion of the Anabaptists would offend no body, for all protestant princes had been taught by their priests to do them the same honor.

Ferdinand wrote first to prince Lichtenstein and cardinal Dietrichstein, the first general of the army in Moravia, and the last governor of the province, to inform them of his design, and to require their concurrence on pain of his displeasure. Then followed the edict, in which his majesty expresses his astonishment at the number of the Anabaptists, and his horror at **the principal error, which they embraced; which was, that according to the express declarations of holy scripture, they were to submit to no human authority.** He adds, that his conscience compelled him to proscribe them, and accordingly he did banish them, both natives and foreigners from all his hereditary and imperial dominions on pain of death. The jesuits contrived to publish this edict just before harvest and vintage came on for two reasons, first, that the neighboring gentry would be absent, and next, that the people might not carry away the produce of the present year. They allowed them only three weeks and three days for their departure; it was death to be found even on the borders of the country beyond the expiration of the hour.

It was autumn, the prospect and the pride of husbandmen. Heaven had smiled on their honest labors, their fields stood thick with corn, and the sun and the dew were improving every movement to give them their last polish. The yellow ears waved an homage to their owners, and the wind, whistling through the stems and the russet herbage, softly said, put in the sickle, the harvest is come. Their luxuriant vine-leaves too hung aloft by the tendrils mantling over the clustering grapes, like watchful parents ever their tender offspring; but all were fenced by an imperial edict, and it was instant death to approach. Without leaving one murmur upon record, in solemn, silent submission to the power that governs the universe and causes all things to work together for good to his creatures, they plucked up and departed. In several hundred carriages they conveyed their sick, their innocent infants sucking at the breasts of their mothers, who had newly lain in, and their decrepit parents whose work was done, and whose silvery locks told every beholder that they wanted only the favor of a grave. At the borders they filed off, some to Hungary, others to Transylvania, some to Wallachia, others to Poland and Saek-hel; greater, far greater for their virtue, than Ferdinand for all his titles and for all his glory.

The Jesuit, who executed this business, says, ten thousand stayed in Moravia, and became Catholics. That numbers eluded the search of their persecutors, and remained in the country is evident; but it is not so clear that any conformed. The persecution was carried on for seven successive years; and as persecution drives people of different sentiments together, probably they mixed with the Calvinist Baptists, and were confounded all together in subsequent edicts, in which heretics of all descriptions, Lutherans, Calvinists, Picards, and all other dissenters were confounded together, and punished with unremitted fury. All the following edicts are full of complaints that heretics met for divine worship in woods, mills, lone houses and castles, and as they could be caught, were tried for both rebellion and heresy. Many suffered and probably some remained, for in time the Austrian family found that persecution would absolutely depopulate and destroy the country; and when their power was well established, and there were no competitors, they found it politic to lighten the people's burdens; but as liberty by connivance is only eligible when no better can be had, the Baptists seem to have quitted Bohemia and Moravia, or to remain only in some feeble scattered companies.

To recapitulate the histories of these Baptists -- Authentic records in France assure us, that a people of a certain description were driven from thence in the twelfth century. Bohemian records of equal authenticity inform us, that some of the same description arrived in Bohemia at the same time, and settled near a

hundred miles from Prague, at Satz and Laun, on the river Eger, just on the borders of the kingdom. Almost two hundred years after, another undoubted record of the same country, mentions a people of the same description, some as burnt at Prague, and others as inhabiting the borders of the kingdom, and a hundred and fifty years after that we find a people of the same description, settled by connivance in the metropolis, and in several other parts of the kingdom. About one hundred and twenty years lower, we find a people in the same country, living under the protection of law, on the estate of prince Lichtenstein exactly like all the former, and about thirty or forty thousand in number. The religious character of this people is so very different from that of all others, that the likeness is not easily mistaken. They had no priests, but taught one another. They had no private property, for they held all things jointly. They executed no offices, and neither exacted nor took oaths. They bore no arms, and rather chose to suffer than resist wrong. They held everything called religion in the church of Rome in abhorrence, and worshipped God only by adoring his perfections, and endeavoring to imitate his goodness. They thought that christianity wanted no comment, and they professed the belief of that by being baptized, and their love to Christ and one another by receiving the Lord's supper. They aspired at neither wealth nor power, and their plan was industry. We have shown how highly probable it is that Bohemia afforded them work, wages, and a secure asylum, which were all they wanted. If these be facts, they are facts that do honor to human nature, they exhibit, in the great picture of the world, a few small figures in a back ground, unstained with the blood, and unruffled with the disputes of their fellow creatures. It was their wisdom in their times not to come forward to deliver apologies to the world; and creeds with flattering prefaces to princes, the turbulence of the crowd would have caused the still voice of reason not to be heard.

Here we must leave these persecuted and dispersed brethren. We know but little of what became of them in other countries. **It is probable, however, that as the fathers died off, their posterity, by degrees, departed from their principles, until they became absorbed, in the great mass of professors, with which they were surrounded.**

We shall close this article with a part of a famous letter written to Erasmus out of Bohemia, in 1519. This letter describes a set of christians then in that country, in the following manner: "these men have no other opinion of the pope, cardinals, bishops, and other clergy, than as of manifest antichrists. **They call the pope sometimes the beast, and sometimes the whore, mentioned in the Revelations.** Their own bishops and priests, they themselves do choose for themselves, ignorant and unlearned laymen, that have wife and children. They mutually salute one another by the name of brother and sister. **They own no other authority than the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. They slight all the doctors both ancient and modern, and give no regard to their doctrine.** Their priests when they celebrate the offices of mass (or communion) do it without any priestly garments; nor do they use any prayer or collects on this occasion, but only the Lord's prayer, by which they consecrate bread that has been leavened. **They believe or own little or nothing of the sacraments of the church.** Such as come over to their sect, **must every one be baptized anew, in mere water.** They make no blessing of salt, nor of water; nor make any use of consecrated oil. They believe nothing of divinity in the sacrament of the eucharist, only that the consecrated bread and wine do by some occult signs represent the death of Christ; and, accordingly, that all that do kneel down to it, or worship it, are guilty of idolatry: That that sacrament was instituted by Christ to no other purpose but to renew the memory of his passion, and not to be carried about or held up by the priests to be gazed on. For that Christ himself, who is to be adored and worshipped with the honor of Latreia, sits at the right of God, as the christian church confesses in the creed. **Prayers to saints, and for the dead, they count a vain and ridiculous thing;** as likewise auricular confession and penance enjoined by the priest for sins. Eves and fast-days are, they say, a mockery and the disguise of hypocrites."

"This description," says Crosby, "does almost in every thing fit the modern Baptists, especially those in England. Their saluting one another by the name of brother and sister; their choosing their own ministers, and from among the laity; their rejecting all priestly garments, and refusing to kneel at the sacrament; their slighting all authorities but that of the scriptures, but especially their baptizing again all that embraced their way, does certainly give the Baptists a better right than any other protestants, to claim these people for their predecessors."

POLAND

Mr. Robinson has entered largely into the ecclesiastical history of Poland, and has brought to light much information respecting the Baptists in this kingdom; but we are sorry to find that **the doctrinal sentiments of many, if not the most of them, were not such as the Baptists generally approve. We know but very little respecting the Polish Baptists before the reformation.** Could we come at their history we should doubtless find a people of whose doctrine and practice a pleasing account might be given. From

several historical hints it is evident that the Waldenses spread into Poland, not long after they settled in the adjoining kingdom of Bohemia; and we have already shown that where-ever these people went, they carried along with them the principles on which all the Baptist churches are founded.

Cardinal Hosius, who was a Pole, thought it a kind of miracle, that as Bohemia and Moravia were so near Poland, and the language the same, Poland should continue uninfected with the heresy of the Waldenses, for one hundred and forty years. If records were silent, appearances would be very much against such a miracle; but records the most authentic assure us that this heresy did infect Poland long before the days of John Huss, and much more after his death.

In the twelfth century, as was observed in the history of Bohemia, some Waldenses settled in Satz and Laun, and there they found many of the Greek church, who associated with them, and whom, as they were well skilled in the scriptures, they improved in religious knowledge. In the fourteenth century the Waldenses of Bohemia and Poland sent money collected among themselves, to their persecuted brethren in Lombardy. In later times, on every gust of persecution, they stepped out of one kingdom into another, and so continued to do until the reformation. The vicinity of Poland to Moravia and Bohemia, the election of two of the reigning family of Jagellon in Poland to be kings of Bohemia, and other similar events, rendered such a migration perfectly easy."

"Formerly, (says bishop Cromer) the heresy of Wickliff and Huss infected Poland, and within my memory those of Berengarius, Luther and Calvin, found their way into the country by means of merchants coming hither, and young gentlemen going into Germany for education, by which means the minds of many were infected, and now after the example and under the patronage of some noblemen, we abound with Picards, Anabaptists, Arians, and heretics of all sorts; and, O, What lamentable depravity! every one is master of his own religion, a law and a king to himself, and thus multitudes pretend liberty and become licentious."

Thus we see that Poland was infected with heresies of different kinds, long before the reformation, and that among the heretics were the Waldenses, Picards, and Anabaptists; but I find no materials from which their history can be obtained.

Popery was the established religion of Poland, but its bands were not so strong here, as in other kingdoms; and as the Polanders were in those times passionately fond of freedom, it is highly probable that the Baptists lived openly in many places by connivance, and where this could not be done, that they retired to the forests and obscure retreats, where they followed their own regulations, and maintained the purity and simplicity of their principles. As yet the tide of Socinianism had not began to prevail in this northern kingdom.

During the long reign of Sigismund, who governed Poland forty-two years, the German reformers poured disciples into Poland; and Lutherans, assisted by Bohemian brethren, taught with so much success that popery was reduced to the lowest ebb. Several noblemen became their patrons, and the senate itself was filled with friends to reformation. It was at the latter end of this reign, that the party of which we are going to speak was formed by a Dutch Baptist.

The party which Mr. Robinson here alludes to was formed in the following manner. While the different parties of Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and the Bohemian brethren, were each disputing in defense of their peculiar tenets, **JOHN TRICESSIUS**, a nobleman of Cracow, who had devoted himself to no party, collected a large library and formed a society of men of his own character, who professed to pursue an unbiased course in search of truth. The members of this society were all distinguished either by their literary merit, their sagacity, or their rank in life. We soon find among them a Dutch Baptist minister, who was soon after excommunicated from his own church for Arianism. He was called by different names, by some Rudolph Martin, by others Adam Pastoris and by this company, **Spiritus**. Spiritus started some objections against the doctrine of the Trinity. His arguments were at first opposed; but it appears that the company took them up afterwards, and followed them on with a speculative curiosity, till they settled down on Arian and Unitarian principles. Tricessius continued to hold religious conferences at his house, and the company was increased by new members. Others of the nobility followed his example, and many societies of this kind were formed. We cannot trace in order the progress of these societies, but it is sufficient to observe that they finally centered at Pinckzow, and were hence called **Pinckzovians**. Here they

enjoyed the patronage of prince Nicholas Olesnicki, lord of Pinckzow, by whose means the monks were expelled out of a monastery, which was converted into a seminary of learned men. From this period the Pinckzovians went on with great success; and as in these times princes and great men thought it necessary to attach themselves to some religious party or other, many espoused the cause of the Pinckzovians, and thereby emboldened them to prosecute their exertions. Pinckzow now became the residence of many famous men, who differed widely in their doctrinal speculations. Some were engaged in writing and publishing their sentiments, and others in travelling and preaching in different parts of the country. **The Pinckzovians were at first an assemblage of many different characters, among whom there existed a great variety of opinions on doctrinal points. Most of them were natives of Poland, but many among them had fled hither from other European kingdoms, to escape the persecuting hands of their enemies, and find an asylum where they might enjoy and propagate their opinions. Some believed more and others less of the fundamental points of the christian system.** The doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of the Savior were maintained by some, denied by others, and doubted by the rest; **but infant baptism was denied by all.** The whole body was of course honored with the title of Anabaptists. But this term was used in as vague a sense in Poland as in Germany. **The Pinckzovians were, properly speaking, ANTI-pedobaptists, but they were not all Baptists.** They agreed to reject infant baptism, as a popish tradition; but they were, as a body at first, far from having clear and consistent views of this ordinance. The doctrine of believer's baptism by immersion seemed however generally to prevail; but it was sometime before any of them reduced it to practice. These people adopted good maxims with regard to religious freedom, but they acted absurdly when they attempted to unite in one church such a discordant assemblage of religious opinions. Their discussions were often warm and pointed, and are thus humorously described by their Catholic opposers. "Good heavens!" said they, "what a racket was there at Pinckzow! The question was put, was Poland to be reformed by rules taken from the fathers, or from Saxony, or from Geneva, or from the simple scripture? One pulled out his creed, and another his list; but the vote was carried for reforming by the simple word of God. Then the table being cleared, forth came the Bible, and that was to be the standard. Then a dust was stirred up about what the Bible had to say. One cried, it says there are three Gods. No such thing, replied another, it says there is but one God. Then down they went to the very foundations, and free-will, and justification, and faith, and works, and sacraments, and every article of the church, was overhauled. This comes of casting off the sovereign pontiff. Good heavens! what a dust was there at Pinckzow!" [Robinson's *Researches*, p. 577].

These people met often in assemblies, which they called synods, in which subjects of importance were discussed, and plans of proceeding agreed upon. They sometimes met by themselves, and at other times in conjunction with the other bodies of Protestants in Poland. In a synod held at Brest in Lithuania in 1568, **two very able speeches were delivered against infant baptism**, the first by Peter Goniadzki, commonly Gonesius, and the other by Jerom Piescarski. **The latter "affirmed that infant baptism had no place in scripture; that in the two first centuries it was not mentioned; that it rose in Africa in the third century, and was opposed by Tertullian; that the first canons to enjoin it were made at a council at Mela, in Africa, in the year 418; that infant communion came in at the same time; that before this people were put into the state of catechumens, and instructed in the christian faith, that then they were examined concerning their faith, and on confessing it were baptized by immersion; that in the fourth and fifth centuries, while the papal power continued feeble though increasing, the children of believers, even those of bishops, were not baptized till they were adults, and some, as Ambrose, not till they had been elected, and were going to accept the office of bishops, and that some deferred it till they were just ready to die."** He concluded by saying, "Why the brethren, do you rise up against me for rejecting this relic of popery? Why do you impose silence on me under such severe injunctions in regard to a subject, which deserves a fair and full hearing? Is this the forbearance, the love, the liberty of christians? Shall I, whom conscience compels to teach the truth, be silent? **Rather let me seriously exhort and beseech you to cast out every thing that popery hath brought into the church, and to cleanse the house of God from all fragments of papal rubbish.** For my part I most sincerely pray, that the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ may instruct, replenish and establish you by his Holy Spirit."

These declarations produced a great deal of reading, conversing, and disputing, both in public and private, and a great number of converts of all ranks to believer's baptism. It is difficult to say, and not very material, who of these Polanders first administered baptism by immersion. Some say, that Matthias Albinus, minister of Ivanowitz, who was a Trinitarian, and continued so till his death. Others say, Stanislaus Paclesius, who was pastor of an Arian church, at Lublin, under the patronage of the palatine Tenckzynski, where he died in sixty-five. In the province of Cujavia, Martin Czechovicus was a warm

advocate for it, and published, first in Polish and afterward in Latin, an admirable treatise, concerning the origin of the errors of the Pedo-baptists, etc.

The doctrine of the Pinckzovians was spreading far and wide, and a great number of people of all ranks declared for it. Magistrates, noblemen, knights, governors, palatines, officers of the crown, ministers, rectors of schools of great and little Poland, Lithuania, Russia, Podolia, Volhinia, Prussia, Silesia, and Transylvania, openly professed their belief of it. There were at this time three large parties of protestants in Poland, beside the Pinckzovians. There were Calvinists, Lutherans, and the Bohemian Brethren. The Pinckzovians were denominated Arians and Anabaptists, and were the common objects of aversion to all parties, particularly the Catholics, Calvinists, and Lutherans, who, forgetting their own distensions, united their endeavors to suppress and extirpate them, and they at length in part effected their purpose.

The Pinckzovians had hitherto gone on with great success, their converts were many and respectable, their patrons were also numerous and great, but the patronage of the great is as uncertain as the weather, and variable as the wind. These people as yet had no settled plan of procedure, their doctrinal notions were vague and fluctuating, and many of them were intermixed among all the other denominations of protestants. But at length they were driven to a separation from them, and the Catholics and Calvinists obtained a royal edict to drive them from the kingdom. "The king was obliged to yield to the torrent, and he issued, at the request of the Catholic lords and Calvinist ministers, who were then holding a synod with the Lutherans at Lublin, an edict to banish all foreign Arians and Anabaptists, and to suppress domestic heresy and blasphemy upon pain of death. Foreigners quitted the kingdom; but such was the constitution of Poland, so little do the great lords in such an aristocracy regard laws, and so powerful were the patrons of the Arians, that though they retired as if they paid some respect to authority, yet they met, held synods among themselves, and having been driven from all other parties, formed the first churches ill these troublous times. It was about this time they began to read and study the writings of the late Laelius Socinus, who had died at Zurich in 1562, in the 37th year of his age, and had left some of his papers in Poland. Pauli retired from Cracow, some patrons expelled their ministers, others resigned, and several kept close at home, for they feared the fate of Servetus. Albinus, the Trinitarian Baptist minister, sheltered many, and Olesnicki and Philipowski more.

The Pinckzovian confederation was thus broken up and scattered, many of their members left the kingdom, but most of them remained in a dispersed condition, until they were again collected at Racow, under the patronage of the palatine John Sieninski. Here they were called **RACOVIAN**S, and flourished much for a time; but at length an unlucky event exposed them to censure, banishment, and ruin. Mosheim appears to have made no distinction between the Pinckzovians and Racovians; one would think by his account that they were both the same people, under other circumstances and different names. But Mr. Robinson has unraveled this part of the history of the Anabaptists in Poland, and has shown that while they were called Pinckzovians, their notions of church discipline were peculiarly vague and incorrect. Many of their ministers were put into livings by lordly patrons, who had them at their disposal. Their churches were built in some measure after the old popish model, which the other protestants had adopted; and both ministers and churches were under masters whose patronage often involved them in snares and distress. They were all opposed to infant baptism, but as yet few of their ministers or members had been baptized.

"Happy for these people," says Robinson, "all parties agreed to detest and expel them; for then they formed a new church without a master, and agreed that each should be the lord of his own conscience. This event took place after the dispersion of the Pinckzovian confederacy. It is supposed that the famous Baptist, **Rosemberg**, received his ideas of founding independent churches of baptized believers, on his journey to Moravia, by conversing with the Baptists there, It is evident that by his advice and persuasion, a few professed their faith and repentance, were baptized by immersion, and formed themselves into a regular independent church. The trial succeeded, the scattered flock repaired to fold, they increased every day, and multiplied so amazingly in a few years, that all parties found they must be allowed the rights of citizens, and put under the protection of clear explicit law. Their great men were innumerable, they had power, and they would be heard. They formed flourishing congregations at Cracow, Lublin, Pinckzow, Lucclaw, Smigla, Racow, and other places, where they lived in as much peace as they could wish.

Not long after this, these people formed an establishment at Racow in the following manner:

"The family of the palatine Sieninski, nearly related to Olesnicki, had always favored the Baptists. The palatine, John Sieninski, who was a Lutheran, sometimes heard their sermons, and was once extremely affected under a discourse preached by one of their plain popular teachers, John Securinius. Being asked, what he thought of the sermon? he said, we shall certainly perish, unless we live as the pious man hath been teaching us. The lady of this palatine was a member of a Baptist church. About the year 1569, he had founded a town in the palatinate of Sendomir, about one mile from Sidlow, and in compliment to his lady had named it Racow. In this pleasant spot he had allured, by granting many privileges, various classes of foreigners and natives to settle. Among the rest Securinius, Schoman, and the Baptist church of Cracow came and settled here, and lived happy and easy under the patronage of their lord. This induced more to come, and Racow became a sort of Baptist town, where the principal men resided, taught, and held synods. After the decease of the patron, his son James Sieninski, palatine of Podolia, then in the thirty second year of his age, having entertained some doubts of the Lutheran religion, desired a conference to be held between them and the Baptists. They complied. After he had heard the arguments of both parties, he thought reason was on the side of the latter, and following his own convictions he joined the church. This was a great accession of honor, and wealth, and power to the Racovians, (for so now we must call them) and, though the patron's munificence continued as long as his life, very much to the credit of both him and them, there is no instance, with all their heresy, of their employing power to oppress conscience. They seem to have adopted an opinion, which a son of peace in Germany long after expressed aptly enough by saying, "of all heresies in the world, the most dangerous are a man's own depraved passions."

The Racovians flourished much for a time. Many famous characters resorted hither from different parts of the kingdom, and some by their wealth, and others by their abilities, contributed to aid the progress of this new establishment. Their patrons founded a school for them, and provided them with a printing office. The school was thronged with pupils from different parts of the kingdom. The press was employed in printing the works of their learned men; and here I conclude was published that famous work in six volumes folio, entitled *Fratres Poloni*, or the works of the Polish Brethren, which is in the library of Brown University at Providence.

Thus out of the Pinckzovian party originated a new set of churches, which were more decidedly of a Baptist character. They were called by the different names of Arians, Anabaptists, Racovians, and finally, Socinians. These churches were at first composed wholly of baptized believers, but some of them in a short time adopted open communion, and particularly the one at Racow. This revolution is said to have been brought about by the younger **SOCINIUS**, who also led the Polish Baptists further into doctrinal errors. For himself **he was an Antipedobaptist, but not a Baptist**. He rejected infant baptism as a manifest error, but he was never baptized, nor did he think baptism a scriptural ordinance; but if it were to be administered at all, it was to those who were converted from other religions to the christian. It is strange indeed that the Baptists should listen to such a teacher; but so it was, that by the superiority of his genius and address, he became the oracle of the Polish Baptists, and in time brought the greatest part of them to embrace his doctrinal sentiments, and from him they acquired the name of Socinians.

While the Racovians were going on with great prosperity, and the Baptists increasing in different parts of the kingdom an unexpected event blasted all their prospects, and involved the whole community in a scene of the deepest distress. In the year 1638, some students of the academy at Racow very rashly and improperly vented their aversion to popery by throwing stones at a wooden crucifix, that stood out of town, till they had beaten it out of its place. A complaint was lodged not against the offenders, as in a well regulated state, but against the religion which their tutors professed. The palatine, who was president of the academy, cleared himself by oath, but neither that, nor his services to the state, nor his age, (he was near seventy) nor any other consideration could prevail with the diet at Warsaw, which was now a mere faction, to admit of any excuse, or accept any amends. It was proved to be a mere freak of boys, without the knowledge of their tutors, and for which they had been corrected by their parents. Several of equestrian rank of all denominations protested against their arbitrary proceedings; but all in vain. The powerful party enacted, that the Racovian academy should be destroyed, the professors banished, the printing office demolished, and the places of worship shut up. All these decrees were executed without any alleviating circumstances, and the afflicted palatine, whom the senate had often honored with the title of father of his country, saw his city vanish like a dream, and the labor and pleasure of his whole life blasted by one order of this relentless despotism. He survived the cruel act only one year.

For twenty years succeeding this event, Mr. Robinson informs us, persecution was carried on with unrelenting severity against the Baptists in different parts of Poland, and dreadful havoc was made with these obnoxious people. The Cossacks invaded the kingdom, and the Baptists were the first to be plundered by the consent of all parties. Next they were terribly harassed by an army of Swedes. The Catholics were hearty in promoting their destruction, and the Lutherans and Calvinists, who might have prevented their sufferings, had no small share in helping them forward. But they did not foresee that they were preparing chains for themselves, for they, in process of time, were also expelled from Poland. Civil liberty halted only a little while, for the kingdom was dismembered, and the Poles enslaved by their powerful neighbors.

Among the patrons and members of the Baptist churches were several palatines and vice-palatines, castellans and their inferior officers, judges and practitioners in the law, members of the lower house in the diet, officers of the crown and gentlemen of the army, lords of manors, physicians, citizens, merchants, tradesmen, and people of all ranks. The rustics were bound to the soil, and no more notice was taken of them than of the salt-mines, or the forests, for they were all alike real immovable property. Of the rest some stayed and worshipped God in private; others strained a point and fell into the other reformed congregations. **Numbers fled, some found an asylum in Transylvania, Silesia, Bradenburg, Prussia, and the adjacent places, others of them lurked in Holland, England, Denmark, and Holstein.** The king of Denmark would have granted them a settlement in his dominions, and so would some other princes, but all their humane endeavors were frustrated by the Catholic prelates of every state. **They were therefore dispersed all over Europe,** and the Baptist and Armenian churches of the United Provinces received many of them into their bosom.

To recapitulate the history of the Baptists in Poland, We find that the Waldenses spread into this kingdom not long after they settled in Bohemia, which was more than three hundred years before the rise of Luther and Calvin. We have no account of their proceedings, but we may safely conclude that they carried Baptist sentiments along with them. A long time after this a Catholic bishop complains, that the Anabaptists among other sects abounded in Poland. While the reformation was going on in Germany and Switzerland, and other European kingdoms, Poland was infected with its principles. Infant baptism was doubted at first by some of the followers both of Luther and Calvin; but as these two distinguished champions took a decided stand in its favor, all inquiries upon the subject were hushed within the circles of their immediate influence; and they, instead of reforming the article of baptism, carried it farther from its original mode than the papists had done; for they had continued to dip, except in cases of necessity; but the reformers left off dipping altogether, and first enjoined pouring and then sprinkling. But among many of the reformers in Poland, infant baptism underwent a very fair and able discussion, and was by them rejected as a relic of popery. These people are very properly described by the term Antipedobaptists, that is, opposers of infant baptism, for we have no account that many of them went any farther. But they were generally denominated by their enemies, Anabaptists. They, it is true, countenanced some of the Anabaptistical errors, but we have reason to believe that multitudes of them lived and died without any other baptism, than that which they received in their infancy in the church of Rome. Many of these opposers of infant baptism, were distinguished by their learning, wealth, and princely titles, and we have no reason to believe that they were generally acquainted with the principles of vital piety. Believer_s baptism by immersion is always a cross-bearing duty, and this was probably the reason, why no more of them submitted to it. Their notions of baptism were in the main clear and consistent, but their practice was defective. I know not, however, but as many submitted to the ordinance as were fit subjects for it.

In a catechism or confession of faith published at Cracow in 1574, which is said to have been drawn up by a Baptist minister, by the name of **George Schoman**, the article of baptism is very well defined. "Baptism," says this catechism, "is the immersion into water and emersion of one who believes in the gospel, and is truly penitent, performed in the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, or in the name of Jesus Christ alone" [Mosheim, vol. 4. P. 491]. Infant baptism is well fitted for a church composed of different materials, dead and alive, for it is administered to those who know nothing of the matter. But Believer_s baptism will not do for such churches, and wherever it has been adopted it has produced embarrassment at first, and division in the end. And so it happened with the people of whom we are speaking. And the genuine Baptists among them doubtless often found themselves involved in much perplexity. Had they sought instruction of the old Waldenses, many of whom we have reason to suppose maintained the simplicity of the gospel in their obscure retreats, they might have been set right at once. But they were ambitious of worldly honor, they found themselves associated with great men, and protected

by noble patrons, who thwarted their principles and led them astray. But as tempests dispel the fogs and clear the atmosphere, so the dispersion of the Pinckzovian party, opened the way for their founding independent churches of those who had been baptized on a profession of their faith. For a while the Baptists in Poland appear to have stood right as it respected the discipline of their churches, but before long they plunged into the inconsistent and embarrassing practice of open communion, and admitted into their churches Pedo-baptists, and those who held that baptism was not a perpetual ordinance. They had before adopted some fundamental errors in doctrine, and although they enjoyed worldly prosperity for a time, yet at length a terrible gust of persecution blasted all their prospects, and overwhelmed them with distress and ruin.

Hitherto we have said but little respecting the doctrinal sentiments of the Polish Baptists, and I am sorry that a more pleasing account of them cannot be given. They styled themselves Unitarians, and were first of an Arian and afterwards of a Socinian cast. When they first began to tamper with the doctrine of the Trinity, and the divinity of Christ, their notions were vague and fluctuating. They gave an exalted character to the Son of God, and did not entirely divest him of his divinity, and they also defended a kind of trinity for several years. They were unwilling to admit the proper deity of the Savior, and yet they knew not how to get over some of the strong expressions of scripture which advance it, and some of them professed to adore and invoke him. There is a work, published not long since in New England, by a Pedobaptist divine, entitled *Bible News*, which I am sorry to find is well received by some of our Baptist ministers. The author of this work professes to hold to the divinity of Christ, but adopts a new method of explaining that sublime and important subject. I am inclined to think that the Baptists in Poland, in the beginning of their speculations, had not arrived much farther in their descent towards Socinianism, than those Baptists in America, who have adopted the *Bible News* above mentioned. But they went down one step after another, until they landed in the Socinian system, so fatal to everything pertaining to christianity but the name.

LELIUS SOCINUS came first into Poland, where it is supposed he sowed the seeds of Socinianism about the middle of the sixteenth century. After tarrying here awhile, he went to Zurich, where he died in 1562. He had acquired no determinate plan of doctrine, but **Faustus Socinus, his nephew, came into Poland in 1579, and from the papers which his uncle left behind him, is supposed to have drawn the system which now bears the name of Socinian.**

This man was bold and assiduous in the propagation of his sentiments; he went among the Baptists and other Polish dissenters, who were inclined to Arian and Unitarian principles, and multitudes became his admirers and followers. The leading Baptist ministers were too well prepared to embrace his dangerous errors, and of course were the more easily converted; and by their influence, and the insinuating address of Socinus, the churches one after another, were won over to his sentiments, and adopted his creed. But it must be observed, that we have hitherto spoken only of the leading men among the Polish Baptists. The great mass of professors in the churches were altogether illiterate, and could not of course understand the subtle arguments, by which Socinianism is supported. We have no account at all of them, nor are we informed what they said and thought of those chilling doctrines which disrobed their Savior of his peculiar attributes, and reduced him to a level with mortals. Robinson, who seems generally well enough pleased with the doctrine of Socinus, acknowledges that Socinianism consists in refined reasonings beyond the abilities of great numbers who joined the Baptist churches in Poland, and that it is therefore unlikely that they understood or embraced the sentiments, which were adopted by their leaders. This is an important concession, and one would think must be an insuperable objection in the mind of every candid man, against the Socinian system. **The gospel of Jesus Christ is designed for the ignorant as well as the wise. The way faring man though a fool shall not err in the gospel path. That system of doctrine therefore which none but men of philosophical acuteness can comprehend, I think we may safely conclude is not of divine origin, but an invention of speculative and unhumbléd men.**

TRANSYLVANIA

The principles of the reformation were first introduced into this little State, which as its name imports, lies beyond the woods or forests on towards the Turkish dominions, by a Lutheran minister, who was chaplain to the prince of the country. He was succeeded in the chaplainship by Francis Davidis, a seventh-day Baptist minister, who afterwards became superintendent of the Baptist churches in Transylvania. We have seen in the account of the Moravian Baptists, that in the time of their banishments, some went into

Transylvania, and it is highly probable that many of them were scattered in this country long before the times of which we are speaking.

Both Baptist and Unitarian principles appear to have been carried into Transylvania from Poland. In 1563, **George Blandratta**, a celebrated physician, was invited into Transylvania by Sigismund, at that time sovereign of the country, in order to the restoration of his health. **Davidis**, whose name has already been mentioned, accompanied him in his removal. [Mosheim, vol. 4. p. 496.]

Mosheim calls these men Socinians, but gives us no information respecting their sentiments in other respects, But we learn from Robinson that they were both Baptists. Davidis was a preacher, but Blandratta was not. The first became the chaplain of the court, and the other physician to the prince. About this time several other foreigners came into Transylvania by the invitation of prince Sigismund, for the purpose of helping forward the reformation. Among them was **John Somer**, celebrated for his knowledge of the Greek language, and **Jacob Palaeologus**, a famous Hebrician. Somer was a Saxon, and Palaeologus was a native of the isle of Chios, and is said to be of the imperial family. Several other foreigners, who had been persecuted elsewhere, sought refuge in Transylvania, where persecution for religion was unknown. These refugees were Unitarian Baptists, and through their indefatigable industry and address the prince, the greatest part of the senate, a great number of ministers, and a multitude of the people went heartily into their plan of reformation. This was effected by private tuition, by public preaching, by conferences held in public by appointment with such as desired information, and by debates in the presence of the senate. The prince and the senators attended one of these successively for ten days. In the end the Baptists became by far the most numerous party, and were put in possession of a printing office, and an academy, and the cathedral was given them for a place of worship. The year after a synod was held at Thorda, at which were present three hundred and twenty-two Unitarian ministers, **who unanimously agreed to renounce infant sprinkling as a prostitution of primitive baptism**, and published thirty-two theses against it. [Robinson_s Researches, p. 630-1-2.]

From this period Baptist principles prevailed, and many Baptist churches were founded in Transylvania; and Davidis, who was considered half a Jew by his opposers, because he kept holy the seventh day, became the superintendent of them all. It is probable that there were many other Sabbatarians in this country, but we have no accounts respecting them. **The progress of the Baptists in this kingdom we cannot describe with any degree of minuteness.** We are informed however that in process of time, they, like their brethren in Poland, adopted open communion, and tolerated infant sprinkling in their churches. They were connected with a court and with courtly characters, by whom they were corrupted and ensnared. We may furthermore observe that the Baptists have always been outwitted, when they have attempted to vie with others in worldly policy. It is an art which they do not understand, and for which, when they keep to their original principles, they have no need.

The Transylvanian Baptists were, as to their doctrinal sentiments, termed Unitarians and Socinians. But Socinianism was not then what it has arrived to since, nor were the Baptists agreed among themselves in their doctrinal opinions. Davidis thought that Christ ought not to be called God, nor invoked in prayer. Dr. Blandratta, it seems, believed both, and he and Davidis had warm disputes upon the subject. And the doctor, hoping to recover the old superintendent to his former belief, invited Socinus, who was then at Basil, to come into Transylvania. Socinus came, and he and Davidis disputed together eighteen weeks, and ended where they begun. Davidis thought Jesus an ordinary man; but both Blandratta and Socinus, and many other Socinians of that day, gave him a much more exalted character. But all of them were wrong, and they had set out in a path which led them by degrees to a cold, comfortless, and dangerous region. I do not find that the Transylvanian Baptists met with any remarkable scenes of persecution, but still their course was unprosperous. Davidis was imprisoned on account of his opinions, and died in prison, and both Socinus and Blandratta were accused of having a hand in the business. Blandratta, to whom the Baptists looked up for assistance, was now old and rich, and spent his latter days as many other old men have done, in hoarding up money. He had made a will in favor of a nephew, but the impatient youth stifled him in his bed. Davidis was succeeded in the superintendency of the churches by Hunyedine, and he by Enyedine, but who was his successor we are not informed. The Baptist churches here were protected by law, and enjoyed external tranquillity, but we have no information of the state of vital piety amongst them. **At the times we have been describing, I am much inclined to believe there were, in obscure retreats, many genuine**

Baptists, the descendants of the old Moravians, who chose to keep away from the splendor and bustle of the great, and who, of course, avoided their speculations and snares.

The Baptists of whom we have been speaking, both Polish and Transylvanian, were injured by the very means from which they hoped to derive advantage. Their noble converts and patrons elevated them above their common level, which excited their ambition, and also rendered them the more conspicuous objects for the shafts of their enemies. **Their learned men, by pursuing a course of speculative reasoning, corrupted their faith and led them into error.**

Finally, it will be acknowledged by all, who have studied the history of the Baptists, that they like sheep flourish best in short pasture and in rocky places.

It is now proper that we should give some brief sketches of a few distinguished Baptist characters, who have not been mentioned. **BERNARD OCHIN** or Ochinus. This man was an Italian, he had been a monk and confessor to the pope, but he offended his holiness by preaching too freely before him against his pride. Fearing the consequences of the pope's displeasure, he fled for safety, and finally settled at Pinckzow. Robinson says he became a Unitarian Baptist, but it is doubted by Mosheim whether he ever adopted the doctrine of Socinus.

STANLIUS LUTOMIRSKI. I find no account of the birth of this eminent man. He had been in priest's orders in the church of Rome, and secretary to the king of Poland, who intended to have preferred him to be lord primate, but his conscience, says Robinson, spoiled him for a cardinal archbishop, and converted him into a teacher of a Baptist church. He wrote the circular letter for the synod held at Wengrovia by the Pinckzovians, which is said to be a master-piece in its kind. He informed **the churches that the synod had judged infant baptism an error**, and had resolved to renounce it -- he added that though some one had mentioned the affair at Munster, yet believer's baptism had nothing to do with it, and that as they had always obeyed magistrates, so they had resolved to do in future for conscience' sake -- he closes with exhortations to brotherly kindness, and with adoring God, who had brought them out of the Babylonish captivity of the papal church.

MICHAEL SERVETUS. This unhappy man was a Spaniard by birth, and **lost his life at Geneva by means of the famous John Calvin.** He was not immediately connected with the Baptists we have been describing, but as no account of him has yet been given, this seems the most proper place to say a few things respecting him. The death of this unfortunate man produced very lively emotions both of pity and resentment in the breasts of many, who were not altogether in favor of his religious opinions. Many have written accounts of this much injured man, and uttered the severest rebukes against Calvin and his party by whom he was committed to the flames. Robinson has entered somewhat largely into his history in his *Researches*, under the Article, The Church of Navarre and Biscay; but our limits will permit us to give only the brief outlines of the character and sufferings of this famous Baptist. He was born at Villa Neuva in Arragon, in Spain, not long after the year 1500. He was bred to physic, but he was early inclined to religious studies, and at the age of eighteen he became an author. His first publication was designed to oppose the doctrine of the Trinity. **The errors of Servetus on this and some other subjects we lament. But this does not hinder us from pitying his fate**, and detesting the persecuting intrigues which cost him his life. Servetus passed through various fortunes, and published a number of works, all of which we must pass over. While he was studying at the University at Paris, he became acquainted with Calvin, who was nearly of his age. This was about twenty years before he was burnt at Geneva.

From Paris, Servetus went to Lyons, where he met with Peter Palmier, a Catholic and Archbishop of Vienna in Dauphine. The Archbishop being a lover of learned men and fond of Servetus, pressed him to go to Vienna and practice physic, and offered him an apartment in his palace. The doctor accepted his invitation, and thirteen years lived safe and happy, under the auspices of his Catholic patron. This prelate seems to have been one of those, of whom there have been numbers in the Catholic church, who think freely, but who do not act consistently, who inwardly disapprove of their own corrupt system but who, for reasons best known to themselves, continue to defend it. The reformers of that day could not conceive how a Catholic Archbishop and an Anabaptist doctor, could live in peace in different apartments in the same palace. The enemies of Servetus envied his felicity, and plotted his ruin. A prosecution was commenced against him, and he was cast into prison; but he soon, by the indulgence of the jailer, made his escape and

concealed himself four months, no body knows where. The prosecution was carried on in his absence, he was condemned to be burnt alive in a slow fire, and he was actually burnt in effigy. Being thus hunted by his enemies, this persecuted man next determined on going to Naples, in hope of settling there in the practice of his profession. It is supposed that he was induced to this measure by a Spanish nobleman, named John Valdesius, who was then secretary to the king of Naples, and who had embraced the principles of the Anabaptists. [Robinson's *Researches*, p. 348.] He took his way through Geneva, but kept close for fear of discovery. While he waited for a boat to cross the lake, Calvin, by some means, got intelligence of his arrival, and although it was Sunday, yet he prevailed upon the chief syndich to arrest and imprison him. The proceedings against him are too lengthy to be related here, but the issue of them was, that on the 27th of October, 1553, this unfortunate man, with many aggravating circumstances, **was burnt alive at Geneva for heresy.**

A multitude of testimonies go to prove that Calvin was at the head of this barbarous affair. But omitting all others, I will transcribe a part of a letter written by him in 1561, to the Marquis Paet, high chamberlain to the king of Navarre. "Honor, glory, and riches," said he to the Marquis, "shall be the reward of your pains; but above all, do not fail to rid the country of those scoundrels, who stir up the people to revolt against us. Such monsters should be exterminated, as I have exterminated Michael Servetus the Spaniard." [Robinson's *Researches*, p. 348.]

Servetus was a confirmed Baptist, and censured with great severity the custom of infant baptism, and this was probably one of the principal things which provoked the resentment of his enemies. His doctrinal sentiments were unquestionably very exceptionable. **He opposed the doctrine of the Trinity, and adopted the Unitarian scheme, but his views upon this mysterious subject were singular, and in a great measure peculiar to himself.** [Servetus' notion of the Trinity according to Mosheim was as follows: "The Deity, before the creation of the world, had produced within himself, two personal representations, or manners of existence which were to be the medium of intercourse between him and mortals, and by whom, consequently, he was to reveal his will, and to display his mercy and beneficence to the children of men; that these two representatives were the Word and the Holy Ghost; that the former was united to the man Christ, who was born of the virgin Mary by an omnipotent act of the divine will; and that on this account, Christ might properly be called God; that the Holy Spirit directed the course, and animated the whole system of nature; and more especially produced in the minds of men wise councils, virtuous propensities, and divine feelings; and finally, that these two representation, were to cease after the destruction of this terrestrial globe, and to be absorbed into the substance of the Deity, from whence they had been formed.] He also opposed the proper divinity of Christ, but like Paul of Samosata, he could never get over the first chapter of John, and therefore he sometimes called him God, and accounted for doing so by some sublime sort of inhabitation of the Deity in the man Jesus.

ANDREW DUDITH was, according to Mosheim, one of the most learned and eminent men of the sixteenth century. He was born in Buda in Hungary, in 1533. He had a most accomplished education, and went an extensive round of honors and preferments. He set out in his career of worldly glory, with the bishopric of Tinia, and was in succession privy counselor to the emperor Ferdinand, his imperial ambassador to the court of Sigismund, king of Poland, a delegate in the famous council of Trent for Hungary, and finally bishop of Chonat. But tired of the fopperies of the church of Rome, he left her communion, became a protestant, and in the end a member, and an occasional teacher of a Baptist church at Smila, a town belonging to him in Poland. "It is said that he showed some inclination towards the Socinian system; some of his friends deny this; others confess it, but maintain that he afterwards changed his sentiments in that respect." "The greatest man, says Robinson, among the Baptists at the reformation, was the celebrated, the amiable, the incomparable Dudith, a man to be held in everlasting remembrance, much for his rank, more for his abilities and virtue, but most of all for his love of liberty" [*History of Baptism*, p. 556], and so on. Never, says the same writer, was a finer pen than that of Dudith. "You contend," says he to Beza, "that scripture is a perfect rule of faith and practice. But you are all divided about the sense of scripture, and you have not settled who shall be judge. You have broken off your yoke, allow me to break mine. **Having freed yourselves from the tyranny of popish prelates, why do you turn ecclesiastical tyrants yourselves, and treat others with barbarity and cruelty for only doing what you set them an example to do?** You contend that your lay-hearers, the magistrates, and not you, are to be blamed, for it is they who banish and burn for heresy. I know you make this excuse; but tell me, have not you instilled such principles into their ears? Have they done any thing more than put in practice the doctrine that you have taught them? Have you not told them how glorious it was to defend the faith? Have

you not been the constant panegyrists of such princes as have depopulated whole districts for heresy? Do you not daily teach, that they who appeal from your confessions to scripture ought to be punished by the secular power? It is impossible for you to deny this. Does not all the world know, that you are a set of demagogues, or (to speak more mildly) a sort of tribunes, and that the magistrates do nothing but exhibit in public what you teach in private? You try to justify the banishment of Ochin, and the execution of others, and you seem to wish Poland would follow your example. God forbid! When you talk of your Augsburg confession, and your Helvetic creed, and your unanimity, and your fundamental truths, I keep thinking of the sixth commandment, THOU SHALT NOT KILL. Farewell, most learned and respected Beza. Take what I have said in good part, and continue your friendship for me." This is only a sketch of a letter, but these hints may serve to show the temper and the turn of the man.

This eminent Baptist fell asleep at Breslaw, in Silesia, in 1589, about the 57th year of his age.

BAPTISTS IN GREAT BRITAIN

We have now arrived to a country, where we shall not be obliged to rely altogether on the accusations of enemies, and the records of courts of inquisition for information respecting our brethren. The English Baptists have paid considerable attention to their own history, and have furnished materials from which we can gain clear and explicit accounts of their character, progress, sufferings, and circumstances, for between two and three hundred years; they have also collected from the writings of their adversaries many valuable hints respecting their brethren at a much earlier period.

About seventy years ago, Mr. Thomas Crosby, a deacon of the old church in London, formerly under the care of Dr. Gill, but now of Dr. Rippon, published, in four volumes, *A History of the English Baptists*. This history is something like that of our late venerable Backus; it contains a vast fund of valuable information, but is deficient in style and arrangement. About the beginning of the present century a periodical work was commenced by Dr. Rippon of London, entitled *The Baptist Annual Register*. This work was continued to forty one numbers, and contains many interesting accounts of the Baptists both in England and elsewhere.

A History of the English Baptists has been lately undertaken by Mr. Ivimey, a Baptist minister in London. This history, I conclude, is intended to be both an abridgment and continuation of Crosby. The first volume which closes with the seventeenth century, I have obtained of Dr. Baldwin of Boston; it is the only copy I have heard of in this country.

In the *English Baptist Magazine*, a few scattering numbers of which have been loaned me by my friend Dr. Baldwin, I find a few detached portions of what are entitled *Memoirs of the English Baptists*, written by the late Josiah Taylor of Cable, Wiltshire, England. I very much regret that I cannot get the whole of these ingenious and somewhat singular *Memoirs*, as they would, I have reason to believe, furnish to my hands the substance of the sketch which I am preparing to give. But they are not probably to be obtained this side the Atlantic, and it is now too late to seek them from the other.

The affairs of our English brethren furnish materials for a lengthy article, but it belongs to them to write their own history. It is now taken in hand, and perhaps finished by a gentleman, who appears well qualified for the undertaking. How large the work will be I am not informed, but I hope and am inclined to believe, it will soon be reprinted in this country.

The plan of this work admits only of summary statements and abridged accounts, and but very brief sketches can be given of the Baptists in England. I should have endeavored to reserve a larger place for them, were it not that those, who may wish to peruse their history at large, will probably soon have the opportunity of doing it, either by the importation or republication of Ivimey's work.

The Baptists in England are divided into General and Particular, and have been since soon after the reformation. Their principal difference is in points of doctrine. It will be difficult, and indeed unnecessary, to pay a strict regard to these distinctions throughout the following sketch. Both parties have had their share of sufferings, and among them both we find a number of very worthy and distinguished characters.

About sixty years after the ascension of our Lord, christianity was planted in Britain, and a number of royal blood, and many of inferior birth, were called to be saints. Here the gospel flourished much in early times, and here also its followers endured many afflictions and calamities from pagan persecutors. The British christians experienced various changes of prosperity and adversity until about the year 600. A little previous to this period, Austin the monk, that famous Peto-baptist and persecutor, with about forty others, were sent here by pope Gregory the great, to convert the pagans to popery, and to subject all the British christians to the dominion of Rome. The enterprise succeeded, and conversion (or rather perversion) work was performed on a large scale. King Ethelbert and his court, and a considerable part of his kingdom, were won over by the successful monk, who consecrated the river Swale, near York, in which he caused to be baptized ten thousand of his converts in a day. Having met with so much success in England, he resolved

to try what he could do in Wales. There were many British christians who had fled hither in former times to avoid the brutal ravages of the outrageous Saxons. The monk held a synod in their neighborhood, and sent to their pastors to request them to receive the pope's commandment; but they utterly refused to listen to either the monk or pope, or to adopt any of their maxims. Austin, meeting with this prompt refusal, endeavored to compromise matters with these strenuous Welshmen, and requested that they would consent to him in three things, one of which was that they should give christendom, that is, baptism to their children; but with none of his propositions would they comply. "Sins therefore," said this zealous apostle of popery and pedobaptism, "ye wol not receive peace of your brethren, ye of other shall have warre and wretche," and accordingly he brought the Saxons upon them to shed their innocent blood, and many of them lost their lives for the name of Jesus.

The Baptist historians in England contend that the first British christians were Baptists, and that they maintained Baptist principles until the coming of Austin. "We have no mention," says the author of the Memoirs, "of the christening or baptizing children in. England, before the coming of Austin in 597; and to us it is evident he brought it not from heaven but from Rome. But though the subject of baptism began now to be altered, the mode of it continued in the national church a thousand years longer, and baptism was administered by dipping, etc." From the coming of Austin the church in this island was divided into two parts, the old and the new. The old or Baptist church maintained their original principles. But the new church adopted infant baptism, and the rest of the multiplying superstitions of Rome.

Austin's requesting the British christians, who opposed his popish mission, to baptize their children, is a circumstance which the English and Welsh Baptists consider of much importance. **They infer from it, that before Austin's time, infant baptism was not practiced in England,** and that though he converted multitudes to his pedobaptist plan, yet many, especially in Wales and Cornwall, opposed it; and the Welsh Baptists contend that Baptist principles were maintained in the recesses of their mountainous Principality all along through the dark reign of popery. Popery was the established religion of England almost a thousand years; and although the people paid Peter's pence, and were involved in darkness, ignorance, and the shadow of death, yet some of these islanders were refractory subjects of the papal see, and some of the kings occasioned much trouble to his holiness. They had much rather be pope themselves, than submit to a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

William the Conqueror ascended the British throne in 1066. During his reign, the Waldenses and their disciples from France, Germany, and Holland, began to emigrate to and abound in England. About the year 1080, they are said to have propagated their sentiments throughout England; so that not only the meaner sort in country villages, but the nobility and gentry in the chiefest towns and cities, embraced their doctrines and of course adopted the opinions of the Baptists, for we have no information that any of the Waldenses at this period, had fallen off to infant baptism. **For more than a hundred years, that is, from 1100 to 1216, during the successive reigns of Henry I Stephen, Henry II, Richard I and John, the Waldenses increased and were unmolested.** The two last of these kings were much engaged in foreign affairs. Richard was long absent in the holy war, and John had great contests with the pope, who laid his kingdom under an interdict, and forbid all public worship for the space of six years, only admitting of private baptism to infants.

In the reign of Henry III about 1218, the order of the friar Mennonites were sent over from the continent to suppress the Waldensian heresy, and many, doubtless, suffered by their means.

We must now pass on to the reign of Edward II in 1315, when **WALTER LOLLARD**, a German preacher of great renown among the Waldenses, and a friend to believer's baptism, came into England and preached with great effect. His followers and the Waldenses generally in England for many generations after him were called Lollards [Ivimey, p. 56], and Crosby has quoted authorities to show that **they rejected infant baptism** as a needless ceremony. In the reign of Edward III about the year 1311, John Wickliff began to be famous in England, and multitudes embraced his doctrine, and entered heartily into his views of reformation. Wickliff was famous both for writing and preaching. His writings were carried into Bohemia, and his sentiments were there propagated extensively by Huss, Jerome, and others, and among the followers of this great man in Bohemia and England we find many Baptists. There can be no dispute that Wickliff taught Anabaptistical errors, that many who built in his principles rejected infant baptism; and

indeed the evidence is very strong that he himself became a Baptist. [We do not contend that he was one at first.]

Dr. Hurd in his *History of all Religions* says, "It is pretty clear from the writings of many learned men, that Dr. John Wickliff, the first English reformer, either considered infant baptism unlawful or at best unnecessary." The author of a *History of Religion*, published in London in 1764, in four volumes octavo, says, "it is clear from many authors that Wickliff rejected infant baptism, and that on this doctrine his followers agreed with the modern Baptists." Thomas Walden and Joseph Vicecomes, who had access to his writings, have charged him with denying pedobaptism, and they brought their charge at a time when it might have been easily contradicted, if it had not been true.

"Walden before mentioned calls Wickliff one of the seven heads that came out of the bottomless pit, for denying infant baptism, that heresy of the Lollards, of whom he was a great ring-leader" [Ivimey, p. 71-2].

There were now in England Lollards and Wickliffites, and **a number of testimonies go to prove they rejected infant baptism.** They were numerous throughout the kingdom, and for some time continued in the established church. But Rapin says that in 1389, the Lollards and Wickliffites began to separate from the church of Rome, and to appoint priests from among themselves, to perform divine service after their way.

In the year 1400, Henry IV enacted the cruel statute for the burning of heretics. And the first that suffered by this infernal law was William Sawtre, a Lollard, and supposed to be a Baptist. The signal was now given for bloody men to execute their cruel purposes in a legal way. The sufferings of the Baptists and all evangelical dissenters, from this period till the reformation, were very great. "The Lollards_ tower," says Ivimey, "still stands a monument of their miseries, and of the cruelty of their implacable enemies. This tower is at Lambeth palace, and was fitted up for this purpose by Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, who came to his see in 1414. It is said that he expended two hundred and eighty pounds to make this prison for the Lollards. The vast staples and rings to which they were fastened, before they were brought out to the stake, are still to be seen in a large lumber-room at the top of the palace, and ought to make protestants look back with gratitude upon the hour which terminated so bloody a period." [See earlier in this work.]

From the death of William Sawtre to the time when Henry VIII renounced the dominion of the pope, and became head of the English church, was upwards of a hundred and thirty years. During this period many Baptists were found in this kingdom, many were obliged to flee from it, and many more were martyred in it. **In about three years from 1428 to 1431, one hundred and twenty persons were committed to prison for Lollardy; some of them recanted, others did penance, and several of them were burnt alive. In 1535, twenty-two Baptists were apprehended and put to death,** and in 1539, thirty-one more of the same people, sixteen men and fifteen women, were banished from the country, who, going to Delf in Holland, were there put to death, the men beheaded and the women drowned. In the same year two others of their brethren were burned beyond Southwark, in the way to Newington; and a little before five Dutch Anabaptists were burned at Smithfield. By a speech which Henry VIII delivered to his parliament in 1545, it appears that many of his subjects went under the name of Anabaptists. And Bishop Latimer, in a sermon preached before the young and amiable Edward VI, son and successor of the popish protestant Henry, mentions that he had lately been informed by a credible person, that there was at that time, one town in England, which contained more than five hundred heretics, who held the erroneous opinions of the Anabaptists.

The change, which took place under Henry VIII was in the end favorable to the cause of religion in England; the fetters of popery were broken; the scriptures in the English language were sanctioned by parliament, and by their means evangelical principles were diffused throughout the land. In a short time the Puritans arose, and pushed on the reformation beyond the bounds which the courtly reformers had set. They professed to take the Bible for their only rule, and many building on their principles, rejected the remains of popish rubbish, and embraced the principles of the Baptists. But persecuting laws were still in force, and the ruling party both in church and state had a disposition to put them in execution. **Popery was indeed abolished and protestantism established, but the Baptists soon found that the protestant power was as much determined on their ruin as the popish had ever been.** In 1549, a kind of Protestant

inquisition was established which consisted of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a number of bishops, noblemen, and others, any three of whom being a quorum, were instructed to examine and search after all Archbaptists, heretics, etc. Many Baptists were apprehended, how many were executed we are not informed; but we are sure that two of considerable eminence, viz. Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent, and George Van Pare, a Dutchman, were committed to the flames. Great exertions were made to save from the stake the unfortunate Joan, who appears to have been a woman of distinction, but who had been compelled by her Bible and conscience to become a Baptist. A person, supposed to be Fox, the author of the *Book of Martyrs*, earnestly entreated the famous John Rogers, who was afterwards burnt at Smithfield, to use his interest with the Archbishop to save the poor woman from the cruel death to which she had been doomed. But Rogers answered, that burning alive was no cruel death, but easy enough. Fox, astonished at such an answer, replied, "Well perhaps it may so happen that you yourselves shall have your hands full of this mild burning." And so it came to pass, for Rogers was the first man who was burned in queen Mary's reign.

Not long after this, we are informed that "the Anabaptists began wonderfully to increase in the land;" whether they founded many churches we cannot learn; but if they did, such was the vigilance of their enemies, they were probably soon broken up. In former times it appears many Baptists had fled from the continent, and for a time found shelter in this kingdom; but now they were hunted out by watchful inquisitors, and either destroyed or driven from the realm. A congregation of Dutch Anabaptists was discovered on Easter-day, probably about 1570, without Aldgate in London, seven and twenty of whom were taken and imprisoned, four of them recanted, and the rest were probably either banished or destroyed. One month after this, eleven other Baptists, one Dutchman, and ten women, were apprehended and condemned. One was persuaded to renounce his error, eight were banished the land, and two of the company, John Wielmaker and Henry Tot Woort were burnt at Smithfield.

Very scanty accounts have been obtained of the Baptists in England in the times of which we are speaking, and but a few of the sketches which our English brethren have preserved can be inserted here. **But it is sufficient to observe that for almost a century after the church of England was established by law, our Baptist brethren throughout the kingdom, were everywhere persecuted and distressed, and many were exposed to tortures and death.**

The last man who was put to death in England for religion was a Baptist. His name was EDWARD WIGHTMAN, and is supposed to be the progenitor of a large family of that name in America, many of whom have been members of different Baptist churches in Rhode Island, and the neighboring States of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and not a few of them worthy ministers in our churches. Mr. Wightman was of the town of Burton upon Trent; he was convicted of divers heresies before the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and being delivered over to the secular power, was burnt at Litchfield, April 11th, 1612. This poor man was accused by his persecutors with Arianism, Anabaptism, and almost every other heretical ism, that ever infected the christian world. He was condemned for holding the wicked heresies of the Ebionites, Cerinthians, Valentinians, Arians, Macedonians, of Simon Magus, Manes, Manicheus, Photinus, and of the Anabaptists, and of other heretical, execrable, and unheard of opinions. "If," says Crosby, "Wightman really held all the opinions laid to his charge, he must have been either an idiot or a madman, and ought to have had the prayers of his persecutors rather than been put to a cruel death." From the death of William Sawtre, who was burnt in London, to the time that Edward Wightman perished in the flames at Litchfield, was a period of two hundred and twelve years. We have very good grounds for believing that Sawtre was a Baptist, we are sure that Wightman was, and **thus it appears that the Baptists have had the honor of leading the van, and bringing up the rear, of that part of the noble army of English martyrs, who have laid down their lives at the stake.**

It is now about two hundred years since Wightman, with his enormous load of heresies, was committed to the purifying flames. Almost half of this time, the Baptists in England were, for the most part, in an uncertain state; what earthly enjoyments they possessed were held by a precarious tenure, and persecution and distress were their common lot. They had indeed some short intervals of repose, but these were succeeded by tempestuous seasons, and the cup of affliction was dealt out to them by their enemies in plenteous measure.

We have observed that Edward Wightman was the last man who suffered death for religion in England. But this statement needs some qualification. He was indeed the last who suffered death for conscience' sake by a

direct course of law; but multitudes since him, both Baptists and others, have died in prisons, and came by their ends by the various methods of legal persecutions, and lawless outrage, with which implacable adversaries pursued them. Thousands have suffered by fines, scourging, and imprisonment, been driven to exile, starvation, and wretchedness, by a protestant power, which professed to have separated from the mother of harlots, and to have renounced the works of darkness. Of many of these sufferers we have obtained some information, but the history of many others must remain unknown, until that tremendous day, when the righteous Judge of the universe shall make INQUISITION FOR BLOOD.

We shall now pass on to the founding of Baptist churches in this kingdom, and then take notice of their increase from time to time. I find that Crosby and Ivimey are not entirely agreed respecting the time when the first Baptist churches were founded in England. Crosby's account is as follows:

"In the year 1633, the Baptists, who had hitherto been intermixed with other protestant dissenters, without distinction, and who consequently shared with the Puritans in the persecutions of those times, began to separate themselves, and form distinct societies of their own. Concerning the first of these, I find the following account collected from a manuscript of Mr. William Kiffin.

"There was a congregation of protestant dissenters of the Independent persuasion in London, gathered in the year 1616, of which Mr. Henry Jacob was the first pastor, and after him succeeded Mr. John Lattop, who was their minister in 1633. In this society several persons, finding that the congregation kept not to its first principles of separation, and being also convinced that baptism was not to be administered to infants, but to sct, as professed faith in Christ, desired that they might be dismissed from the communion, and allowed to form a distinct congregation in such order as was most agreeable to their own sentiments.

"The church, considering that they were now grown very numerous, and so more than could in those times of persecution conveniently meet together, and believing also that those persons acted from a principle of conscience, and not from obstinacy, agreed to allow them the liberty they desired, and that they should be constituted a distinct church, which was performed, Sept. 12, 1633. And as they believed that baptism was not rightly administered to infants, so they looked upon the baptism they had received at that age as invalid, whereupon most or all of them received a new baptism. Their minister was a Mr. John Spilsbury. What number they were is uncertain, because in the mentioning of about twenty men and women, it is added, with divers others.

"In the year 1638, Mr. William Kiffin, Mr. Thomas Wilson, and others, being of the same judgment, were upon their request dismissed to the said Mr. Spilsbury's congregation. In the year 1639, another congregation of Baptists was formed, whose place of meeting was in Crutchedfriars, the chief promoters of which were Mr. Green, Mr. Paul Hobson, and Captain Spencer."

There can be no dispute but that these churches were founded at the time, and in the manner above related. But Mr. Ivimey contends that they were not the first which were established in England. He has produced a passage from the writings of Dr. Some, which states that as early as 1589, "there were several Anabaptist conventicles in London and other places." "Some persons," adds the doctor, "of these sentiments have been bred at our universities."

It is highly probable that the churches or conventicles mentioned by Dr. Some, were General Baptists, as they doubtless founded many churches in England before the Particular Baptists had any. But the reader must keep in mind, that the following statements respect the Particular Baptists only. The General Baptists will be taken notice of under a separate head. As our brethren in this insulated kingdom were constantly loaded by their enemies with opprobrious epithets, both from the pulpit and the press, and were accused of holding many dangerous opinions, they at length put forth a confession of their faith for the purpose of clearing themselves from such unjust aspersions. An instrument of this kind was published by the Particular Baptists about ten years after their first churches were founded. [I find Dr. Ripport, on the cover of No 8, of his *Register*, under the head of Materials wanted, makes mention of a Confession of Faith, published as early as 1611.] It was signed in the name of seven congregations, or churches of Christ in London; as also by a French congregation of the same judgment. The ministers' names are Thomas Gunne, John Mabbitt, Benjamin Cockes, Thomas Kilicop, John Spilsbury, Samuel Richardson, Thomas Munden, George Tipping, Paul Hobson, Thomas Goare, William Kiffin, Thomas Patient, Hansard Knollys, Thomas Holmes, Christopher Duret, Denis LeBarbier. Several editions of this confession were published in 1643, 1644, and 1646. It was put into the hands of many of the members of parliament, and produced such an effect, that some of their greatest adversaries, (and even the bitter and inveterate doctor

Featly) were obliged to acknowledge, that excepting the articles against infant baptism, it was an orthodox confession.

Although but seven churches put forth this confession, yet it appears that there were many more then in being, and before the year 1646, they had increased to forty-six, which Ivimey supposes were situated in and about London. The Anabaptists, said Robert Baille, in 1646, in a work entitled, *Anabaptism the true fountain of error*, have lifted up their heads and increased their number above all the sects in the land.

I do not find any particular account of the number of churches from this period until 1689. About this time, William, Prince of Orange, ascended the throne of England. One of the first measures of government was to pass **THE ACT OF TOLERATION**, the Magna Charta of the protestant dissenters; and but a few months after the coronation of that illustrious prince, we find the delegates from upwards of a hundred churches in England and Wales, met in London for the purpose of inquiring into the state of their churches, and adopting measures for their future prosperity. This was in 1689, and by this assembly was published the confession of faith, which has often been distinguished by the name of **the Century Confession**. This great Association of churches continued its annual sessions for a few years, when finding it inconvenient for delegates to travel so far, it was divided, and associations appear to have been kept up by the English Baptists from then to the present time. "It must not be supposed, says Ivimey, that this general assembly, consisting of a hundred and seven churches, contained all the Baptist churches in England. There were, at the same time, a great number of General Baptists, who had no concern with this assembly. There were also a number of churches of the Particular Baptists, or who, at least, held to their doctrinal sentiments, who, for particular reasons, did not unite in this great association. Some of them held to open communion, and among these were a number in Bedfordshire, which had been founded by the famous John Bunyan, who was a great advocate for that practice. Others probably had some scruples respecting the propriety and utility of Associations.

Among the manuscript writings of Morgan Edwards, I find a list of the Baptist churches in England, which appears to have been made out about the year 1768. At that time the number of Particular Baptist churches was two hundred and seventeen. Dr. Rippon in his *Annual Register* published a list for 1790, by which it appears that their number had increased to three hundred and twelve. Eight years after, we learn from the same Register that their number amounted to three hundred and sixty-one. We shall now collect from the wide range of materials before us, brief accounts of the principal scenes of sufferings, which our brethren passed through from the time their first churches were founded, up to the close of their persecutions for conscience_ sake. We shall also, as we go along, take notice of some of those distinguished events which transpired in the land during the times of their afflictions, by which their reputation and tranquillity were affected, or in which they were implicated or concerned. While the bigoted and cruel Archbishop Laud had the government of the church of England, dissenters of every class, and particularly the Baptists, experienced a continual scene of vexation and trouble. About the year 1638, many ministers were apprehended and shut up in prison. And among them was a Mr. Brewer, a Baptist minister, who lay in prison fourteen years.

In these times, the High Commission Court and the Star Chamber were two of the chief engines of wrong both in church and state; but they were terminated by an act of parliament in 1641. But other means of oppression and cruelty remained, and the Baptists were made continually to feel their force. **Baptist meetings were frequently disturbed and broken up, and many eminent ministers were punished with fines and imprisonment.** Some slanderous pieces were published against them, and among the rest was one by the famous Richard Baxter. This eminent man, whose name on many accounts ought always to be mentioned with respect, and who was himself afterwards persecuted with much severity, vented the most virulent invectives against the watery Anabaptists. In a piece entitled *Plain Scripture Proof*, etc. we find the following astonishing accusations against the dangerous and indecorous dippers.

"My sixth argument," said he, "shall be against the usual manner of their baptizing, as it is by dipping over head in a river, or other cold water. That which is a plain breach of the sixth commandment, Thou shalt not kill, is no ordinance of God, but a most heinous sin. And as Mr. Cradock shows in his book of gospel liberty, the magistrate ought to restrain it, to save the lives of his subjects -- That this is flat murder, and no better, being ordinarily and generally used, is undeniable to any understanding man -- And I know not what trick a covetous landlord can find out to get his tenants to die apace, that he may have

new fines and heriots, likelier than to encourage such preachers, that he may get them all to turn Anabaptists. I wish that this device be not it which countenanceth these men; and covetous physicians, methinks, should not be much against them. Catarrhs and obstructions, which are the two great fountains of most mortal diseases in man_s body, could scarce have a more notable means to produce them where they are not, or to increase them where they are. Apoplexies, lethargies, palsies, and all other comatous diseases would be promoted by it. So would cephalalgies, hemicranies, phthises, debility of the stomach, crudities, and almost all fevers, dysenteries, diarrhaeas, cholics, iliac passions, convulsions, spasms, tremors, and so on. All hepatic, splenetic, and pulmonic persons, and hypochondriacs would soon have enough of it. In a word, it is good for nothing but to dispatch men out of the world, that are burdensome, and to ranken church yards -- I conclude, if murder be a sin, then dipping ordinarily over head in England is a sin; and if those who would make it men_s religion to murder themselves, and urge it upon their consciences as their duty, are not to be suffered in a commonwealth, and more than highway murderers; then judge how these Anabaptists, that teach the necessity of such dipping, are to be suffered. My seventh argument is also against another wickedness in their manner of baptizing, which is, their dipping persons naked, which is very usual with many of them, or next to naked, as is usual with the modestest that I have heard of. If the minister must go into the water with the party, it will certainly tend to his death, though they may scape that go in but once. Would not vain young men come to a baptizing to see the nakedness of maids, and make a mere jest and sport of it?" [Baxter_s *Plain Scripture Proof*, p. 134-137].

"Poor man!" says Mr. Booth, "he seems to be afflicted with a violent hydrophobia! For he cannot think of any person being immersed in cold water, but he starts, he is convulsed, he is ready to die with fear. Immersion, you must know, is like Pandora_s box, and pregnant with a great part of those diseases, which Milton_s angel presented to the view of our first father. A compassionate regard therefore to the lives of his fellow creatures compels Mr. Baxter to solicit the aid of magistrates against this destructive plunging, and to cry out in the spirit of an exclamation once heard in the Jewish temple, Ye men of Israel, help! or Baptist ministers will depopulate your country! Know you not that these plunging teachers are shrewdly suspected of being pensioned by avaricious landlords to destroy the lives of your liege subjects? Exert your power! Apprehend the delinquents! Appoint an Auto de Fe! Let the venal dippers be baptized in blood, and thus put a salutary stop to this pestiferous practice! -- What a pity it is that the celebrated *History of Cold Bathing*, by Sir John Floyer, was not published half a century sooner! It might, perhaps, have preserved this good man from a multitude of painful paroxysms occasioned by the thought of immersion in cold water. Were I seriously (adds Mr. Booth) to put a query to these assertions of Mr. Baxter, it should be with a little variation in the words of David, "What shall be given unto thee, or what shall be done unto thee, thou FALSE pen? Were the temper, which dictated the preceding caricature to receive a just reproof, it might be in the language of Michael, The Lord rebuke thee!" [*Pedobaptism Examined*, vol. 1. p. 263-265].

When a circumstance is related, which took place in the year 1646, it will not be thought that Mr. Booth has treated the misrepresentations of Mr. Baxter with too great severity. In this year Samuel Oates, a very popular preacher among the Baptists, by whom many hundreds were baptized, was indicted for the murder of Anne Martin, who died a few weeks after she was baptized by him. He was tried at Chelmsford, and great endeavors were used to bring him in guilty. But many credible witnesses were produced, and among others the mother of the young woman, who all testified, that the said Anne Martin was in much better health for several days after her baptism, than she had been for several years before. And in the end the jury pronounced not guilty. But so great was the enmity against Mr. Oates, that he was, not long after, dragged out of a house where he was visiting, and thrown into a river, his persecutors boasting that they had thoroughly dipped him.

During the reign of CROMWELL, the Baptists experienced a respite from their troubles, many of them found favor with the Protector, were elevated to posts of honor and profit, and their number greatly increased throughout the land.

CHARLES II was restored to the throne of his ancestors, May 29, 1660. In his Majesty_s declaration from Breda, before his return, it was said, "We do also declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." How far his conduct accorded with these professions, the events of his reign will abundantly show.

The first who suffered for religion in the reign of this profligate prince, was the famous **JOHN BUNYAN**, author of the *Pilgrim's Progress* and many other excellent works. He had been a preacher of the gospel about five years, and was exceedingly popular, though he still followed his business as a travelling tinker. While preaching at a village in Bedfordshire in 1660, he was apprehended and committed to Bedford jail, where he remained twelve years. Seven years of the time he was kept so close, that he could not look out of the door of his prison.

The year 1661, says Rapin, was ushered in by an extraordinary event which gave the court a pretence for breaking through the declaration of indulgence, which had been published. The event here alluded to was, in short, as follows: About fifty of those who were called fifth monarchy men, under the conduct of one Thomas Venner, assembled in the evening in St. Paul's church yard, and killed a man, who, upon demand, had answered for God and the King. This gave an alarm, the company was pursued by military force to some distance from the city, where some were taken prisoners. They afterwards returned and fought furiously in several positions until they were all either killed or taken prisoners. The prisoners were shortly after condemned and executed. **This was an unfortunate event for dissenters, for the crime of a few furious fanatics was laid to the charge of all.** The king took occasion from this insurrection to publish a proclamation forbidding all meetings and conventicles under pretense of religion, and commanding the oath of allegiance and supremacy to be tendered to all persons disaffected to the government; and in case of refusal, they were to be prosecuted. The consequence was, that numbers of Baptists and other dissenters were imprisoned, and their meetings every where disturbed.

This insurrection, like the Munster tragedy, was improved against the turbulent dippers. But "Mr. Jessey preaching soon after, declared to his congregation that Venner should say, he believed there was not one Baptist among them; and that if they succeeded, the Baptists should know that infant baptism was an ordinance of Jesus Christ. Mr. Gravener was present at Venner's meeting house in Coleman street, and heard him say this; from whose mouth (says the writer) I had this account."

Troubles now gathered thick upon our English brethren. In 1662, the **ACT OF UNIFORMITY** was passed, in consequence of which, upwards of two thousand eminently godly, learned, and useful ministers were obliged to leave their livings, and were exposed to many hardships and difficulties. Amongst these were a number of the Baptist denomination, but how many cannot be determined with certainty. We are sure, however, that among the Baptist ministers were Henry Jessey, A.M., William Dell, M. A., Francis Bampfield, M. A., Thomas Gennings, Paul Frewen, Joshua Head, John Tombes, B. D., Daniel Dyke, A.M., Richard Adams, Jeremiah Marsden, Thomas Hardcastle, Robert Browne, Gabriel Camelford, John Skinner, Baker, John Gosnold, Thomas Quarrel, Thomas Ewins, Lawrence Wise, John Donne, Paul Hobson, John Gibbs, John Smith, Thomas Ellis, Thomas Paxford, Ichabod Chauncey, M.D.

Crosby has mentioned the names of a number of these ejected ministers, of whom it was doubtful whether they were Baptists, and Ivimey has omitted the names of some of whom it has been determined that they had become Baptists before this event. And among them was John Miles, who founded the Baptist church at Swansy in Massachusetts.

"It is rather wonderful," says Ivimey, "that any Baptists were found in the churches at this time, when it is considered that the first act, which was passed, after the restoration of the king, contained an exception of all, who had declared against infant baptism from being restored to their livings. It is probable also that amongst those, who had been expelled to make room for the old incumbents, some were of this denomination. The Act of Uniformity completed the business, and **after this we do not find that any person who rejected the baptism of infants continued in the establishment.**"

Some may be surprised that so many Baptist ministers should accept of livings in the parish churches. But it appears to have been a very common custom before these times. It is not unfrequent in this country for Baptist ministers to preach to, and receive salaries from Pedo-baptist congregations; they do not administer ordinances amongst them, unless that now and then they find some disposed to go into the water, and they commonly preach more or less to Baptist churches at the same time. And in much the same way these ministers conducted of whom we have been speaking. Whatever fault a Baptist may be disposed to find with such a procedure, it is sure that the Pedobaptists have generally the most reason to complain in the end.

The reign of Charles II exhibited a series of profligacy, cruelty, and oppression. But as the divine judgments do not always slumber, the nation was visited with very sore calamities. In 1665, a plague broke out, which was then the most dreadful within the memory of man. The number of those who died in London only, amounted to about one hundred thousand. Eight or ten thousand died in the city and suburbs in a week. This calamity was preceded by an unusual drought, and it was succeeded in 1666, by a most destructive fire, which, in three or four days, consumed thirteen thousand and two hundred dwelling houses, eighty nine churches, and many other public buildings. **Thus this guilty nation, which had committed to the flames so many of the saints of the Lord, which had starved and tormented so many others in various ways, was, in quick succession, visited with three of the terrible messengers of divine vengeance, famine, plague, and fire.**

In 1673, among other vile attempts to render the Baptists odious and contemptible, a pamphlet was published entitled, *Mr. Baxter baptized in blood*. This scandalous piece professed to give an account of the murder of Mr. Josiah Baxter, at Boston in New England, by four Anabaptists, etc. This Baxter was said to be a godly minister, whom the bloody Anabaptists had murdered, in the most barbarous and horrid manner, merely because he had worsted them in argument. The writer of this detestable libel took much pains to conceal his fraud, and to make the story credible among the enemies of the Baptists. But providence favored our brethren to defeat the design of this base fictitious performance. The lord mayor published an interdict to prevent the sale of the pamphlet; and many of the publishers were committed to prison. Through the influence of Mr. Kiffin, at court, the matter underwent a rigid examination at the council board, when upon finding it a falsehood, the following order was published in the gazette:

"By order of council."

"Whereas there is a pamphlet lately published, entitled, *Mr. Baxter baptized in blood*, containing a horrible murder committed by four Anabaptists upon the person of Mr. Josiah Baxter, near Boston in New England: the whole matter having been inquired into, and examined at the council board, is found altogether false and fictitious.

EDWARD WALKER."

That the reader may have a view of the circumstances in which the Baptists, in these times were placed, and how their enemies conducted towards them, I will transcribe the following summary statements from the *Memoirs of the English Baptists*. [These accounts relate to the Baptists in the country. Their sufferings in London are related in those numbers of the Magazine which I have not obtained.]

"Lord's day, May 29, 1670, a congregation of Baptists, to the amount of five hundred, met for divine worship near Lewes in Sussex. Two of their enemies observed them go to their meeting house, and informed against them, upon which Sir Thomas Nutt, a violent persecutor, and three other justices, convicted the minister and above forty of the hearers. The minister was fined 20 l. and his fine laid upon five of his hearers, and the rest of the company was fined five shillings each. Warrants were issued under the hands of the justices, for the recovery of the fines by distress and sale of goods, and directed to the constables of the hundred, and the church wardens and overseers of the parish. In the month of June the distresses were made. From Richard White, fined 3l. 15s. they took value 10l. 13s. From John Tabret, fined 2l. 14s. they took a cow. From Walter Brett, a grocer, fined 6l. 5s. they took two casks of sugar, which cost him 15l. From Thomas and Richard Barnard, fined 11l. 10s. they took six cows, upon which the dairy maid told them she believed they would have a store of syllabubs, having taken so much sugar from Mr. Brett! From Thomas Tourle, fined five shillings, they took a horse, and another from Richard Mantle for a like fine. From others for similar fines they took bacon, cheese, kitchen furniture, wearing apparel, and other goods, **to about treble the amount of their fines**. The cattle and other property taken from the said several sufferers, were publicly sold for about half their value.

"On the aforesaid 29th of May, a meeting of Baptists was held in Brighthelmstone, at the house of Mr. William Beard, who was fined 20l. for which fine the constable of the place and two assistants took sixty-five bushels of malt, and sold it for twelve shillings per quarter!

"At Chillington, three miles from Lewes, Mr. Nicholas Martin was convicted of having a meeting at his house, and fined 20l. for which fine the officer of injustice took from him six cows, two young bullocks, and a horse, being all the stock he had, all of which he recovered again, but not till he had taken a great deal of trouble, and been at more than 23l. expense.

"The magistrates at Dover began early to show their unrighteous zeal against the Baptists. **Many of them were violently taken from their meeting house, committed to prison, and detained in confinement, to the ruin of their circumstances, and great distress of their families.** These hardships urged them to petition the King and Duke of York for redress, but no relief was given. At Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, the justices endeavored to revive the old practice of punishing heretics with death. By virtue of a dormant statute made in the reign of queen Elizabeth, Mr. Stephen Dagnal, pastor of a Baptist congregation that met at Aylesbury, and eleven of his people, being taken at a meeting, were sentenced to be hanged, and as soon as sentence was passed against them, officers were sent to their several houses to seize their goods, and whatever effects of theirs could be found; which order was executed immediately, and great havoc was made of what possessions they had; but powerful intercession being made for them at court, by Mr. Kiffin, the king granted them a pardon, and sometime afterward they were all set at liberty again.

"Great were the sufferings of the Baptists in Gloucestershire, particularly in the neighborhood of Fairford, Bourton on the water, Stow, and some other places. The most eminent cavaliers, **embittered persecutors, rode about armed with swords and pistols, ransacked their houses and abused their families in a most violent manner.**

"In the county of Wilts, and diocese of Salisbury, our brethren were persecuted with great severity. Bishop Ward often disturbed their meetings in person, and encouraged his clergy to follow his example. Informers were every where at work, and having crept into religious assemblies in disguise, **levied great sums of money upon ministers and people.** Soldiers broke into honest farmers' houses, under pretense of scorching for conventicles, and where ready money was wanting, plundered their goods, drove away their cattle, and sold them a great deal under their value. Many of these sordid creatures spent their profits in ill houses upon lewd women, and then went about again to hunt for more prey.

"The Baptist church at Calne suffered much; having been often disturbed when they assembled in their meeting house; in order to avoid fresh troubles they sometimes met at a mill, called Moses' Mill, a little distance from the town, and at other times under a large white-thorn bush upon the brow of a hill, in a field called Shieffield, about two miles from the town. The bush has ever since been called Gospel Bush; but only some very small branches of it remain.

"The Baptists in Lincolnshire were persecuted with savage rage. **Not less than one hundred of them were imprisoned, some for hearing, and others for preaching the word of God.** They endured not less than three hundred levies for fines. Some for two pence a week, others for 10, 20, 40, and 60l. whereby **many were reduced to great poverty, and others driven from home.** Presentments and excommunications, they had several hundreds, and indictments at the assizes and sessions upon the statute for two pence per week, and twenty pounds a month, not less than a thousand.

"Mr. Robert Shalder, of Croft, in the said county, was long confined in prison and dying soon after his release from it, was interred in the common burying ground amongst his ancestors. The same day he was buried, certain of the inhabitants of Croft, opened his grave, took up his corpse, and dragged it upon a sledge to his own gates, and there left it unburied!

"In short, **there was not a protestant dissenting congregation in the kingdom but were grievously harassed, not a zealous Baptist but had a double mess of persecution.** From the restoration of Charles II to the revolution under William III a space of twenty-nine years, **more than sixty thousand people suffered for religion,** were plundered of two millions of money,* and eight or ten thousand of them died in gaol. Very many of the sufferers were Baptists; but they cheerfully endured the cross, despising the shame, stood fast in the Lord, and served God acceptably with reverence and godly fear." [* Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, vol. 2. p. 759, mentions that the damages sustained by the non-conformists, were two millions in three years And if they were ill the same proportion from the restoration to the revolution, Crosby is not mistaken when he computes the sum total at near twenty million.]

These legal robberies and outrageous proceedings appear to have been carried on under the sanction of a **CONVENTICLE ACT**, which received the royal assent in 1670. By this act it was decreed that the preachers or teachers in any conventicle should forfeit twenty pounds for the first and forty for the second offense. And those who suffered any conventicles in their houses, barns, yards, etc. were to forfeit twenty. Smaller fines were levied upon all over sixteen years of age, who were found at conventicles. One third of the money collected of the conventicleers, was to go to the informer or his assistants. **This held out a powerful motive to avaricious bigots to pillage their innocent neighbors, and some acquired considerable fortunes from the spoils of the poor afflicted people of God.** One Thomas Battison, an old church warden, engaged with much assiduity in this unrighteous mode of procuring wealth. But the indignation of the populace was excited against him, and while he was attempting to distrain the goods of one John Burdolf, in which, however, he did not succeed, they tied a calf's tail to his back, and then derided him with shouts and halloos, as he was going off to another place. Soon after he took a brass kettle from one Edward Covington; but when he had brought it to the street door, none of the officers would carry it away; neither could he hire any to do it in two hours time, though he offered money to such needy persons among the company as wanted bread. At last he got a youth for sixpence to carry the kettle less way than a stone's throw, to an inn-yard, where he had before hired a room to lodge such goods under pretence to lodge grain; but when the youth had carried the kettle to the inn-gate, being hooted at all the way by the common spectators, the inn-keeper would not suffer the kettle to be brought into his yard; and so his man set it out in the middle of the street, none regarding it, till towards night a poor woman that received alms was caused by an overseer to carry it away.

These proceedings were in the town of Bedford, and although the people were against the distrainers, yet they had law on their side, and made terrible havoc with the property of all, who had been guilty of the atrocious crime of meeting in houses and barns to worship the God of heaven.

Our limits forbid us to pursue any further the narrative of the sufferings of our English brethren in these times of cruelty and oppression.

We shall now take notice of some of the most distinguished characters among the English Baptists, from the beginning to the present. "It was not long after the Particular Baptists had founded distinct churches, when Mr. Hansard Knollis, who had been graduated at Cambridge, formed a Baptist church in London, in the year 1641, and presided over it till his death in 1692. About the same period Mr. Francis Cornwell, M. A. of Emanuel College, Cambridge, embraced the Baptist sentiments, and became pastor of a church at Marden in Kent.

"Before this, **Mr. Benjamin Coxe**, a bishop's son, and a graduate of one of the universities, had joined the Baptists, by which he lost all the preferments he might have obtained in the church.

"There were also at this time Mr. Henry Denne, Mr. Christopher Blackwood, Mr. Daniel Dyke, Mr. Francis Bampffield, and others; who were much distinguished for their learning and usefulness, in the reign of Charles I.

"Another eminent person was **Mr. John Tombes**, B. D. of whom even his enemies speak in terms of high commendation. Dr. Wall, in his history of infant baptism, says, "of the professed Antipedobaptists, Mr. Tombes was a man of the best parts in our nation, and perhaps in any other.

"All these, and many besides, had good livings in the established Church, but left it either before or at the passing the Act of Uniformity in 1662.

"Another learned man was **Mr. Henry Jesse**, who had been for several years the pastor of the first Independent Church, but being convinced of the error of infant baptism, was baptized in 1645, and was a very useful minister in London for many years. He had undertaken and **almost completed a new translation of the Bible**, being dissatisfied with the present received version, on account of the ecclesiastical words introduced or retained by the ecclesiastical divines, at the command of James I. This work he made the master study of his life, and would often exclaim, "O, that I might finish it before I die." This, however, was denied him.

"Another person of great reputation was **Charles Maria Duveil**, D. D. by birth a Jew, but embracing christianity. After passing through the church of Rome, and the church of England, he settled as pastor of a Baptist church in Gracechurch street, London. He was much supported by many of the dignified clergy, notwithstanding the change of his sentiments; among whom were Dr. Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester, Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich, Dr. Tillotson, dean of St. Paul's, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Simon Patrick, bishop of Ely, and William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph. He published a literal exposition of the gospels of Mark and Luke; also of the Acts of the Apostles and the minor prophets.

"There was **Mr. John Gosnold**, pastor of a church in Barbican, London; who was eminently learned, and a very popular preacher, much esteemed and valued by men of note and dignity in the established church. He was intimately acquainted with Dr. Tillotson, who was frequently his hearer. Dr. Calamy says, he was bred in the Charter-house school, and in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge; and was afterwards chaplain to Lord Grey.

"Another learned man of this denomination, was the famous **Thomas Delaune**, who was a minister and schoolmaster in London; and who, it is well known, fell a victim to the cause of non-conformity in the reign of Charles II."

William Kiffin was one of the earliest promoters of the Particular Baptists, and a distinguished minister among them. He was one of the few Baptist ministers, on whom the Disposer of all events saw fit to bestow much of the possessions and honors of the world. He was personally known to both Charles II, and James his successor. Crosby informs us that it was currently reported, that when Charles wanted money, he sent to Mr. Kiffin to borrow of him forty thousand pounds; that Mr. Kiffin pleaded in excuse he had not so much, but told the messenger, if it would be of any service to his majesty, he would present him with ten thousand; that is, upwards of forty thousand dollars; the which was accepted, and Mr. Kiffin afterwards said he had saved thereby thirty thousand pounds. Mr. Kiffin had great influence at court, and was enabled to render essential service to his brethren. By his means the wicked and scurrilous pamphlet, entitled, *Baxter baptized in blood*, was examined and condemned; and **by his intercession also, twelve Baptists, who had been condemned to death at Aylesbury, received the king's pardon**. But with all his wealth and influence he was a meek and modest man.

Two of his grandsons, viz. **Benjamin and William Hewling**, young gentlemen of great fortunes, of accomplished education, and of eminent piety, were concerned in the ill-timed and ill-fated expedition of the Duke of Monmouth, which terminated in the destruction of almost all who had any hand in it. The grandfather and father of the late Dr. Gifford of London, were also deeply engaged in this unhappy affair. And at this time perished in the flames a distinguished Baptist woman by the name of Elizabeth Gaunt. Her crime was that of harboring one of the rebels, who, with the basest ingratitude, turned evidence against her. She was condemned for treason, and therefore died rather a patriot than a martyr. But it is said by bishop Burnet, that there was no evidence that she knew that her traitorous guest was a rebel except his own.

But many of the church of England, of Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, were zealously engaged for the Duke of Monmouth, and many fell by the means of the cruel Jeffries and others.

But to return to Mr. Kiffin: He was nominated by James II for one of the aldermen of the city of London in his new charter. But this was an honor which the old Baptist Elder by no means desired. Waiting on the king by his request he addressed him as follows: "Sire, I am a very old man, and have withdrawn myself from all kinds of business for some years past, and am incapable of doing any service in such an affair to your majesty in the city. Besides, Sire" -- the old man went on, fixing his eyes steadfastly on the king, while the tears ran down his cheeks "the death of my grandsons gave a wound to my heart which is still bleeding, and never will close but in the grave."

The king was deeply struck by the manner, the freedom, and the spirit of this unexpected rebuke. A total silence ensued, while the galled countenance of James seemed to shrink from the horrid remembrance. In a minute or two, however, he recovered himself enough to say, "Mr. Kiffin, I shall find a balsam for that sore," and he immediately turned about to a lord in waiting.

Mr. Kiffin was now in great trials; to accept the office of alderman was much against his inclination, and to refuse, he had learnt, would be dangerous. "I went," says he, "to the ablest council for advice, and stating my case to him, he told me my danger was every way great, for if I accepted to be an alderman, I ran the hazard of five hundred pounds, and if I did not accept, as the judges then were, I might be fined by them ten, or twenty, or thirty thousand pounds, even what they pleased. So that [thought it better for me to run the lesser hazard of five hundred pounds, which was certain, than be exposed to such fines as might be the ruin of myself and family." Accordingly after waiting some time in suspense, he accepted the office; but things were soon changed by the coming of the Prince of Orange, and this aged minister was relieved from his burdens and snares. Crosby mentions that there were four other Baptists made aldermen at the same time, but I have not learnt their names.

Among the judges and regicides of Charles I were two eminent men, who afterwards became Baptists. These were **Major General Harrison** and **Col. Hutchinson**. Harrison arose from obscurity to an elevated rank among the heroes of the Commonwealth. He was very desirous to bring the king to trial, and was the officer who conducted the English monarch before the tribunal which sentenced him to lose his head on the scaffold. It was not till some time after this tragic event that he became a Baptist. The same may be said of Colonel Hutchinson. Both of these great men were executed on the restoration of Charles II. About this time lived the famous **Benjamin Keach**, author of the *Scripture Metaphors*, and many other valuable works. In 1664, he was prosecuted and sentenced to the pillory, for publishing a work entitled *The Child's Instructor, or a New and Easy Primer*. While in the pillory, he among other things said to the spectators, "Good people, I am not ashamed to stand here this day, with this paper on my head. My Lord Jesus was not ashamed to suffer on the cross for me, and it is for his cause that I am made a gazing-stock. Take notice, it is not for any wickedness that I stand here; but for writing and publishing his truths, which the Spirit of the Lord hath revealed in the Holy Scriptures." A clergyman, who stood by, could not forbear interrupting him, and said, "It is for writing and publishing errors; and you may now see what your errors have brought you to." Mr. Keach replied, "Sir, can you prove them errors?" But before the clergyman could return an answer, he was attacked by some of the people, who told him of his being "pulled drunk out of a ditch." Another upbraided him with having been found "drunk under a hay-cock." Upon this the people, turning their attention from the sufferer in the pillory, laughed at the drunken priest, insomuch that he hastened away with the utmost disgrace and shame.

Mr. Keach was the author of eighteen practical works, some of them large, sixteen polemical, and nine poetical, making in all forty-three; besides a number of prefaces and recommendations for the works of others. **Dr. Gill**, who was afterwards pastor of the same church, was the author of upwards of sixty different works, and among them was an Exposition of the Old and New Testament in nine volumes folio. Dr. Rippon, his biographer, assures us, that had the writings of this eminent man been uniformly printed in the size of his Old and New Testament, they would have made the astonishing sum total of TEN THOUSAND folio pages of divinity. Well might Mr. Shrubsole give him the title of Dr. Voluminous.

I much regret that I cannot give a more general account of the eminent characters, who have appeared at different times among the English Baptists. They, I find, mention among the skillful defenders of their doctrinal sentiments, Piggot, the Stennetts, the Wallins, the Wilsons, Evans, Brine, Gill, Day, Beddome, Francis, Ryland, and Gifford. [*English Baptist Magazine*, No. 21, p. 187.] But few of our American Baptists know that **John Canne**, author of the marginal references in the Bible, **Dr. Ash**, author of a Dictionary and other classical works, which bear his name, **Thomas Wilcox**, author of an excellent little piece entitled a *Drop of Honey from the Rock Christ*, and **Winterbottom**, author of the *View of America*, were of their sentiments. **Miss Steele**, the author of those excellent hymns, which appear in our collections, was, I find by a hint in Morgan Edwards' list, the daughter of a Baptist minister in the county of Hampshire.

At different periods in the seventeenth century, there were many long public disputes held by appointment between the Baptists and Pedo-baptists on the subject of baptism; the last dispute of this kind of any considerable consequence, appears to have been held at Portsmouth, in 1699. Mr. John Tombes, Dr. Russel, Mr. Jeremiah Ives, and others, were famous disputants for the Baptists, and Dr. Featley, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Chandler and others, for the Pedo-baptists. There is a pleasant anecdote related of **Jeremiah Ives**, in one of his public disputations, of which in the History of Baptism, we promised to give some more particular account. Mr. Ives by his many disputations became so noted that Charles II sent for

him to dispute with a Romish priest. He accepted the invitation and maintained a dispute before the king, and many others, in the habit of a clergyman. "Ives pressed the priest closely, showing, that whatever antiquity they pretended to, their doctrine and practices could by no means be proved apostolical, since they are not to be found in any writings, which remain of the apostolic age. The priest, after much wrangling, in the end replied, "That this argument of Mr. Ives_ was of as much force against infant baptism, as against the doctrines and ceremonies of the church of Rome." To which Mr. Ives replied, "that he readily granted what he said to be true." The priest upon this broke up the dispute, saying, "he had been cheated, and that he would proceed no farther, for he came to dispute with a clergyman of the established church, and it was now evident that this was an Anabaptist preacher." This behavior of the priest afforded his majesty and all present not a little diversion. Mr. Ives was pastor of a baptized congregation in the Old Jewry, between thirty and forty years; was well beloved, and bore a fair character to his dying day. [Crosby, vol. 4. p. 248.]

We read of another dispute held between a Baptist minister whose name is not mentioned, and a clergyman of the established church. The clergyman insisted that the dispute should be in Latin; but the Baptist minister pleaded for its being in English, that it might be to the edification of the audience. But the clergyman still persisted in his demand, and laid down his arguments in Latin. Fortunately the illiterate Baptist was an Irishman, and answered in Irish. The clergyman, surprised at the learning of his antagonist, ingenuously confessed that he did not understand Greek, and therefore desired him to reply in Latin. "Well," says the Baptist, "seeing you cannot dispute in Greek, I will not dispute in Latin; let us therefore dispute in English, and leave the company to judge." But the pedantic priest still plead for an unknown tongue, and thus the dispute was frustrated.

A little while after the year 1670 it appears **a controversy arose among the Baptists in England about the practice laying on of hands**, which occasioned no little trouble among them. The famous Danvers wrote against the practice. But Keach wrote in defense of it, as did Thomas Grantham, a General Baptist. Others doubtless wrote on both sides of the subject, but these men seem to have taken the lead in the controversy. How many churches now practice the laying on of hands, I am not informed, but I conclude not many.

Sometime after this there was **a controversy among our English brethren, respecting the propriety of singing in public worship**, and many pieces were written for and against it. But by pursuing prudent measures, this controversy was quieted, and the practice of singing was adopted by many churches, which had formerly neglected it, and I conclude now generally prevails. Some of the Baptists, who emigrated to America, brought over with them from their mother country, a prejudice against singing in public worship, and in some places, especially in Rhode Island, there have been found, until within a few years past, a few ministers, who would not adopt the practice. [I know not as there is now any Baptist minister in Rhode Island that opposes singing, or any Baptist congregation that neglects it; but their posterity remain in different parts of the State, by whom I have been asked if I was a Singing Baptist.] They did not, like the Quakers, oppose singing altogether; they held christians should sing to themselves, etc. but not with conjoined voices in public assemblies.

I know not what arguments those Baptists brought against singing in public, who omitted the practice. I am inclined to think, however, that the custom originated in times of persecution, when they were obliged to hold their meetings with the greatest secrecy. Singing was then from necessity dispensed with, and it is probable, that those who came after thought it inexpedient and improper.

Open communion is now generally opposed by the Particular Baptists, and although the General Baptists are more lax than they in their doctrinal sentiments, yet I believe they are equally strenuous in their terms of communion. But before the Baptists began to form churches, and indeed for some time after, it was a very common thing for them to travel in communion with Pedo-baptist churches. Different reasons may be assigned for their so doing. At first there were no Baptist churches for them to join. And after churches began to be established, many were brought to embrace believer_s baptism in situations remote from them. And others doubtless continued in their old churches after they had been baptized, without much consideration on the subject. We do not find that many churches founded by the Baptists held to open communion, and had they, no harm nor benefit would have resulted from it, for they were generally so despised and persecuted, that few Pedo-baptists would be seen in their churches. ["The people of this

persuasion" says Neal, in his history of the Puritans, vol. 2. p. 112, "were more exposed to the public resentment, because they would hold communion with none but such as had been dipped. All must pass under this cloud, before they could be received into their churches; and the same narrow spirit prevails too generally among them even to this day." (1733)]

In the times of which we are speaking, the Baptists were not stunned with a continual din of entreaties to unite in the Pedo-baptist communion, but they were admitted to it as a mere matter of favor and indulgence, which but few would grant. But we are informed that the good Doctors Watts and Doddridge, admitted Baptists to their communion, and treated them with kindness and respect. [Rippon's Register.]

That wealthy and benevolent Baptist, Thomas Hollis, the liberal benefactor of Cambridge College, near Boston, was a member of a Pedo-baptist church.

In the early times of the Baptists in England, some few, who had been created Doctors in Divinity, and a number who had received inferior titles, left the establishment, and united with these despised people. In later times a considerable number have been honored with the diploma of D. D. and a few with L. L. D. from Scotland and America. By the English Universities no honor of this kind can be bestowed upon any dissenters whatever.

We have thus endeavored to bring to view a few of the ancient worthies among the English Baptists. A great many others, eminent for learning, piety, suffering, and usefulness, we are obliged from the scantiness of our limits to omit. I am inclined to think there are at present three or four hundred ministers in the churches of the Particular Baptists. Many of them, probably, like their brethren in America, have had but moderate advantages for education, and receive but a scanty support for their services. But there are some, whose talents, learning, popularity, and usefulness, are not excelled by any ministers in the kingdom.

Many of the Baptists in England have for a long time made laudable exertions to promote the cause of learning among their denomination, and, besides smaller institutions, have established three seminaries, to which they have given the name of Academies. The oldest is at Bristol, the second at Bradford, and the third at Stepney-Green, near London.

BRISTOL ACADEMY

In 1795, Dr. Rippon read before The Bristol Education Society, a brief essay towards the history of the Baptist Academy at Bristol, which is inserted in his Register. From this essay I shall select a few sketches of the history of this institution. Its foundation appears to have been laid by the General Assembly of Baptists in 1689. At this Convention they resolved to raise a fund or stock for different purposes, one of which was to assist in the education of young men of promising gifts, etc. The first student, who was educated at Bristol, was Richard Sampson, a member of the church at Plymouth. After he had finished his studies he became pastor of the church at Exeter where he died in 1716. Mr. Sampson was much esteemed by Sir Isaac Newton; and so strong was his memory, that one day when the conversation turned on the depriving good men again of their Bibles, Sir Isaac said, "they cannot possibly deprive Mr. Sampson of his, for he has it all treasured up within him." The first students of the Academy of which we are speaking were assisted by yearly collections from the churches, and they studied not always at Bristol, but sometimes at London, at Taunton, Tewkesbury and elsewhere, for as yet no permanent society had been formed to direct the infant institution, nor was it confined to any particular place. Mr. Edward Terrill is considered the father and founder of the Academy, which his benevolence was the means of fixing in the city of Bristol. "He left something considerable to the pastor of the church in Broadmead, for the time being, provided that he were qualified for the business, and devoted a part of his time to the instruction of young students, etc." We soon after learn that Caleb Jope was chosen to educate young men; but with the names of the students who were under his care, says Dr. Rippon, I am totally in the dark. Bernard Foskett was the next tutor of this rising seminary, and acted in that capacity between twenty and thirty years. The number of students under him was sixty four, just half of them were Welshmen, and the other English among these students were Benjamin Beddome, A.M. Benjamin Francis, A.M. Morgan Jones, L. L. D. Thomas Llewelyn, L. L. D. John Ash, L. L. D. Robert Day, A.M. John Ryland, A.M. and Hugh Evans, A.M. who succeeded Mr. Foskett in the presidency of the Academy. Next to him was his son Caleb Evans, D. D. and his successor was John Ryland, D. D. who is still at the head of this important establishment.

Respecting the usual number of students in the Bristol Academy, its funds, its library, and other usual appendages of literary institutions, I have not been able to gain any satisfactory information. Neither am I acquainted with its internal economy and regulations. I conclude, however, that none are admitted to this Academy, but such as have either began to preach or are promising for the ministry, and that those, who are needy, are supported either wholly or in part, as their circumstances require. Connected with this Academy is the Bristol Education Society, which was formed in 1770, and has contributed greatly towards augmenting its pecuniary resources.

From this Academy have proceeded many useful ministers and eminent characters. Many of them have gone to rest, many are now laboring among the churches in England, and a few of them are in America.

NORTHERN EDUCATION SOCIETY

This society appears to have commenced about 1804 or 1805. In the last mentioned year it had raised by subscription and contribution a little more than eighteen hundred pounds sterling, not far from eight thousand dollars. The resources of this society were then considered sufficient to support eight or nine students besides discharging all other expenses. Rev. William Steadman, formerly of Plymouth Dock, was chosen President of the Academy, which was fixed "for the present at Bradford," a town in Yorkshire, 36 miles S. W. of York, and 193 N. N. W. of London. I have obtained the proceedings of the annual meeting of this society for 1805, to which is annexed a list of the names of donors and subscribers; the highest upon this list is James Bury of Pendle-hill, who gave the liberal sum of five hundred pounds sterling.

STEPNEY-GREEN -- NEAR LONDON

A Baptist Academy was founded at this place, probably about 1810. We learn from the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine, that a house and premises at Stepney Green, near the metropolis, well fitted for an Academy, had been given by a liberal individual, and that exertions were making to establish a third literary institution for the benefit of the Baptist denomination. But what success has attended these exertions I have yet to learn; but it is probable there is, before this time, a well-endowed and flourishing Academy at Stepney-Green.

The exertions of the Baptists in England to promote the missionary cause will be noticed in the account of the India Mission. And besides sending missionaries abroad they have made exertions to promote itinerant preaching in destitute places at home. Itinerant societies have been formed, and by them many have been assisted to travel and labor with success in different parts of the kingdom.

We shall now close this account with some general observations respecting the number of churches, Associations, ministers, and members of the Particular Baptists in England.

We have already shown that the number of churches in 1798, was 361; and in 1790, it was 312; and in 1768, it was 217. If they have increased in the same proportion for fifteen years past, they must now amount to about four hundred and fifty, which, I conclude is not far from their number. I know of no method by which we can determine, with any degree of certainty, the number of members in these churches. Dr. Rippon, in the notes which are subjoined to his list for 1798, has given the number of upwards of seventy of the smaller churches, which run from eleven to a hundred and forty, but average about fifty-five. But he informs us that the ancient churches in London, Bristol, and elsewhere, contained then from a hundred and fifty, to three and four hundred, and some more. If we compute the number of churches at four hundred and fifty, and these upon an average to contain eighty members, it will make the sum total of thirty six thousand; which is probably not far from the number of Particular Baptists in England.

The number of Associations in 1790, was seven, viz. York and Lancashire, Northampton, Midland, Kent and Sussex, Western, Norfolk and Suffolk, and Northern. Since then, have been formed two others called Oxfordshire and Shropshire. In 1790, when there were but three hundred and twelve churches, one hundred and ninety of them were not associated. How many stand unassociated at present, I have not learned.

Many of the churches have no pastors, but in other churches there are a number of ministers besides the pastor, so that on the whole it is probable there are as many ministers as churches.

GENERAL BAPTISTS

This term has, from the beginning of the reformation, been applied to **that class of Baptists in England, who have held universal redemption**. The Particular Baptists are strictly Calvinistic in their creed. But those who are called General, lean to the Arminian system. The former hold that Christ died for the elect only, while **the latter plead that the Savior by his death and sufferings, has made salvation possible for all**. Dr. Fuller, the author of *The Gospel worthy of all Acceptation*, is a Particular Baptist; some of his brethren have adopted his notion of the atonement, others have opposed it, and the time has been, when he would probably have been turned over to the General side.

Respecting the General Baptists in England, I have been able to gain but a very little information. They do not appear to have taken much pains to record their own history, and as no others have paid much regard to them, but very brief sketches can be given of them.

Mr. Ivimey is of opinion that the General Baptists began to found churches in England in the sixteenth century. The church at Canterbury of this persuasion, he observes, is thought to have existed for two hundred and fifty years, and that Joan Boucher, who was burnt in the reign of Edward VI, was a member of it. This is in the county of Kent, and the church at Eyethorn, in the same county, is, according to this author, supposed to have been founded more than two hundred and thirty years. **How the General Baptists progressed for about a hundred years from the founding of their first churches, I find no particular information, only that they, with their brethren of the Particular belief, were loaded with reproaches and every where exposed to havoc and death.**

In 1661, soon after the restoration of Charles II the General Baptists among other dissenters, presented an address to his majesty, and petitioned for some alleviation of their miseries. This address was presented by Thomas Grantham; it was signed by forty-one elders, deacons, and brethren, on behalf of themselves and many others in several counties of the same faith with them, and was said to be owned and approved by more than twenty thousand, whether of their communicants or of their friends and adherents does not appear. But it is evident that the General Baptists were at this time a large and respectable community, and among their ministers were some of great distinction and usefulness. By Morgan Edwards' list beforementioned, it appears that in 1768, when there were two hundred and seventeen of the Particular, there were but sixty-nine of the General Baptists, and thirty-three of them were in Kent and Lincolnshire, the rest were scattered in different parts of the kingdom. I have not seen any later list of the General Baptists, and have no data by which I can form a very accurate estimate of the number of their churches, ministers, or members. But I conclude that they are much below the Particular Baptists in numbers, energy, and influence.

In 1790, they had three Associations, the Kentish, the Lincolnshire or Old-Connexion, and the Leicestershire or New-Association. And besides these I find mention made of a General Assembly; but whether this Assembly is composed of delegates from the three Associations, or is a distinct connection, I am at a loss to determine. There are, moreover, a number of churches of the General Baptists which are not in any associate connection.

The New or Leicestershire Association in 1790, contained thirty-two churches, twenty-two pastors, twenty, one unordained ministers, and two thousand eight hundred and forty-three members. The church at Loughborough in Leicestershire was the largest, and contained three hundred and eight. Its ministers were Benjamin Pollard and William Parkinson. The church of London, of which Dan Taylor was pastor, consisted of two hundred and twenty-five. Allowing the other Associations to be as large as this, and that there are a considerable number of churches unassociated, the sum total of the General Baptists may amount to ten or twelve thousand.

"The General Baptist churches are not all properly united in one close body any more than the Particulars." Some believe more and some less of the leading maxims of the General creed. And this may be said of all sects and parties whatever.

The General Baptists appear to have had more learned men, and distinguished characters amongst them in former times than they have at present. Dr. William Russell, Thomas Grantham, Dr. John Gale, and other eminent men, were of this connection.

Russell and Grantham were contemporaries and fellow-sufferers with Bunyan, Keach, Kiffin, and other distinguished ministers of the Particular Baptists.

The following Memorial of MR. GRANTHAM, in Golden Capitals, is hung up in the Meeting-house belonging to the General Baptists in the Priory of the White Friars in the Parish of St. James, in the city of Norwich.

A MEMORIAL, Dedicated to the singular merits of A faithful Confessor, and laborious Servant of Christ: Who with christian fortitude, endured persecution Through many perils, the loss of friends and substance And ten persecutions for conscience_ sake, A Man endowed with every christian grace and virtue, The Rev. Mr. THOMAS GRANTHAM, A learned Minister of the baptized Churches, And pious Founder of this Church of Believers baptized: Who delivered to King Charles II our Declaration of Faith; And afterwards presented to him a Remonstrance against Persecution. Both were kindly received, and redress of grievances promised. He died 17 Jan. 1692, aged 57 years, And, to prevent the indecencies threatened to his corps, Was interred before the west doors, In the middle Aisle of St. Stephen_s Church, in this City; Through the interest, and much to the credit of The Rev. Mr. JOHN CONNOULD, By whom, with many sighs and tears The burial service was solemnly read to a crowded audience. When, at closing the book, he added, This day is a very great man fallen in our Israel; For after their Epistolary Dispute, in sixty letters, ended, That very learned Vicar retained The highest esteem and friendship for him whilst living, And was, at his own request, buried by him, May 1708. That Mr. GRANTHAM was a very great man, appears In those Letters, and in numerous printed works. Also, when engaged in public disputations, Successfully displaying the well accomplished Logician; For to such exercises of skill and literature He was often called in that disputing age. Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, yea, saith the Spirit, They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.

WALES

We have briefly related under the preceding head the account of the ancient British Christians retiring into Wales, to avoid the persecutions of the pagan Saxons, and of their being visited by the bloody emissary of Rome, St. Austin, who requested them to receive the commandment of the pope, and baptize their children. These christian refugees are upon very good ground supposed to have been Baptists. After they were driven into Wales they enjoyed tranquillity for a length of time, and religion flourished by their means. They formed two large societies of a somewhat peculiar nature, one at **Bangor** in the north, and the other at **Cear-leon** in the south. According to Danvers the society or college at Bangor contained two thousand one hundred christians, who dedicated themselves to the Lord, to serve him in the ministry, as they became capable, to whom was attributed the name of the monks of Bangor. But this writer assures us **they were no ways like the popish monks, for they married, followed their different callings, those who were qualified for the ministry engaged in the holy employment, while the others labored with their hands to support them, and to provide for the great spiritual family.** We have seen that the Moravian Baptists lived in confraternities much like the one we are now describing, and the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, as we shall soon show, have founded an institution of a similar nature, where from one fund, the wants of all, however differently engaged, are supplied. The Mission house at Serampore would doubtless be called a monastery, and the missionaries monks by a popish writer. **But the two great societies at Bangor and Cear-leon, were broken up, and all the Baptists in Wales, who rejected St. Austin_s commission, were terribly harassed, and most of them destroyed about the year 600,** by the army of Saxons, which the sanguinary saint procured to carry war and wretchedness among them.

For many centuries after this the history of Wales is covered with great obscurity. **Our English and Welsh brethren seem inclined to think that Baptist principles lived in this country through all the dark ages of popery, although they do not pretend that those who maintained them remained in a congregated state.** The supposition is not altogether improbable, but until some clearer historical evidence can be adduced, it must rest as a matter of opinion. We know that Wales, for a long time, has been a

nursery of Baptists. Multitudes have emigrated to this country from that principality, and many of the American churches were founded either wholly or in part by these emigrants. **Wales has also supplied the American churches with many useful ministers**, many of whom are gone to receive their reward, but some of them are yet actively engaged in this western department of the Lord's vineyard. **Roger Williams**, the founder of Rhode Island, **Morgan Edwards**, Dr. Samuel Jones of Lower-Dublin, (Penn.) Mr. David Philips, of Washington county in the same State, Mr. Lewis Richards of Baltimore, and Mr. John Williams of New York, were all born in Wales. The names of many other ministers of Welsh extraction will occur in the course of this work.

The first Baptist church in Wales, of which we can give any clear account, was founded at Swansea in that country in 1649. The principal man among them was John Miles, who afterwards came to America and founded the church at Swansea, in Massachusetts. The Swansea church in Wales had increased to about three hundred members by the year 1662. Other churches arose in this country soon after the one was founded at Swansea, and in the time of the Commonwealth, they maintained an Association, and published a Confession of Faith, which was publicly opposed by George Fox, the Quaker. But **on the restoration of Charles II their Association was broken up, and they with all other non-conformists were made to feel the rod of a persecuting church**. When the General Assembly of Baptists met in London, in 1689, it appears there were delegates from only seven churches in Wales. It is probable, however, that there were more churches in the principality at that time, which could not conveniently send delegates so far, or who might not have been convinced of the expediency of the measure.

In Morgan Edwards's list for 1768, the number of Baptist churches in Wales was twenty-three, only one of which was of the General persuasion. In all these churches were about twenty ministers, and two thousand one hundred and ten communicants.

In Rippon's list for 1790, the number of churches had increased to forty-eight, and the number of ministers was much greater. In 1798, the number of churches amounted to eighty-four, in which were ninety-one ministers, who had a pastoral charge, forty-seven who were not ordained, and not less than nine thousand members.

If the Baptists in Wales have increased as fast since the last mentioned date, as they did for a number of years preceding it, there must now be considerably more than a hundred churches, twelve or fourteen thousand members, and not far from two hundred ministers, including such as are not ordained.

There are three Associations in Wales, which are called the East, West, and North.

In Rippon's latest list of the Welsh churches, he has specified the year in which each one was constituted. The one at Olchon is dated in 1633, sixteen years before the one at Swansea.

IRELAND

This catholic kingdom has never contained many Baptists, but yet there appears to have been a few respectable churches in it for more than a hundred and sixty years. At what period Baptist churches began to be founded in Ireland, I cannot learn, but it was probably not far from the year 1650. Ivimey has given an account of a correspondence, which was maintained between the Baptists in Ireland, and England, a little after this period. By a letter from Ireland, in 1653, it appears there were ten Baptist churches in the following places, viz. Dublin, Waterford, Clonmell, Kilkenny, Cork, Limerick, Galloway, Wexford, Kerry, and near Carrick Fergus. Three years after, another letter was sent, signed by Patient, Blackwood, Roberts, Lawern, Seward, Jones, Cudmore, Hopkins, and Thomas, all of whom, I conclude, were ministers. **The Baptists appear to have flourished in Ireland during the existence of the Commonwealth; but on the restoration of the persecuting and inglorious Charles II, they doubtless met with trouble, and it is supposed that those ministers, who had gone over from England to that kingdom, were then obliged to return home.**

Among the papers left by Mr. John Comer, and preserved by Mr. Backus, I find a letter written from Dublin in 1731, by a Baptist minister, whose name was Abdiel Edwards. By this letter it appears there

were then eight or ten churches in Ireland, of the Particular Baptists, besides one of Arminian principles, and another which held to open communion. Mr. Edwards informs his correspondent that the church in Swift's Alley, Dublin, of which he was pastor, consisted of about two hundred members, that it was, for ought he could learn, the oldest in the kingdom, and was formed, as he supposed, about eighty years before, that is, about 1650. He also mentions that the whole number of Baptist communicants then in Ireland, did not exceed four hundred. The number of both churches and members has been less since that time, but of late years they begin to increase.

Ireland has produced some famous statesmen and literary characters, and it also gave birth to that famous Baptist, that champion of non-conformity, Thomas Delaune, whose immortal plea for the non-conformists was re-published a few years since, by Elias Lee, pastor of the Baptist church at the Ballston Springs, in the state of New York.

SCOTLAND

It was supposed till very lately, that there never had existed in Scotland a religious society of the Baptist denomination, before the year 1765; but it now appears that this was a mistake, and that such a society did really exist there as far back as about the middle of the seventeenth century, and which used to meet at Leith and Edinburgh. What led to this discovery was a book which lately fell into the hands of a certain person at Edinburgh, entitled, "A confession of the several congregations or churches of Christ in London, which are commonly (though unjustly) called Anabaptists; published for the vindication of the truth, etc. Unto which is added, Heart-bleedings for professors' abominations, or a faithful general epistle, (from the same churches) presented to all who have known the way of truth, etc. The fourth impression corrected. Printed at Leith, 1653." To this edition a preface is prefixed by some Baptists at Leith and Edinburgh, which, however, contains nothing of the history of the church, only that they were of the same faith and order with the churches in London. It is dated, "Leith, the tenth of the first month, vulgarly called March, 1652-3," and "signed in the name, and by the appointment of the church of Christ, usually meeting at Leith and Edinburgh, by Thomas Spencer, Abraham Holmes, Thomas Powell, John Brady." "It is more than probable that this church was composed of English Baptists, who had gone into that country, during the civil wars. In that case it may be supposed that they were chiefly soldiers, as we know of no other description of men so likely to have emigrated from England to Scotland; and it is well known that there were many Baptists in the army which Cromwell led into that country, a good part of which was left behind for the purpose of garrisoning Edinburgh, Leith and other places.

"This church, it is supposed, continued in existence down to the era of the restoration, when, in all probability, it was dissolved and dispersed, owing either to the garrisons of Leith and Edinburgh, being then withdrawn and replaced by other troops, or else to the violence of the persecution, which so notoriously distinguished the execrable reign of the second Charles. Be that as it may, there do not appear, as far as is now known, the slightest traces of so much as one single Baptist church in North-Britain, for more than a hundred years from that period. It was not till the year 1765, that the Baptist profession began again to make a public appearance in that country; its first rise, however, may be traced a little further back."

In 1763, **Robert Carmichael and Archibald M_Lean**, conversing together upon the subject of infant baptism, were at a loss to find any proper ground for it in the word of God; but being unwilling to relinquish it hastily, it was agreed that each of them should carefully consult the scriptures upon that subject, and communicate their thoughts upon it to each other. Carmichael had been for several years pastor of an Antiburgher congregation, the strictest class of seceders, but had now joined the Glassites. M_Lean was a printer at Glasgow. **The result of these examinations was, that both of these men were led to renounce infant baptism.** Carmichael was now at Edinburgh. He had been pastor of an Independent society in that city; but for certain reasons, he and seven others had separated from that society, before he became a Baptist. Soon after this separation he became fully convinced of the scripture doctrine of baptism, and preached it publicly. Five of the seven who adhered to him declared themselves of the same mind, among whom was Mr. Robert Walker, surgeon. To obtain baptism in a regular way, it was judged proper that Mr. Carmichael should first go to London and be baptized himself. He accordingly went and was baptized by Doctor Gill, at Barbican, October 9, 1765, and, returning to Edinburgh, administered that ordinance to the five above mentioned, and other two, in November following. Archibald M_Lean, then residing at Glasgow, was not baptized for some weeks after; and while at Edinburgh upon that occasion he was much solicited to write an answer to Mr. Glass's *Dissertation on Infant Baptism*, which he did in the spring following, but it was not published till the end of that year. A publication of this nature being a

novelty in Scotland, awakened the attention of many in different places to the subject. In December, 1767, Archibald M_Lean removed to Edinburgh, the church then consisting of about nine members; and in June, 1768, he was chosen colleague to Mr. Carmichael. Soon after this the church increased considerably.

This was the beginning of the present Baptist churches in Scotland. In 1769, Mr. Carmichael removed from Edinburgh, and settled at Dundee, where a church was organized immediately, and he and Thomas Boswel became its elders. About the same time Dr. Walker was chosen joint-elder with Archibald M_Lean of the church at Edinburgh. The same year (1769) several persons came from Glasgow, and were baptized. Afterwards, when their number increased, they were set in order, and Neil Stuart was appointed their elder. In 1770, a small society arose at Montrose, and John Greig, David Mill, and Thomas Wren, officiated as its elders. From this period Baptist sentiments spread around in many different places, and a number of small societies were formed. Some acquired a permanent standing, while others were broken up in a short time by disputes among themselves about the order of the house, etc. **I am inclined to think there were not more than ten or twelve Baptist churches in Scotland, in 1800. But since that time they have increased greatly.** Many Pedobaptist ministers have espoused the Baptist cause, and the doctrine of believer_s baptism has had an extensive prevalence within a few years past in the Scottish realm. The converts seem to have come more from the Independent connection, than the fast-bound Kirk. Among the distinguished characters, in Scotland, who have embraced the principles of the Baptists, we may reckon **Robert Haldane**, Esq. and Rev. **James A. Haldane** his brother. The former of these is a gentleman of fortune, and has, for many years, devoted his revenues to the promotion of the cause of truth. By his means many pious young men have been educated and sent forth into the ministry in different directions; and a considerable number of them, have with their patron been buried in baptism, and espoused the principles of the despised Baptists.

I very much regret that I am not able to give a more particular account of the late progress of the Baptist sentiments, and of the present number of the denomination in Scotland.

Mr. Maclay of New York informs me, that before he left Scotland, he foresaw what has since come to pass, and gave his Independent brethren to understand that he expected many of them would become Baptists. And so it has happened that many of their ministers, multitudes of their members, and in not a few instances almost whole churches have embraced the Baptist principles. The Independents and Baptists are very nearly related. Their notions of church government are alike, in doctrine they generally agree, and **it is only for an Independent to go into the water, and he is a Baptist at once.** The Independent churches have always been Baptist nurseries. The Independents are upon the brink of gospel order, and when they are immersed in Jordan they are completely in it. The present number of Baptists in Scotland I am not able to state; but from all accounts it must amount to many thousands. Should any further accounts come to hand in season, they shall be inserted in the Appendix.

INDIA MISSION

This mission originated in England, and is supported and directed by a society, which was formed about twenty years ago, by the Baptists in that kingdom.

An interesting account of this important establishment was not long since published in a small volume by Dr. Staughton of Philadelphia, under the title of *THE BAPTIST MISSION IN INDIA*, containing a narrative of its rise, progress, and present condition. Very interesting communications from the Missionaries in India, are also frequently inserted in the *Baptist Magazine*, edited by Dr. Baldwin of Boston. But for the benefit of those of our brethren, who have not had access to these sources of information, I shall here give a brief account of this noble institution.

As early as 1784, it was resolved by an Association held at Nottingham, in England, to set apart an hour the first Monday evening in every month, for extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion, and for the extending of Christ_s kingdom in the world. This was three years before **Mr. Carey** was ordained. This distinguished man from his first entering on the work of the ministry, directed all his thoughts, plans, and studies towards enterprises of a missionary kind. In 1790, he visited Birmingham and became acquainted with the late Samuel Pearce, whose kindred soul entered with ardor into all his views. Others at the same time were animated with a missionary zeal, and in 1792 the society was formed at Kettering, which has

since, by its wonderful acts, astonished the christian world, and made the word of God accessible to millions in India's benighted realm. Its funds at first were only 13l. 2s. 6d.

About this time, Mr. John Thomas returned from India to England. He went out as a surgeon of an East-Indiaman in 1783. Before he left England he had embraced the gospel under Dr. Stennet; while he was in Bengal, he felt a desire to communicate it to the natives, and being encouraged to do so by a religious friend, he obtained his discharge from the ship, and after learning the language, continued from the year 1787 to 1791 preaching Christ in different parts of the country. But it does not appear that the Baptists in England were at the time acquainted with Mr. Thomas's proceedings. But now they were happy to find that while they had been praying at home for the spread of the gospel among the heathen, one of their brethren had been making the attempt among the wretched Hindoos, and that some success had attended his exertions.

From information received from Mr. Thomas, the committee of this infant society, which at first consisted of John Ryland, Reynold Hogg, William Carey, John Sutcliff, and Andrew Fuller, were fully of opinion that a door was now open for a mission in the East-Indies. They accordingly resolved to invite Mr. Thomas to go out as one of their missionaries. Mr. Carey, whom God, in his wise providence, had fitted for the important part he has since acted, and had brought him into his vineyard at this eventful juncture, was asked if he were willing to accompany Mr. Thomas; to which he readily answered in the affirmative. Thus two missionaries stood ready to depart for the dark and distant coast. "The next step was to calculate the expense of sending them out, and to obtain the means of defraying it. The expense was estimated at 500l. which sum required to be raised in about three or four months. To accomplish this the committee frankly stated to the religious public their plan requesting that so far as it appeared to be deserving of encouragement, they would encourage it. Letters were also addressed to the most active ministers of the denomination throughout the kingdom, requesting their concurrence and assistance. The result was, that more than twice the sum which had been asked for was collected; yet, when the work was finished, the actual expense had so far exceeded the estimate, that there were only a few pounds to spare. One principal cause of this was the circumstance of Mr. Carey's whole family, with Mr. Carey's sister, being induced to accompany him."

In June, 1793, on board the princess Maria, a Danish Indiaman, these missionaries set sail for India, and after the usual passage safely arrived at the place of their destination. During the first years of their residence in this heathen land, they experienced a mixture of trials and encouragements, but on the whole they found sufficient motives for perseverance in the arduous Work which they had undertaken.

In the spring of 1796, Mr. John Fountain offering himself as a missionary was accepted and sent out to join the brethren in India. As repeated requests had been made for more missionaries, and particularly for one, who should understand the printing business, the committee paid every possible attention to this object. In the spring of 1799, they were enabled to send out four men and four women; namely, Mr. and Mrs. Marshman, Mr. and Mrs. Grant, Mr. and Mrs. Brunson, Mr. William Ward and Miss Tidd. Mr. Ward understood the printing business, and Mr. and Mrs. Marshman had kept a school.

In 1802 Mr. Chamberlain and wife departed for India under the patronage of the society.

In 1804 four more young men with their wives, who had previously been set apart for the work of the ministry, viz. John Biss, Richard Mardon, William Moore, and Joshua Rowe, set sail for India by way of America. After a tedious and perilous voyage, during which they received much kindness from friends, both in America and at Madras, they all arrived safe at the place of their destination.

The next missionaries were Messrs. Chater and Robinson. These men met with difficulty from government; they were commanded to return to Europe, and Capt. Wickes was refused, at the same time, a clearance, unless he took them back, but after considerable parley, the Captain was furnished with his passports, and a way was devised by the other missionaries to retain Messrs. Chater and Robinson in the country.

In 1812, Messrs. Johns and Lawson with their wives, who had been some time in America, set sail for India. They were accompanied by four Pedobaptist missionaries, viz. Messrs. May, Nott, Hall and Rice. Messes. Judson and Newell of the same denomination had sailed before them. They all landed safely in India, but some of them met with troubles on account of the vexatious policy of the East-India Company. Of these Pedito-baptists Mr. Judson and wife, and Mr. Rice embraced the Baptist sentiments, and were baptized not long after they landed in India. These worthy young men have turned their attention to their Baptist brethren in America for assistance, and they are making exertions to afford it.

I am not sure but other missionaries besides those we have named, have been sent to India by the society in England. But these are all of which I have gained any information. Some of them have died. Those who remain are now actively engaged in the great business for which they submitted to a voluntary exile to a heathen and unhealthy land.

A considerable number of those who have been brought to the knowledge of the truth by means of these missionaries, have become preachers of the gospel. Some of these also have died. In 1811, Dr. Carey wrote to Dr. Rogers of Philadelphia as follows: "The Lord has been very gracious in raising up laborers in this work. There are about ten persons, formerly idolaters or mussulmans, who now preach the gospel of our Redeemer, and seven others, native Portuguese or Armenians, who are either called to the work of the ministry, or are now on trial for it. Two of our native brethren, Hindoos, are employed in Calcutta and its precincts, where they preach at twelve or fourteen different places every week, and have been the instruments of the conversion of many. Indeed, I think they are the most useful persons now employed in the work of God at Calcutta, or in India."

We shall now give a brief account of the great things our brethren in India have been enabled to perform.

The missionaries on their first arrival in this country resided at different places, but in 1800, they settled at Serampore, and this place became henceforward the headquarters of all who were concerned in the mission. The first object of attention was to settle a plan of family government. All the missionaries were to preach and pray in turn; one to superintend the affairs of the family a month, and then another; Mr. Carey was appointed treasurer, and keeper of the medicine chest; Mr. Fountain, librarian; Saturday evening was devoted to adjusting any differences which might arise during the week, and pledging themselves to love one another; finally, it was resolved, that no one should engage in any private trade; but whatever was done by any member of the family, should be done for the benefit of the mission.

The rent of lodgings which they at present occupied was very high. They therefore purchased a house, by the river side, with a pretty large piece of ground. It had various accommodations, but the price alarmed them; yet the rent in four years would have amounted to the purchase.

In 1801 the missionaries purchased the house and premises adjoining their own. The garden and out-buildings contained more than four acres of land. By this addition they had room not only for the schools, and for the printing and binding business, but also for any new missionaries that might arrive. They made themselves trustees for the society, as they had done in the first purchase.

The missionaries have also purchased a large real estate at Calcutta. Whatever property they obtain, belongs to the mission family, and is held in trust by them for the society in England. These are some of the temporal advantages of the missionaries, but those of a spiritual kind are far greater. They found it a laborious task to learn the languages of the country. They first, it appears, made themselves masters of the Bengalee. About the time the mission-house was established at Serampore, Dr. Carey had nearly finished the translation of the Old and New Testament into that language, and preparations for printing having previously been made, in May, 1800, the first sheet of the Bengalee New Testament was struck off. From that period the missionaries have gone on with great assiduity and success, in learning other languages and presenting the precious word of life to the idolatrous natives of the East in their own tongues.

From a statement furnished by Mr. Johns while in America, it appears that translations were making in 1811, in twelve languages, viz.

1st. The Bengalee. 2d. The Orissa. 3d. The Telinga. 4th. The Guzerattee. 5th. The Kurnata. 6th. The Mahratta. 7th. The Hindoosthanee. 8th. The Seek. 9th. The Sungskrit. 10th. The Burman. 11th. The Chinese. 12th. The Thibet or Bootan.

Besides the printing of the Malayala and the Tamul.

"The present state of the translations," says Mr. Johns, "is highly encouraging, and marks the zeal and perseverance of the persons engaged in the work. The Bengalee Bible, in 5 vols. 8vo. has been completed for some time, and has reached even to a third edition. This work was the result of sixteen years labor." The New Testament and Pentateuch are printed in Sungskrit; the New Testament and the Old Testament, from Job to Malachi in the Orissa. The New Testament in the Mahratta and in the Hindoosthanee, is printed. In the Chinese, the Gospels_ by Matthew and Mark are printed off, and the New Testament will shortly be published: -- In 1809, the translation had proceeded to the end of Ephesians. The printing in the Burman, and also in the Seek, is begun. The Telinga and Kurnata, may be commenced this present year, (1811;) the Kurnata and Guzerattee have been hitherto delayed by circumstances, chiefly of a pecuniary nature. The translations of all are much further advanced than the printing; and the missionaries express a hope, that ere long, all the nations of the East will hear in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. Besides the above, the Serampore missionaries are printing the Malayala, translated from the celebrated Syriac version, under the direction of Mar Dionysius, bishop of the Syrian Christians; and also the Tamul, translated by a valuable deceased missionary from the London Society."

The Sungskrit, or Sangskrit, as it is sometimes written, is read all over India; it is the learned language of the country. The Bengalee is spoken by a population equal to that of the United States of America; the Hindoosthanee, to France and Italy; the Chinese by three hundred millions; the Burman by seventeen millions; and the other languages by many millions each. The missionaries are yearly studying new languages and making preparations to make the Oracles of Truth legible to the remaining idolatrous millions of the East.

The missionaries have hitherto devoted most of their attention to the translating of the Scriptures into the numerous languages of India, but they have at the same time labored much among the natives, and a considerable number of them have been hopefully born into the kingdom of God. A number professed a serious regard for the gospel from the first preaching of the missionaries in India, but it was not until the year 1800, that any one of the natives came out and made a public profession of it. In December of that year Kristno was baptized, the first native, who had ever in Bengal publicly renounced cast, and owned Jesus Christ. This was an important event. The chain of the East was now broken, and the missionaries saw what they had been waiting and hoping for many years, and concerning which they had met with so many disappointments. [The Hindoos from time immemorial have been divided into tribes or casts. The four principal casts are the Bramins, Soldiers, Laborers, and Mechanics, and these are divided into a multiplicity of inferior distinctions. The Bramins are the most noble tribe, they alone can officiate in the priesthood, like the Jewish tribe of Levi. All the different casts are kept distinct from each other by insurmountable barriers; they are forbidden to intermarry, to cohabit, to eat with each other, or even to drink out of the same vessel with another tribe. Every deviation from these points subjects them to be rejected by their tribe, renders them polluted forever, and obliges them from that instant to associate with a herd who belong to no cast, but are held in utter detestation by all others, and are employed only in the meanest and vilest offices. The members of each east adhere invariably to the profession of their forefathers; from generation to generation the same families have followed one uniform line of life. To lose cast is to become subject to an excommunication of the most terrible kind, and for this reason a superstitious Hindoo will suffer torture and even death itself rather than do it. From this we see that the infernal cast, as Dr. Fuller calls it, was a most formidable barrier against the introduction of the gospel among the heathen in India. Well might the missionaries exult when the chain of the cast was broken by Kristno and the door of faith was opened to these perishing Gentiles.]

From this period a few were from time to time brought to make a public profession of christianity, and by the close of the year 1808, about a hundred and fifty had been baptized in different parts of India. About thirty of these were Europeans, who had settled in the country, the rest were natives. Of the natives about ten were Bramins, a few were mussulmans, and the remainder were Hindoos of different descriptions. It is

now about five years since this statement was made, which is found in Staughton's India Mission, and it is probable that a much greater number has been converted in this time, than had been before.

From a letter from Dr. Carey we learn that last year there were, in different parts of India, twelve missionary stations, viz. at Agra, Digga, Patna, Goamalti, Dinagepore and Sadamahl, Cutwa, Changach_ha in Jessore, Serampore, Calcutta, Balasore in Oorissa, Rangoon, and at Columba in Ceylon. And at that time Mr. Robinson was waiting for a conveyance to Java and Mr. Carapeit Aratoon to Bombay, where they hope to found stations. Besides preaching at the stations, the missionaries and many of the native christians spend much time in travelling in different parts of the country, to preach the gospel, to distribute the Scriptures and religious tracts, and to converse upon the great things of the kingdom with all who will hear him. These itinerant excursions are often the most profitable parts of their labors.

The plan of the Serampore mission is thus stated by Mr. Judson in a letter to Dr. Baldwin, 1812. "All the pecuniary avails of the brethren, as well as monies received from the society in England, belong to the common treasury, Dr. Carey's salary, in the college, of 12,000 rupees per annum;* Dr. Marshman's income from the school, and Mr. Ward's avails of the printing-press, are as much devoted to the common cause, as receipts from England. Out of the public treasury, each man, woman, and child, belonging to the mission, receives a monthly allowance for clothes, etc. which varies according to age and circumstances from 20 to 40 rupees. The whole family, as well as the boarders, eat at a common table. The table expenses, as well as all the expenses of the mission, arising from building, repairs, servants, pundits, native preachers, etc. are defrayed by appropriations from the public fund. The fund for translating and printing is preserved distinct, in order to secure the subscriptions of some who might be unwilling to contribute to the common object. A missionary in an out-station receives an allowance proportioned to the expense of his situation. Should he be able to lessen this by a school, or by any other means, he is obliged to do so; and should his avails exceed his expenditure, the surplus reverts to the public treasury. Still farther, all the lands and buildings, belonging to the mission at Serampore and elsewhere, are deeded to the society in England. Thus, Sir, you see, that the whole system in all its parts is disinterested. No missionary has any private property. All opportunities, and therefore all temptations to lay up money are effectually precluded. The society at home have the utmost security for the honest application of the money which they remit; and should any wish to satisfy themselves on this point, the cash accounts of the mission are always open to examination." [* The College of Fort-William at Calcutta was founded in 1800, about a year after Mr Carey was honored by Marquis Wellesley with an appointment of teacher of the Bengalee, Sangskrit and Mahratta languages in that institution. His salary was 500 rupees a month, that is, 3000 dollars a year, When the College was new modeled in 1807, Mr. Carey was made professor of Bengalee and Sangskrit, with a salary of six thousand dollars a year. Calcutta is fifteen miles from Serampore; at this place there is a Baptist church, and here Mr. Carey mostly resides, pursuing with unwearied assiduity his professional and missionary duties, which so harmoniously correspond with each other. Well might he say "The earth helpeth the woman."]

Mr. Judson states in the same letter that the expenses of supporting a missionary in India, are much greater than people here would generally expect. Mr. Robinson and wife, who were then bound to Java, were allowed an hundred and forty rupees, that is, seventy dollars a month, or eight hundred and forty dollars a year. Mr. Chater and wife and two children in the island of Ceylon were allowed eighty dollars a month, or nine hundred and sixty-dollars a year.

Great charges have attended the prosecution of this mission, the sum total of which I am not able to state. The fund for translating and printing the Scriptures we see is preserved distinct. The giving of the word of life to the heathen in their own languages, is a cause in which party feelings can have no influence; all denominations may, therefore, heartily engage in it, and many benevolent christians have cordially lent their aid. Many wealthy individuals resident in India have contributed towards carrying forward this noble undertaking. A late Mr. Grant in that country a few months previous to his decease bequeathed five thousand dollars for the translations.

The friends of the Holy Scriptures in Scotland, of all denominations, have repeatedly and liberally contributed towards this object.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, that grand and peculiar institution of modern times, had, previous to 1811, voted annually for three preceding years, nearly five thousand dollars. The New York Bible Society have also aided this design. In the years 1806 and 1807, the religious friends in America of different persuasions furnished our brethren in India with about six thousand dollars. From 1801 to 1809, the money received from various sources for the translations expressly, amounted to thirty-nine thousand, five hundred and eighty four dollars and seventeen cents. Great sums have been forwarded since, the amount of which I have not been able too learn. But Mr. Johns, previous to his leaving America, collected nearly five thousand dollars, mostly in Boston and Salem. Among the donors in Boston, the Honorable William Phillips gave the liberal sum of one thousand dollars.

The manner in which the Scriptures have been received by the natives will afford satisfaction to the contributors, as it has served to encourage the hearts of the unwearied laborers. Often is the poor Hindoo seated under the shade of the trees, reading "this wonderful book." They come to Serampore from a great distance to inquire about the new Shaster. This Shaster, say they, will be received by all India, and the Hindoos will become one cast. What heart can remain unaffected at the news of these wonderful eyelets.

The expenses of supporting the missionaries exclusive of the translations, have been great; but they have been able to do much for themselves, and what has been wanting has been communicated by the society under whose patronage they labor. The brethren in England know how to solicit, and what is still better, the religious public know how to give.

In the beginning of 1812, the missionaries experienced a very heavy affliction by the loss of their printing office, and most of its valuable contents. This building, which was two hundred feet in length, was totally consumed by fire, together with large quantities of books, manuscripts, types, and other printing apparatus. The loss was estimated at thirty thousand dollars to the mission, and five thousand to the Bible Society. "This," says Dr. Carey, "was a heavy blow, not only on account of the pecuniary loss, but as it totally stopped our printing the scriptures in the Oriental languages. The manuscripts consumed will not be all replaced in a long time to come, however hard we labor at them. We however immediately began to recast the types, and to labor to begin printing again as soon as possible. May the Lord stand by us, and enable us to hold on in this great work till it be accomplished, etc."

From these accounts we see that the Baptist missionaries in India have met with great encouragement and success; but they have all along met with many troubles and embarrassments, both from the natives, and many of the unbelieving Europeans who are settled in the country. From the superstitious Indians they had reason to expect opposition, but from their own countrymen they rather hoped for friendship and encouragement. But contrary to this, many have ridiculed their attempts, defamed their characters, and labored hard to defeat their benevolent designs. But **their most serious troubles have arisen from the embarrassing policy of the English East-India Company.** This company has advanced from a society of merchants to the sovereignty of the country, and its revenues are superior to that of many crowned heads. [Morse's *Geography*, Vol. 2. p. 555.] It is a notorious and lamentable fact, however differently it may be explained, that **this Company has opposed the introduction of christianity in India. Of this the missionaries have often complained.**

In 1806, Mr. Ward thus wrote to a friend in Philadelphia:

"You know the English Company don't like the Hindoos to be converted; and it is a part of their charter, that they will not do any thing to change their religion. They also allow none, (except by sufferance) but their own servants to settle in the country. **We have been also lately prohibited by the governor from interfering with the prejudices of the natives, either by preaching, distributing tracts, sending out native itinerants,** etc. In short, the governor said, as he did not attempt to disturb the prejudices of the natives, he hoped we should not. Thus if we were to obey this request, in its literal meaning, we must give up our work altogether, and instead of wanting fresh missionaries, we might reship those we already have. But it is impossible to do this. We avoid provoking the government, but we dare not give up our work at the command of man. We have written home on the subject, and sought relief from these painful restrictions; but what will be the result we know not.

"By the authority of this company missionaries have been ordered back; but we believe that God has ordered them there, and will open ways for their stay and success. Serampore, where the mission house is established, is under the Danish government, which has always protected the missionaries, and shown a

friendly disposition towards their design. It was with a view to these advantages that our brethren fixed on this place for the residence of the mission family.

"This company has found means to collect a revenue from the detestable superstitions of the Hindoos, and like Demetrius of Ephesus, they fear their craft will be in danger by the reforming influence of gospel light. The benighted Indians are obliged to pay a tax for the privilege of worshipping the obscene and bloody Juggernaut, the Moloch of the East. Dr. Buchanan, after witnessing the horrid scenes exhibited at the worship of this cruel deity, observes, "How much I wished that the proprietors of India Stock could have attended the wheels of Juggernaut, and seen this peculiar source of their revenue" [*Researches in Asia*, p. 197].

In reviewing the progress of the Baptist mission in India, may we not exclaim with gratitude, What hath God wrought! Here we see that a small company of men, aided only by the voluntary contributions of religious friends, beset with hosts of adversaries, thwarted often by the unfriendly policy of government, opposed by idolatrous superstitions of immemorial antiquity, have planted the gospel in many parts of India's benighted realm, have presented multitudes, and are ready soon to present multitudes more with the everlasting word of God. May this effulgent lamp of truth dispel the mists of Bramin darkness. May this sharp twoedged sword demolish the Moloch of the East, and lead to the worship of the true God the millions of that land of ignorance and error.

THE MUNSTER REBELLION

The Munster affair, like an evil genius, has followed the Baptists all over the world, or at least, wherever they have been found. As all who have done the Anabaptists the honor of writing their history, have begun and ended with the mad men of Munster, it seems proper that we should say something respecting them, before we close the accounts of the Baptists in foreign countries and ancient times.

We shall in the first place give some account of the insurrection in Germany, and then endeavor to show what hand the Baptists had in them. The condition of the peasants in Germany in the year 1524, about the time they began to meditate a revolt from the galling yoke of their tyrannical masters, was deplorable indeed, if there be any thing to deplore in a deprivation of most of the rights and liberties of rational creatures.

"THE FEUDAL SYSTEM, that execration in the eyes of every being, that merits the name of man, had been established in early ages in Germany in all its rigor and horror. It had been planted with a sword reeking with human gore in the night of barbarism, when cannibals drank the warm blood of one enemy out of the skull of another, and it had shot its venomous fibers every way, rooted itself in every transaction, in religion, in law, in diversions, in everything secular and sacred, so that the wretched rustics had only one prospect for themselves and all their posterity, one horrid prospect of everlasting slavery.

"The great principle of the feudal system, that all lands were derived from, and holden mediately or immediately of the crown, was always productive of unjust and oppressive consequences, tyranny in a thousand shapes, under the names of fines, quit-rents, alienations, dilapidations, wardships, heriots, and the rest, fleeced the unhappy people, deprived them of their property, depressed their spirits, and drove them sometimes to despair and distraction. To these innumerable evils must be added another innumerable mass brought in by popery. Tithes great and small, christenings, churchings, marriage dues, offerings, mortuaries, with a thousand other servile appendages of a horrible system of oppression, were incorporated in a pretended religion, itself the greatest affront that ever was offered to the reason of mankind.

"At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Germany was divided into six circles, and governed by sovereign princes, whose tyrannical oppressions would exceed belief, were they not well attested. Of the great number of good historians, who speak of the rustic war, we have not seen one, who pretends to deny the excessive and insupportable tyranny of the nobility and gentry, or one, who does not expressly affirm, that the peasants groaned under intolerable grievances, which they were no longer able to bear.

"The love of liberty, which is natural to every human being, is of itself an ingenuous and active principle, but it is not unfrequently invigorated by circumstances, and the peasants were emboldened by several favorable circumstances now. The attempt was not only just in itself, and an obedience to an universal and almighty impulse; but in the present case it was countenanced by precedents, and could not be taxed with even the paltry plea of novelty.

"There is," says Hume, "an ultimate point of depression, as well as of exaltation, from which human affairs naturally return in a contrary progress, and beyond which they seldom pass, either in advancement or decline." The German peasants sunk to this ultimate point of depression in different places at different periods, and then they took a contrary direction, and made noble efforts to recover their freedom. Within the memory of the present insurgents, there had been many insurrections, as one against the oppressions of the bishop and canons of Spire, in 1502, another against the tyranny of a neighboring abbot, in 1491, and several more. The recollection of these encouraged the present peasants to rise. This was their first motive. In the second place, good authors assure us, that they expected aid from their neighbors the Swiss. A third circumstance was the lamentable condition of both church and state. The whole of their wretched lives were spent in earning money for a cruel, profligate, and quarrelsome set of gentry to consume in luxury or war; and as to religious privileges, they had none. A fourth event that animated them, was the example of Luther. Within the last seven years, Luther and his associates had broke out of prison and set tyranny at defiance. All Europe knew this, and as all had as many reasons and as much right as he had, all were

agitated, and some acted. Luther had published in 1520 a small tract in German on christian liberty, which was read with the most astonishing avidity, and the contents communicated by such as could read, to others who could not. Many, it appears, carried Luther's maxims of liberty as well as those relating to baptism farther than he did, and much farther than he intended they should. He had renounced the authority of the pope, and at Wittenberg, in the presence of ten thousand spectators, committed to the flames both the bull that had been published against him, and the decretals and canons relating to the pope's supreme jurisdiction. The writings and examples of the Saxon Reformer could not but stimulate the miserable peasants to throw off the enormous load of tyranny under which they groaned. Their plan was fast maturing, and many, who were neither mad men nor monsters, favored their cause. And as Germany was now agitated by disputes of various kinds, and the ancient barriers of oppression were in many places shaken, this seemed a favorable juncture for the wretched rustics to put in their claim for some portion of that freedom, which is the natural right of every rational being. They were not exclusively Anabaptists, nor Lutherans, nor Catholics; but they were a mixture of different religious opinions, who had been galled to the quick by the horrid tyranny of their masters, and who, uniting their efforts in one common cause, were determined to be free or perish in the attempt. But a wise providence saw fit not to favor their designs; they were defeated and ruined, and their names, by a thousand writers, have been loaded with infamy and disgrace.

"In the summer of 1524, the peasants of Suabia, on the estate of count Lutfen, sounded the alarm of a revolt. The counts Lutfen and Furstenberg, and the neighboring gentry in Suabia, who had all a mutual interest in suppressing the insurrection, and who had entered into a confederacy for another purpose, agreed to suppress them, and Furstenberg, in the name of all the confederates, went to inquire into their grievances. They informed him that they were Catholics, that they had not risen on any religious account, and that they required nothing but a release from those intolerable secular oppressions, under which they had long groaned, and which they neither would, nor could any longer bear. The second insurgents were the peasants of a neighboring abbey, and they declared as the first had done, the oppression of the abbot, and not religion, was the cause of their conduct. The news, however, flew all over Germany, and the next spring three hundred thousand men, having more reason to complain than the first had, left off work, and assembled in the fields of Suabia, Franconia, Thuringia, the Palatinate, and Alsace. They consisted of all sorts of peasants, who thought themselves aggrieved in any manner.

"Of all the teachers in Germany at this time, the Baptists best understood the doctrine of liberty; to them therefore the peasants turned their eyes for counsel. Of the Baptists one of the most eminent was **THOMAS MUNCER** of Mulhausen in Thuringia. He had been a priest, but he became a disciple of Luther, and a great favorite with the reformed. His deportment was remarkably grave, his countenance was pale, his eyes rather sunk as if he was absorbed in thought, his visage long, as he wore his beard. His talent lay in a plain and easy method of preaching to the country people, whom (it should seem as an itinerant) he taught almost all through the electorate of Saxony. His air of mortification won him the hearts of the rustics. It was singular then for a preacher so much as to appear humble. When he had finished his sermon in any village, he used to retire either to avoid the crowd, or to devote himself to meditation and prayer. This was a practice so very singular and uncommon, that the people used to throng about the door, peep through the crevices, and oblige him sometimes to let them in, though he repeatedly assured them, that he was nothing, that all he had came from above, and that admiration and praise were due only to God. The more he fled from applause, the more it followed him. The people called him Luther's curate, and Luther named him his Absalom, probably, because he stole the hearts of the men of Israel. Muncer's enemies say, all this was artifice. It is impossible to know that. The survey of the heart belongs to God alone. This was not suspected till he became a Baptist. They say he was all this while plotting the rustic war; but there was no need to lay deep plots to create uneasiness. The grievances taught the peasants to groan, and rise, and fight before Muncer was born, and nobody ever taxed him with even knowing of the first insurrections now. **The truth is, while Luther was regaling himself with the princes, Muncer was preaching in the country, and surveying the condition of their tenants,** and it is natural to suppose he heard and saw their miserable bondage, and that on Luther's plan there was no probability of freedom flowing to the people.

"Luther wrote to the magistrates of Mulhausen, to advise them to require Muncer to give an account of his call, and if he could not prove that he acted under human authority, then to insist on his proving his call from God by working a miracle. The magistrates fell into this snare, and so did the monks, for persecution is both a catholic and a protestant doctrine, and they set about the work. The people resented this refinement on cruelty, especially as coming from a man, whom both the court of Rome, and the diet of the empire had loaded with all the anathemas they could invent, for no other crime than that for which he

accused his brother, and they carried the matter so far in the end, that they expelled the monks, to which the Lutherans had no objection, and then the magistrates, and elected new Senators, of whom Muncer was one. To him, as to their only friend, the peasants all looked for relief.

"Muncer's doctrine all tended to liberty; but he had no immediate concern in the first insurrections of the peasants. It was many months after they were in arms before he joined them; but knowing their cause to be just, he drew up for them that memorial or manifesto, which sets forth their grievances, and which they presented to their lords, and dispersed all over Germany. This instrument is applauded by every writer who mentions it, as a master piece of its kind. Mr. Voltaire says, a Lycurgus would have signed it. It was the highest character he could have given it. Some, by mistake, ascribe it to Stapler.

"This manifesto consists of twelve articles, in which are set forth the grievances of the peasants, and the redress which they required, and on the grant of which they declared themselves ready to return to their labors.

I. The first sets forth the benefit of public religious instruction, and they pray that they may be permitted to elect their own ministers to teach them the word of God without the traditions of men; and that they may have power to dismiss them, if their conduct be reprehensible.

II. The second represents that the laws of tithing in the Old Testament ought not to be enforced under the present economy, and praying that they may be allowed to pay the tithe of their corn, and be excused from paying any other; and that this may be divided by a committee into three equal parts, the first to be applied to the support of their teachers, the second to the relief of poor folks, and the third to the payment of such public taxes and dues as had been exacted of people in mean circumstances.

III. The third sets forth, that their former state of slavery was disgraceful to humanity, and inconsistent with the condition of people freed by the blood of Christ, who extended the benefits of his redemption to the meanest as well as to the highest, excepting none that they were determined to be free, not from the control of magistrates, whose office they honored as of divine appointment, and whose just laws they would obey; that they did not desire to live a licentious life after their own sinful passions; but they would be free and not submit to slavery any longer, unless slavery could be proved right from the Holy Scripture.

IV. The fourth shows, that they had hitherto been deprived of the liberty at fishing, fowling, hunting, and taking animals wild by nature; which prohibition was incompatible with natural justice, the good of society, and the language of Holy Scripture; that in many places they had not been suffered even to chase away the wild animals that devoured their herbage and their corn, which was a great injury to them, contrary to all principles of justice, and to that free grant of wild animals, which the Creator of the world bestowed on all mankind at the beginning; that they did not desire to enter by force on any man's private property great or small, under any pretence of right to fish, but they prayed that pretended private privileges might yield to equal public benefit.

V. The fifth sets forth, that the forests were in the hands of a few great men, to the inexpressible damage of the miserable poor, who had been obliged to pay double the value of what little wood they wanted for firing or repairs; they therefore prayed, that such woods and forests, as had not been purchased and become private property, either of individuals, or of corporate bodies, ecclesiastical or civil, might hereafter be reserved for the public use; that they might be allowed to cut wood for necessary building, repairs, and firing, without any expense, under the direction, however, of a board of wood-wards duly elected for the purpose; that in case the forests could all be proved to be private property, then the matter should be amicably adjusted between themselves and the proprietors.

VI. The sixth sets forth the various hardships of base and uncertain villenage, the innumerable and ill-timed services, which the lords obliged their tenants to perform, which kept increasing every year, and which had become absolutely intolerable; they pray that these services may be moderated by the princes, according to laws of equity, and the precepts of the gospel, and that no other burdens might be imposed on them, than such as were warranted by ancient custom.

VII. The seventh complains of abuses in regard to such tenures of farms, lands, and tenements, as were called beneficiary, and originally held on certain terms fixed in the first grants, as then agreed on between the grantors and the grantees, but which were now charged with a great many oppressive fines, fees, and payments detrimental to the tenants; they pray that these tenures may be held in future on the terms of the original grants.

VIII. The eighth article regards the rents of the farms, held from year to year; they complain that these annual rents far exceeded the worth of the lands, and they pray that honest and indifferent men may be employed to survey the estates, and report the fair value, and that the princes, if the rents should appear enormous, would remit a part, so that the husbandmen might be allowed a certain livelihoods and not reduced as they had been to extreme indigence, as every workman is worthy of his meat.

IX. The ninth complains of the wanton exercise of the power of making and executing penal statutes; they say what new laws were daily published, creating new crimes, and inflicting new fines and penalties, not for the improvement of society, but merely for pretences to extort money, and for the gratification of private resentment, or partial attachment; they pray, therefore, that justice may not be left to the care of discretion or affection, but administered according to ancient written forms.

X. The tenth sets forth, that formerly there was reserved in every village in Germany, commons which had been granted to the inhabitants; that now they were monopolized and held as private property to the total exclusion of the poor; that the lords had seized them under pretence, that they were only indulgencies, which former lords in times of security had granted for a little while to their tenants for pasturage only; that they were employed now only to maintain a great number of useless horses for luxury or for need, less wars; that they reclaimed these commons, and did not allow this late prescription the value of a good title, and therefore they required the holders to restore them, unless they would rather choose to make a purchase of them, and in that case they engaged to settle the business on friendly and brotherly terms.

XI. The eleventh complains, that the demand of heriots [a tribute or service rendered to a feudal lord on the death of a tenant] is the most unjust and inhuman of all oppressions; that the affliction of the widow and children for the loss of their father and friend, appointed by Heaven to be their guardian, made no impression on the officers; that instead of pitying the survivors, and supplying the place of the deceased, they increased their wretchedness, by swallowing up all their property; they required therefore that the custom of claiming heriots should be utterly abolished.

XII. The last article says, that this memorial contains their present grievances; that they are not so obstinately attached to these articles, as not to give up any one on receiving conviction that it was contrary to the word of God; that they were ready to admit any additions agreeable to truth and scripture, tending to promote the glory of God, and the good of mankind; and that though this memorial contained a list of their present grievances, yet they did not mean by this to preclude the liberty of making such future remonstrances as might be found necessary.

These are the infernal tenets, the damnable anabaptistical errors, (garbled and recorded by their enemies too) which the Pedobaptists of all orders, from Luther to the present time, have thought fit to execrate under all the most monstrous names that malice and rage for persecution could invent. For almost three hundred years hath this crime of the Baptists been visited upon their descendants.

Thus we see that the Rustic War was not a wanton and heedless rebellion of unprincipled men, but was, on the contrary, a serious and patriotic attempt to throw off a cruel and excessive yoke, which could no longer be borne. "And had they succeeded, ten thousand tongues would have celebrated their praise. Indefatigable writers would have sifted every action to the bottom, tried the cause by rules of equity, examined the credibility of every witness, and would not have suffered improbable, contradictory, and even impossible tales, told by ignorant and interested men, to have seized the credit and honor, which are due to nothing but impartial truth. If the procuring of liberty for three hundred thousand wretched slaves, and their posterity, had been accompanied with some imperfections, and even with some censurable actions, the latter would have been attributed to an unhappy fatality in human revolutions, and in comparison with the benefits thrown into the great scale of human happiness, they would have diminished till they had totally disappeared."

Great political struggles have always been attended with acts more or less unjustifiable upon the principles of war, reason, or humanity. Many will attach themselves to large bodies of warriors, who voluntarily rise in defense of their rights, whom neither the voice of reason, nor the authority of generals can restrain from acts of violence and injustice. Many such acts were undoubtedly committed in different parts of Germany, by the wretched rustics, who had been provoked by enormous oppressions, to a high degree of resentment; but we may also conclude, that their censurable actions have been greatly exaggerated by a set of prejudiced and defaming historians.

We shall now go back to the beginning of these insurrections, and endeavor briefly to describe the progress of insurgents till they were defeated and dispersed.

In the spring of 1525, we are informed, that three hundred thousand men left off work, and assembled in the fields of Suabia, Thuringia, the Palatinate, and Alsace. They soon after published a manifesto, setting forth their grievances and stating their demands. Men in power viewed them as an ignorant herd, who might be easily brow-beaten out of their demands, and terrified into submission. Luther began to be greatly alarmed, for he found himself deeply implicated in the affair. Many pretended that they had received their notions of liberty from his writings, and that they were stimulated in their present attempts by his example of throwing off the papal yoke. Luther, in this critical situation, wrote four pieces on the subject of the threatening affairs. The first was an answer to the peasants' manifesto. The second was addressed to the German princes, and in it he taxes them with having caused all the present ills by their excessive tyranny. To this he added a third, addressed to both princes and peasants, setting forth the wickedness of tyrannical governors, and the calamities of seditious insurrections, and he advised both parties to settle their disputes, and be at peace for the public good of Germany. This was good advice, but neither party gave heed to it. The princes continued their oppressions and the peasants persisted in their demands, which they had determined to support, peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must; and now they begun their operations. When Luther found nobody minded his papers, he drew up a fourth, addressed to the princes, in which he conjures them to unite their force to suppress sedition, to destroy these robbers and parricides, who had thrown off all regard for magistracy, etc. About this time, Mosheim informs us, "kings, princes, and sovereign states, exerted themselves to check these rebels and enthusiasts in their career, by issuing out first, severe edicts to restrain their violence, and by employing at length, capital punishments to conquer their obstinacy." But their number was too powerful to be easily restrained or soon reduced. In different places, under different leaders, they drove forward in those destructive measures always attendant on war. **This army of the peasants was a promiscuous assemblage of various characters, some were Anabaptists, some Lutherans, some Catholics, some christians, and some republicans, but the greater part, we have reason to suppose, had no fixed principles either in religion or politics, but were determined to throw off the oppressive yoke of their tyrannical masters.**

They, it seems, first made themselves masters of Mulhausen, an imperial city in Alsace; here they expelled the monks and magistrates, and elected new senators, of whom Muncer was one; and it was in a pitched battle near this town that the peasants were defeated and Muncer was slain. The populous city of **MUNSTER** was taken by these revolutionists in 1533, and held by them about three years. "Munster is the capital city of the bishopric so called in the circle of Westphalia. It is the largest of all the Westphalian bishoprics and yields the bishop, who is a prince of the empire, seventy thousand ducats a year. There are in the city five collegiate and six parish churches, a college belonging to the jesuits, a great number of convents, and other religious houses. The chapter consists of forty noblemen, and maintains seven regiments of soldiers."

Such was the state of this city, according to Robinson, before the late revolutions. Munster is rendered famous in the history of the Baptists, both by the censures of their enemies, and the apologies of their friends; but after all that has been said on both sides, I am sorry to find that so imperfect an account has been given by either, of the memorable tragedy which was acted here, and which has been handed down to posterity by a thousand Peto-baptist writers, as an everlasting monument of infamy to the Baptists, and a thundering memento against the dangerous principles of believer's baptism. **At Munster was brought to a close the Rustic War, not by treaty, but by the defeat, and the indiscriminate slaughter of the rustics, and the utter extirpation of their confederacy.** I find no description of the scenes, which were transacted here, except that given by Mosheim; and as his account of the Rustic War is throughout peculiarly unfair, we have good reasons for concluding that his history of the Munster affair is of the same

character. According to this prejudiced author, "certain Dutch Anabaptists chose this city for the scene of their horrid operations, and committed in it such deeds, as would surpass all credibility, were they not attested in a manner that excludes every degree of uncertainty. A handful of mad-men, under the guidance of John Matthison, John Bockhold, or John Leyden, and one Gerhard, made themselves masters of the populous city of Munster, deposed the magistrates, committed enormous crimes--made this city the seat of their New Jerusalem and proclaimed John of Leyden, who was a tailor, king of their new hierarchy."

Thus Mosheim ascribes the whole of the Munster affair to a handful of mad Anabaptists. They must indeed have fought like the band of Leonidas to have taken this famous capital. **No, it was not a handful of mad Anabaptists; it was a powerful, and probably the main division of the army of the peasants, that besieged and took this city**, which henceforward became their principal place of rendezvous, and from which they sent forth agents and detachments to other places. What were the horrid crimes they committed we are not informed, but we may conclude they were such as are always attendant on war and conquest. They are complained of for deposing the magistrates, etc. This is truly a ridiculous charge. They must have been fools indeed, not to have taken the government of the city, which they had fairly conquered, out of the hands of their enemies, and put it in those of their friends. They made John Bockhold king or chief legislator. But what was there novel, or wicked, or ridiculous in this? Every one acquainted with the history of Germany, knows that it abounded with free imperial cities, which were independent of any foreign power, and were governed by their own legislators and laws. The peasants, in making Munster an independent sovereignty, acted in perfect conformity with the maxims and examples of their country, and they doubtless had sufficient reasons for making John of Leyden, though a tailor by trade, their chief magistrate.

"But the reign," says Mosheim, "of this tailor king was transitory, and his end deplorable. For the city of Munster was, in the year 1536, retaken after a siege of fourteen months, by Count Waldeck, the bishop and sovereign of the place, etc." This worldly ecclesiastic was doubtless assisted by the other princes of Germany. John of Leyden was put to a most painful and ignominious death, the confederacy of the peasants was broken, and multitudes of them suffered death in the most cruel and tormenting forms. Vengeance and havoc every where pursued those who had been any ways concerned in the Rustic War.

We shall now close with some general observations on this unhappy affair. We have thus seen that the Rustic War lasted about eleven years, and that the number of the insurgents was three hundred thousand. Many of them were doubtless either persuaded or terrified soon to return to their former stations and employments. And we may reasonably suppose that according to the success or adversity which attended the measures of the peasants, so their number increased or diminished.

Mosheim has ascribed the whole of this unhappy war to the influence of religious fanaticism, and has cast the whole odium of it on the German Anabaptists. This statement is certainly both erroneous and unfair. That much fanaticism mingled with the operations of this war, and that many Anabaptists were concerned in it, we do not deny; but it was the freedom of their country, and not the defense of their creed, which led them to unite with the struggling peasants.

Dr. Isaac Milner, the brother, and continuator of the history of the late Joseph Milner, has touched upon the tumults of Germany, and his account, though by no means free from the prejudice of his party, is by far more candid and probable than Mosheim's. He acknowledges that "the causes of the Rustic War, or the war of the peasants, were purely secular" [Vol. 5. p. 319].

A writer in the Encyclopedia observes, "It must be acknowledged that the rise of the numerous insurrections of this period ought not to be attributed to religious opinions. The first insurgents groaned under the most grievous oppressions. They took up arms principally in defense of their civil liberties; and of the commotions that took place, the Anabaptist leaders, viz. Muncer, Stubner, Stork, etc. seem rather to have availed themselves, than to have been the prime movers." This writer concludes that "a great part of the main body was Anabaptists;" this may be true when we consider in how vague and indefinite a sense the term was then used; "that a great part also were Roman Catholics, and a still greater of persons who had no religious opinions at all." "Bishop Jewel, in his defense of the Apology of the church of England in reply to Harding, etc. answers thus: The hundred thousand Boors in Germany of whom you speak, for the

greatest part, were adversaries unto Luther, and understood no part of the gospel; but conspired together as they said against the cruelty and oppression of their lords," etc. [Ivimey in a note p. 561.]

Most writers compute the number of those who perished in these insurrections, at a hundred thousand, and that they were nearly all Anabaptists. If this statement be correct, the German Anabaptists were literally a church militant, engaged in a very unsuccessful campaign. And this church was truly large, for besides the hundred thousand slain in war, many thousands were left to be dragooned, tortured, burnt, drowned, confined in prisons, and driven into exile. This statement gives the dippers much more than they ask. They do not pretend that there ever were at one time in Germany, any where near a hundred thousand advocates for their sentiments.

But Dr. Milner from Beausobre has made a statement which seems very likely to be near the truth. He supposes that this unfortunate war cost Germany the lives of more than fifty thousand men [Vol. 5. p. 357]; that is, of both sides, for many of the oppressors were slain, although the peasants were the greatest sufferers.

It is not our wish to justify acts of violence in men, by whatever name they are called, nor to apologize for the censurable acts of these rising peasants, whom oppression had made mad. **We do not deny that many, who bore the name of Anabaptists, were found in their ranks. Many of them were doubtless such Anabaptists as we have found in Poland, who had rejected infant baptism, but who had never been baptized, nor were fit subjects for the ordinance. And multitudes, who were reputed Anabaptists, we have good reasons for believing, had no religious principles at all, but were so called by way of reproach, because they had adopted their notions of civil liberty.** Although some of the measures pursued by the peasants cannot be justified, yet they set out in a righteous cause as their Manifesto shows. Baptist ministers were induced from this consideration, to encourage their attempts, to become chaplains in their armies, and this again induced many of their brethren to enlist under the standards of the strugglers for freedom. **Many who were Baptists both in principle and practice, appear to have entertained the erroneous opinion so prevalent at a certain time in England among those who were called fifth monarchy men, that dominion is founded in grace, that the pure church establishment to which they were aspiring, was to be under the protection and guidance of religious rulers, who were to found a pure christian republic, to be governed wholly by the laws of Christ.** Those who had not imbibed this opinion, were induced to hope that some good would come out of the struggles of the peasants, and that the present commotions of Germany would settle down in some system favorable to their views. Many others doubtless united with the revolutionary party, either of their voluntary accord, or by the persuasion of their friends, without much reflection on the subject, only they knew their present condition was wretched, and they hoped that it might be made better in the end. But some of the Baptists of these times, it appears, were opposed to the Rustic War altogether. We are informed that a teacher by the name of Peter was beheaded at Amsterdam as guilty of the late insurrection, who had used his utmost endeavors to hinder it. **But the whole crime of the civil war was laid to the charge of the Anabaptists, and all, who bore their name, whether they were such or not, were marked out as the objects of vengeance and death.** If they had not taken a part in the insurrections, it was considered their principles lead to them, and therefore they were everywhere extirpated with fire and sword.

But why has the whole balance of the tumults in Germany been always east upon the Baptists? It has been their unhappiness to have some hand in other scenes of a similar nature. Many Baptists were in Ziska's army in Bohemia, which besieged towns and took them, pulled down monasteries, expelled monks, and seized upon their revenues, and dealt out destruction and death to all who opposed them. In the army of Cromwell were many who had espoused the Baptist principles, and two of the regicides of Charles the first, viz. Harrison and Hutchinson, became Baptists after the death of the king. Harrison was at one time but a little below the Protector in authority and influence; Hutchinson was governor of Nottingham.

Baptists were in the Parliament, in the navy, and army of the commonwealth. Some were also engaged in the ill-fated expedition of the Duke of Monmouth, the rival of James the second. But for all these overt acts they have received a public pardon. Why have they not been charged with being the promoters of the civil wars in England, of the tumults of the commonwealth, and the murder of the English monarch? This would be as just as to charge them with being the authors of the insurrections in Germany. Why have not

historians dealt as fairly in the case of Germany, as in that of England, and given to each party its due proportion of blame? The following seems the only satisfactory solution of this mysterious affair. All parties are anxious to clear themselves of the reproach of an unsuccessful and unpopular enterprise.* Such a one was that of the German peasants. The Catholic historians of the times excuse all their brethren, who were concerned in it, and lay the whole blame at the door of Luther and the reformation. The Lutheran historians, from whom the English took their accounts, endeavored to clear themselves by accusing the Anabaptists of being the prime movers and principal promoters of the insurrections. The papists were doubtless very unfair and erroneous, in charging the reformation with being the direct cause of the troubles, wars, and commotions, of which it was certainly no more than the indirect and innocent occasion; but they were not mistaken when they charged the Lutherans with being deeply engaged in the Rustic War. The Lutherans have conceded that some of their party perverted and misconstrued the reformers' doctrine of christian liberty, and flocked to the standard of the rebels. But the papists are not content with these concessions, they have constantly laid the WHOLE mischief of this intestine dissension at the door of Luther and his disciples, etc. "This," say they, "is the fruit of the new doctrine! This is the fruit of Luther's gospel!" [Milner, Vol. 5. p. 320; Ibid, p. 327].

[* The American war terminated in a glorious manner, and all who were concerned in it were loaded with applauses, and hailed as the deliverers of their country. But the grievances of the american people were trifling compared with those of the German peasants. But suppose the fortune of war had turned against the struggling Americans, how different would have been their fate! What, in such a case, would have been said of those Baptist brethren, who enlisted under the revolutionary standard, whose eulogium was pronounced by the immortal Washington? What character would have been given of those ministers, who promoted the war by every means in their power, who became chaplains in the armies, and dwelt in the camps of the warriors? Backus, Gano, Stillman, Manning, Smith, Rogers, and others, instead of being the subjects of eulogium for the part they took in the war, would have been loaded with infamy, and branded with the odious names of rebels, fanatics, and the ring-leaders of a seditious multitude. They would have been the Muncers, Stubners, Storks, Bookholds, Phiffers and Knipperdolings of America. The American people took up arms in defense of their civil rights, but it is well known that many of our Baptist brethren had their eye upon advantages of a religious nature, which actually arose to them, especially in New England, out of the principles and agitations of the war as will be more fully illustrated in the next chapter.]

It is certain that the disturbances, in the very city of Munster, were begun by a Pedobaptist minister of the Lutheran persuasion, whose name was Bernard Rotman or Rothman; that he was assisted in his endeavors by other ministers of the same persuasion; and that they began to stir up tumults, that is, teach revolutionary principles, a year before the Anabaptist ring-leaders, as they are called, visited the place. [Ivimey, p. 16; Mosheim in a note, Vol. 4. p. 438.]

These things the papists knew, and they failed not to improve them to their advantage. They uniformly insisted that Luther's doctrine led to rebellion, that his disciples were the prime movers of the insurrections, and they also asserted that a hundred and thirty thousand Lutherans perished in the Rustic War. [Milner, Vol. 5. p. 327.]

Such were the aspersions cast upon the Lutheran party by the papists. And though many Catholics were engaged in the war, yet the Lutherans knew it would be unavailing to retort upon them; for whatever resistance the oppressed Catholics had shown, the Catholic doctrine did not lead to it, for that taught nothing but blind and dumb submission to every law of their superiors, whether civil or religious. **But as the Anabaptists were the advocates for liberty, and as many of them had taken a part in the war which they hoped would set them free, the Lutherans found it easy to cast all the blame upon them. And they having no one to tell their story as it was, nor put in any plea for them, which could be heard, the Munster affair, as it was first related by the Lutheran historians, has been transmitted from one generation to another, without any correction or amendment;** it has been transcribed by a thousand Pedobaptist pens, as a salutary memento for the seditious dippers; it is the dernier resort of every slanderous declaimer against them; it is the great gun, the *ultima ratio* of every disputant, which they keep in reserve against the time of need. But why all this din about Munster and the War of the Peasants, since everybody knows, who knows any thing of the matter, that it was not a quarrel about baptism, but about the feudal system; that it was not for water, but in opposition to the horrid oppressions of the princes, that the German peasants rose.

Why are not the Independents and the Congregationalists their offspring, visited from age to age with the deeds of a few of their zealous predecessors, and of the promiscuous multitude, who attached themselves to their cause, and bore their name? They were accused by their enemies of everything horrid and flagitious. "The most eminent English writers, not only among the patrons of episcopacy, but even among those very Presbyterians, with whom they are now united, have thrown out against them the bitterest accusations and the severest invectives, that the warmest imagination could invent. They have not only been represented as delirious, mad, fanatical, illiterate, factious, and ignorant both of natural and revealed religion, but also as abandoned to all kinds of wickedness and sedition, and as the only authors of the odious parricide committed on the person of Charles I. Rapin represents the Independents under such horrid colors, that were his portrait just, they could not deserve to enjoy the light of the sun or breathe the free air of Britain, much less to be treated with indulgence and esteem by those who have the cause of virtue at heart." [Mosheim, vol. 5. p. 381-2; Ibid. p. 382]

But Mosheim could discover the tongue of slander in these representations; he could apologize for the Independents so far, that Dr. Machine has thought it necessary to give him a check. He could, in giving their history, adopt "the wise and prudent maxim, not to judge of the spirit and principles of a sect, from the actions or expressions of a handful of its members, but from the manners, customs, opinions, and behavior of the generality of those who compose it, etc." But no such things could be thought of in treating of the German Anabaptists.

Why this partiality in cases so exactly alike? The answer is plain, the Independents held to infant baptism, which the Anabaptists rejected. The respectable body of Presbyterians have at different times been loaded with the foulest aspersions. A certain writer observes, that "the Presbyterians in England, in the meridian of their strength, differed from popery only as a musket differs from a cannons, or as a kept mistress from a street-walking prostitute." Millot, in speaking of the Parliament army, says "it breathed only the fervor of Presbyterianism and the rage of battle; and knew no pleasures but prayer and military duty." We forbear to select examples of the kind, and these we have related with no other view, than to show the reader the impropriety of judging of the character of a sect or party from the accounts of its adversaries.

We shall now close our observations on the affair of Munster. The sum and substance of the matter as represented by the adversaries of the Baptists, is, that they had no existence in the christian world until the beginning of the sixteenth century; that then they originated all at once, in a stormy, seditious period, out of the scum of the reformation, and increased so rapidly, that in a very short time, they led about a quarter of a million into the field to defend and propagate their opinions, and that a hundred thousand of them were slain!! The sum and substance of the matter as understood and conceded by the Baptists, we have already stated. We have shown before, that our denomination did not originate with the tumults of Germany, but with John the Baptist, in the land of Palestine, fifteen hundred years before they happened. It is hoped that no Pedobaptist will in future follow us with the riot of Munster, or the seditions of Germany; but if they do, we can only inform them, that we shall consider, as we always have done, that for the want of argument they resort to slander.

We have thus endeavored to give a general view of our Baptist brethren in countries abroad and in times of old, and we have seen that they have generally been described by all historians, as a dangerous set of men, whose principles lead to rebellion and sedition, and that for this reason they have been proscribed in some governments, banished from others, and in others burnt and drowned, and allowed to live no where only as a matter of favor and indulgence. Why should they thus be universally abhorred and persecuted? Baptism is a thing so inoffensive in itself, that if it were repeated every month, no serious consequences could follow to any one, except to the person baptized. There must be something more than water in this affair; and that something is, that the Baptists have held from time immemorial that the civil magistrate hath no right to give or enforce law in matters of religion and conscience. This principle has been at the bottom of all their sufferings in every age. And this principle hath subjected the Quakers and Independents, properly so called, to the terrible persecutions, which they have at different times endured. The Baptists, Independents and Quakers have each their peculiarities, but they are the best qualified to live together of any three sects in christendom; for they all separate religion from civil patronage, they are each willing that every one should be his own judge in matters of conscience, and all that either of them has ever asked of civil government is to be let alone.

This article has been extended to a much greater length than was first intended; but it is hoped that it will not, on that account, be the less acceptable to the reader. We shall now turn our attention to the American shore.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN AMERICA AN OVERVIEW FROM 1492-1812

EPOCH FIRST: FROM THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA TO THE PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATION (A.D. 1492-1707)

In the Proposals for this work, it was suggested that the history of the American Baptists would be preceded by four Epochs or General Divisions, in which their progress and circumstances would be comprehensively related in a chronological order. These Epochs were intended to be nothing more than brief compendiums of the history of our brethren from time to time. The preparation of them has been deferred until the history of each State has been made out, and as most historical facts of importance have been already related, they will be shorter than it was at first expected.

The first Epoch was to begin with the banishment of Roger Williams, and to end with 1707, when the Philadelphia Association was formed. But it has been thought best under this head to go back to the discovery of America, to give a brief account of the settlement of its different parts, and to take a general view as we go along of its religious affairs.

In the year 1492, October the 12th, this part of the world, since called America, was discovered by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, in the service of the king of Spain. The first land made by this adventurer, was one of the Bahama Islands, to which he gave the name of San Salvador. Thus a new world was discovered, in which much cruelty and oppression has been practiced, especially by the merciless Spaniards; in which much liberty and happiness has been enjoyed; and in which there have been many signal displays of the grace of God. Settlements were made in many parts of the American continent before any were effected in that portion of it which is now included in the United States.

The following table, taken from Morse's Geography, exhibits in one view the settlements of the different States, and the names of those by whom they were effected.

Names of places When settled By Whom

Quebec 1608 By the French.

Virginia 1610 or 1611 By Lord De la War.

Newfoundland June, 1610 By Governor John Guy.

New York New Jersey about 1614 By the Dutch.

Plymouth 1620 By part of Mr. Robinson's congregation.

New Hampshire 1623 By a small English colony near the mouth of Piscataqua river.

Delaware Pennsylvania 1627 By the Swedes and Finns.

Massachusetts Bay 1628 By Capt. John Endicot and company.

Maryland 1633 By Lord Baltimore, with a colony of Roman Catholics.

Connecticut 1635 By Mr. Fenwick, at Saybrook, near the mouth of Connecticut river.

Rhode Island 1635 By Mr. Roger Williams and his persecuted brethren.

New Jersey 1664 Granted by the Duke of York by Charles II and made a distinct government, and settled some time before this by the English.

South Carolina 1669 By Governor Sayle.

Pennsylvania 1682 By William Penn, with a colony of Quakers.

North Carolina about 1782 Erected into a separate government. Settled before by the English.

Georgia 1732 By General Oglethorp.

Kentucky 1773 By Col. Daniel Boone.

Vermont about 1764 By emigrants from Connecticut and other parts of N. England.

Territory N. W. of Ohio river 1787 By the Ohio and other companies.

Tennessee 1789 Became a distinct government, settled many years before.

The above dates are mostly from the periods when the first permanent settlements were made.

By this table it appears that a permanent settlement was effected in Virginia ten years before the fathers of New England landed at Plymouth. Some temporary settlements had been made in the country about twenty years before.

Most of the first settlers of America were merely worldly adventurers, who were induced to encounter the dangers of a distant voyage, and the hardships of a wilderness from the prospects of temporal advantages. Those who came from England, which was by far the greatest number, were for the most part Episcopalians. There were however, intermixed in almost all the different companies of emigrants, dissenters of different names, and among them we have reason to believe there were of the Baptists a few.

It does not appear that there were in any of the colonies, any religious establishments, which acquired much permanency, or that carried their acts of intolerance to any considerable degree, except in Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. The Episcopal church was the established religion of the Carolinas, but it had neither the spirit nor power of persecuting dissenters, to any great extent. Maryland was founded by Roman Catholics, but they, different from their brethren in the old world, were always tolerant and mild. Pennsylvania was founded by Quakers, who, like the Baptists in Rhode Island, would never establish any religious laws, and of course there could be no religious persecutions. New York and New Jersey were settled by a mixture of people of many nations and religions, but it is probable a majority of the settlers were Episcopalians. I do not find that there ever was any religious establishment in New Jersey; but I am inclined to think that Episcopacy was for a time the established religion of New York; Mr. Wichenden of Providence, Rhode. Island, was imprisoned there four months for preaching the gospel, sometime before the year 1669; and in the year 1728, the Baptist meeting, house, then newly built, was licensed and entered as the toleration act required. These things scent of Babylon, and indicate an ecclesiastical establishment, but I do not find that it was prosecuted with much rigor, and it has now been so long done away, that there are probably but few who know that it ever existed.

Episcopacy took deep root in the strong soil of Virginia, and an account of its spirit, its measures, and end, will be given in the history of the Baptists in that State. Rhode Island has always from first to last maintained, and gloried in maintaining, liberty of conscience, in the strictest and most unqualified sense; and accordingly none of its records are stained with laws to regulate religious worship, or with acts to oppress or favor dissenters. New Hampshire and Vermont have done but little in the outrageous business of distressing the persons and spoiling the goods of dissenters; and the newer States have altogether let alone

this wretched work. We must now come to Massachusetts and Connecticut, and with pain we must relate that these States, which were planted by a religious Colony, and which have been the nurseries of which piety and virtue, have, notwithstanding, been the most distinguished of any in the Union, for intolerance and oppression. In these States, ecclesiastical establishments have taken the deepest root of any part of the American empire; they have been defended by the civil power, and have manifested an unwavering and obstinate perseverance in enforcing their iniquitous maxims, and in encroaching on the liberties, and despoiling the goods of dissenters. The spirit of the church was sometimes high in Virginia, and for a while persecution raged with violence; but it was earned on chiefly by a band of unprincipled church-men, whose main object seems to have been, to molest the persons and disturb the meetings of dissenters.

But the New England persecutors have taken generally a different course. They have had their eyes on the goods of dissenters more than on their persons. If they would but pay their parish taxes, they might worship when and how they pleased. But if any one was so heretical as to refuse his money towards building a meeting house within the parish lines, which might happen to encircle him, or to support a preacher which he never chose, nor wished to hear, then he must look out for writs, constables, sheriffs, courts, priests and lawyers, stripes, prisons, and forfeitures, and the whole sanctimonious procession of ecclesiastical tormentors. So rigorous were the New Englanders in enforcing their taxing laws, that Esther White of Raynham, about thirty miles from Boston, was thrown into prison for a ministerial tax of eight-pence, which she refused to pay, because she had separated from the parish worship. After lying in prison almost a year, she was let out without paying the tax, by the religious gentry, who put her in. [Backus, *Church History*, Vol. 2. p. 194.]

The American war was peculiarly auspicious to the cause of religious liberty in Massachusetts, and the other Colonies, where religious establishments were enforced with rigor. All denominations unitedly engaged in resisting the demands of Great Britain. But her demands were no more unreasonable nor unjust, than those which the predominant party, whether Congregational or Episcopalian, made on dissenters. The Baptists and other dissenters did not fail to make a proper use of this argument. And although many attempted to explain it away, yet many others saw and acknowledged its force.

Many of the first settlers of New England were pious and worthy men, among them however were many of a different character; but they all united in building up the New England church establishments. The first Pedobaptist churches here required the candidates for admission, to give a verbal account of their religious experience. But in process of time they were permitted to give in their relations in writing, and this practice is still continued by those churches which require any experience at all. The ancient church of Plymouth changed their way of receiving members from verbal to written relations in 1705. [Vol. 1. p. 47. Vol. 2. p. 29.] Others had probably done it before. The great mistake of the New England fathers lay in taking the laws of Moses for the commands of Christ, and blending the Jewish and Christian dispensations together. And indeed, from this source have originated all the evils which have overrun the christian world, and deluged it with blood. By this means, unholy men are entrusted with the regulation of religious concerns. They know nothing of its nature, they feel nothing of its power, and under their dominion the saints of God have always had occasion to say, "for thy sake we are killed all the day long."

The New-England fathers were certainly men of understanding, and yet many of their legislative acts and ecclesiastical proceedings were absurd and ridiculous in the extreme.

In 1638, the Assembly of Massachusetts passed a law to compel excommunicated persons to seek to be restored to the churches which had cast them out. "Whosoever shall stand excommunicated for the space of six months, without laboring what in him or her lieth to be restored, such person shall be presented to the Court of Assistants, and there proceeded with by fine, imprisonment, banishment, or further for the good behavior, as their contempt and obstinacy upon full hearing shall deserve" [Backus, Vol. 1. p. 98].

In 1656, a famous dispute arose upon this question, Whether the children of those, who are not immediate members of churches, should be baptized. The Connecticut people took the lead in this affair. They sent twenty-one questions to their brethren in Massachusetts respecting it; an ecclesiastical assembly was called, which set fifteen days, in deliberating upon this weighty matter. They answered the Connecticut questions, but did not settle the dispute. It raged throughout the country a number of years, and many churches were divided by it. A considerable party contended that if parents who were not church members, should own

the covenant, which their parents made for them when they were initiated into the church, then they should have the privilege of getting their children baptized. [This statement is paraphrased a little, but the sense is retained.] And in this way originated what is called **THE HALF WAY COVENANT**, which is still practiced upon by many Congregational churches. What a pity, that any anxious parent should have so much trouble about the christening of his dear babes. If it is such a peculiar advantage, as their ministers contend for, it is certainly hard, that any poor child should be debarred from it. While this dispute was going on, some, it appears, found a way of getting rid of all difficulties, by having the children baptized on their grand-parents account; but it was contended on the other hand, that in such a case, they would be bound to take the charge of their education. Such frivolous controversies were agitated by the renowned fathers of New England. They arose not from a want of ability in the men, but from the absurdity of the principles, which they had adopted.

THE WITCHCRAFT AFFAIR was the most melancholy and degrading of any ever acted in New England. It began in 1692, in the house of Mr. Parris, a Congregational minister of Salem, where two girls of ten or eleven years of age were taken with uncommon and unaccountable complaints. A consultation of physicians was called, one of whom was of opinion that they were bewitched. An Indian woman, a servant in the family, was accused of being the witch. From small beginnings, the bewitching distemper spread through several parts of the province, till the prisons were scarcely capable of containing the number of the accused. This distressing affair lasted about fifteen months, nineteen persons were executed, one was prest to death, and eight more were condemned; the whole number amounted to twenty eight, of whom above a third part were members of some of the Pedobaptist churches in New England. Among the sufferers was a Mr. Burroughs, formerly minister of Salem.

The New-England people at first supported their ministers in a voluntary way, probably by weekly contributions. But in 1638, a law was made that every inhabitant, who would not voluntarily contribute his portion, etc. should be compelled thereto by assessment and distress, to be levied by the constable or other officer of the town as in other cases. This was the beginning of that iniquitous policy which has caused the Baptists in New England so much vexation and distress.

The beginning of our brethren in America will be related under the head of each respective State, and the banishment of Roger Williams may be found under that of Rhode Island. The church which he founded at Providence, in 1639, was the first of the Baptist denomination in the American continent. The first church in Newport, Rhode Island, founded in 1644, by Dr. John Clark, was the second; the second in that town, formed in 1656, was the third; the church in Swansea, begun by John Miles, in 1663, was the fourth; and the first in Boston, founded first in Charlestown, in 1665, by Thomas Gould, was the fifth.

In forty years from the founding of the last mentioned church, there arose eleven more in the following order: Seventh-Day, Newport, 1671; Tiverton, Rhode Island, 1685; Middletown, New Jersey, 1688; Pennepeck, now called Lower-Dublin, Pennsylvania, 1689; Piscataway, New Jersey, the same year; Charleston, South Carolina, 1690; Cohansey, New Jersey, 1691; 2d Swansea, 1693; Welsh-Tract, Delaware, 1701; Groton, Connecticut, 1705; Seventh-Day, Piscataway, New Jersey, 1707.

The first church in Philadelphia was in reality formed in 1698, although it has generally been dated in 1746, when it was re-organized. Thus in almost a hundred years after the first settlement of America, only seventeen Baptist churches had arisen in it. Nine of them were in New England. Of these seventeen churches, only four, that is, the three in Massachusetts, and the one in Connecticut, were put to any trouble on account of their religious principles; and of these four, the one at Boston felt most of the hard hand of civil coercion. This church was treated in a most oppressive and abusive manner, as will be shown in the history of Massachusetts.

EPOCH SECOND: PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATION (1707-1739)

In 1707, the Philadelphia Association was formed of the five following churches, viz. Pennepeck, Middletown, Piscataqua, Cohansey, and Welch Tract. This Association was the first in America; it has always maintained a regular and respectable standing, and has been from its commencement to the present time one of the most important institutions of the kind.

From 1707 till 1740, about twenty new churches were raised up in different parts of the United States; some were of an Arminian cast; but most of them adopted the Calvinistic faith. Three or four became extinct in a few years, but the rest remain till the present time.

During the period under consideration, no very remarkable event appears to have occurred. The churches in New England, except those in Rhode Island, were persecuted and fleeced; those in other parts were left at liberty to serve God, and dispose of their property as they pleased.

EPOCH THIRD: REVIVALS (1740-1790)

About 1740, a very powerful work of grace began in New England, and prevailed much in other parts of the United States. It was, by way of derision, called the **New Light Stir**. This work commenced under the ministry of that honored servant of God, the famous **GEORGE WHITEFIELD**, who was then travelling as a flaming itinerant along the American coast. "The most remarkable thing," says a late writer, "that attended the preaching of Mr. Whitefield was the power of the Holy Ghost."

Multitudes were awakened by his means and brought to "bow to the sceptre of Immanuel." Many ministers opposed his course, but many others caught his zeal, ran to and fro with the tidings of salvation, and knowledge was almost every where increased. This work began generally among the Pedo-baptists, and where they opposed it, separation ensued. And here originated the term Separates, which was first applied to Pedobaptist and afterwards to Baptist churches. **SEPARATE CHURCHES** were formed all over New England. In many parts of the country there was hardly a town or parish in which they were not to be found. Some pushed on their zealous measures to an enthusiastic extreme, but most of them acted a sober and rational part; their views were highly evangelical, and their maxims of gospel discipline were generally clear and consistent. They permitted all to exhort, who had gifts to edify their brethren; they ordained ministers of those who were instructed in the mysteries of the kingdom, whether they were learned or not. They took the Bible alone for their guide, and of course, Baptist principles soon prevailed amongst them. Very singular scenes were soon exhibited in New England. Pedobaptists were seen persecuting their brethren, and casting them into prison because they were too religious. The clergy of Connecticut determined that the New Light Stir was not according to law; they therefore stimulated their rulers to attempt its regulation. **A law was actually made to prohibit one minister from going into the parish of another, to preach and exhort the people, unless he were particularly invited.** Upon this law a number of their own ministers were prosecuted, and Mr. afterwards Dr. Finley, President of Princeton College, New Jersey, Was transported as a vagrant person, from one constable to another, out of the bounds of the land of steady habits.

We have already observed that Baptist principles soon began to prevail among the Pedobaptist Separates. All their doctrine tended that way, and those who followed it whither it led embraced believers_ baptism. **Many Baptist churches arose out of those Separate societies**, and the late venerable Backus of Middleborough, Hastings of Suffield, and a number of other Baptist ministers, were at first of their connection.

Towards the conclusion of the American war, and for a number of years subsequent to the termination of that serious conflict, there were very extensive revivals of religion in different parts of the land, and Baptist principles almost every where prevailed. **In the year 1780, according to Mr. Backus, there were not less than two thousand persons baptized in the New England States only. In ten years, beginning with 1780, and ending with 1789, considerably over two hundred churches were organized in different parts of the United States.** During this period a number of ministers, and with them a considerable number of brethren, fell in with **ELHANAN WINCHESTER'S NOTION OF UNIVERSAL RESTORATION**. The rage for this doctrine prevailed for a time to a considerable extent; but it was at length found to be easier to let sinners down into a disciplinary purgatory, than it was to get them out again, and this visionary scheme is now generally exploded by all, among the Baptists at least, who profess any regard for gospel truth. Those ministers who embraced it, generally descended to other errors of a blasting nature, or else sunk into obscurity and insignificance. Mr. Winchester, the author or rather reviver of it in modern times, was for a while a very popular preacher among the Baptists. He was indeed in some respects, and particularly in memory, a prodigy of nature, and his talents and address were such, that he was sure to command followers and applause of some kind or other, wherever he went, and whatever he

preached. His theory of Universalism was borrowed from a German author, to which he added some things from the reveries of his own eccentric imagination. His scheme appears never to have been well digested, and it is thought by many, that he would have abandoned it, had it not been for the difficulty of saying, I was mistaken, But he died rather suddenly in the midst of his singular career, and those, who knew him best, entertain different opinions respecting his acquaintance with the religion of the heart.

In 1790, John Asplund published his first *Register* of the Baptist denomination in America. This singular man had, in eighteen months, traveled about seven thousand miles, chiefly on foot, to collect materials for this work. it was a new attempt of the kind in America, and is as correct as could be expected. By this it appears, there were, at the date of it, in the United States, and in the Territories, eight hundred and sixty eight churches, eleven hundred and thirty two ministers, including those who were not ordained, and sixty-four thousand nine hundred and seventy-five members.

EPOCH FOURTH (1790-1813)

Mr. Asplund continued travelling after he published his first Register, until 1794, when he published a second. By this it appears, that our brethren in some States had increased greatly, in others they remained pretty much as they were in 1790. Since Asplund published his last Register, a number of computations have been made of the extent of the Baptist interest in America, but no list of the churches has been attempted, until it was undertaken by the author of this work. It will be inserted at the end of the second volume.

Since the close of the war, not many of our brethren have been troubled on account of their religious opinions. In Connecticut and Massachusetts, they are in many cases still obliged to lodge certificates, etc. and by complying with this small but mortifying requisition, they may remain unmolested, and be entirely excused from all imposts of a religious nature. Formerly, the opposers of the Baptists reasoned continually against their mode of baptizing, but this is now so generally acknowledged to be scriptural, that they have turned their whole force against what they are pleased to call close communion.

It is doubted whether any considerable number of the Baptists would be admitted to the Pedobaptist communion, if they were disposed for it; but they may safely offer them the privilege, because they know beforehand that they will not accept it. **But why should we be continually reproached for a practice, which arises not from the want of affection towards christians of other denominations, but from our principles of the pre-requisites to communion?** We believe that none have a right to partake of the Lord's Supper, until they are baptized; nothing, in our opinion, short of immersion, is baptism; we cannot, therefore, consistently commune with those who have only been sprinkled. We have a right to believe the two first propositions, and we must take the liberty to practice upon the third, all opposition notwithstanding. Many Pedobaptists have acknowledged, that we cannot with consistency do otherwise, and have therefore ceased to reproach us.

Out of the New Light Stir arose a considerable number of churches, which adopted the plan of open communion. The Groton conference in Connecticut was at first founded altogether of churches of this opinion. But very few of these open communion churches remain; some were split to pieces by the embarrassing policy, and others have adopted the practice of communing with baptized believers only. The zealous New-Lights kept together, as long as they could; but opposite principles about baptism, necessarily lead them to divide into distinct communities. **Most of those, which did not become Baptists, have fallen in with the parish churches, so that very few of the ancient Separate churches remain.**

Believer's baptism by immersion has prevailed much in the United States, within ten or twenty years past. Multitudes of the Methodists have adopted it, and not a few of the Congregational ministers in New England have condescended to go into the water with those candidates, who could be contented with nothing short of immersion. In Virginia and the southern States, there has been a great schism in the Methodist church. A large party has come off, which denominate themselves Christians. A similar party has separated from the Presbyterians and Methodists in Kentucky, and the western States, and a great number of these Christian people have lately been buried in baptism.

On the whole it appears, that baptism is fast returning to its primitive mode. A general conviction seems to be prevailing, that infant sprinkling is an invention of men, and ought to be laid aside; and that believers are the only subjects of the baptismal rite, and that immersion is the only way in which it ought to be administered. Of late years a considerable number of ministers of the Pedo-baptist order, have come over to the Baptist side; some whole churches, and many parts of others have done the same; and we look forward to the time, when there shall be with the saints of God, but one Lord, one faith, and one baptism.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

NOVA-SCOTIA AND NEW-BRUNSWICK

These two British provinces occupy a large extent of territory to the east and north-east of the District of Maine. There are now, in both of them, upwards of forty Baptist churches, most of which have been organized within the course of twenty years past.

At the close of the French war, about fifty years ago, many families emigrated from New England, and settled in different parts of these two provinces, which, at that time, were all included under the name of Nova-Scotia. Among these emigrants were some Baptists, and from that period there have always been a few of the denomination in the country.

In 1776, and a few succeeding years, there was a very great attention to the things of religion in Nova-Scotia; the work was promoted chiefly by a zealous young preacher, whose name was Henry Alline, whose history will be more fully related in its proper place. This work, in some respects, resembled the New-Light Stir in Whitefield's time. By the labors of Henry Alline and his zealous associates, many churches were formed of the Congregational order; most of them, however, have now become extinct, and Baptist churches have arisen in their stead.

For most of the historical facts respecting the Baptist interest in Nova-Scotia, I am indebted to Mr. Edward Manning, pastor of the Church at Cornwallis. Some sketches have, however, been forwarded by Messrs. Burton and Dimock; some verbal communications were made by Mr. Ries, now on a mission to New Orleans, and a few facts have been ascertained from Backus' history and Leland's M. S. S.; but most of the following statements are made upon the authority of Mr. Manning, who has taken much pains to furnish materials for this work.

According to the best information, the first Baptist church, which ever existed in either of these provinces, was transported and established in the following manner.

In the year 1763, immediately after the conclusion of the French war, Nathan Mason and wife, Thomas Lewis and wife, Oliver Mason and wife, and a sister by the name of Experience Baker, all of the 2d church in Swansea, Bristol county, Mass. Benjamin Mason and wife, Charles Seamans and wife, and Gilbert Seamans and wife, from some of the neighboring churches, resolved on removing to Nova-Scotia. And with a view to their spiritual benefit, these thirteen persons were formed into a church, on the 21st of April, 1763, and Nathan Mason was ordained their pastor. Soon after, this little church sailed in a body for Nova-Scotia, and settled at a place now called Sackville in New-Brunswick. [This account is found in Backus' History, vol. 3. p. 146. Mr. B. says, this emigrant church settled at the head of the Bay of Fundy; but Mr. Manning assures me, that Mr. Mason settled at Saekville, which is on the Cumberland Bay. But still, both of these statements may be correct. Mr. Backus is general, Mr. Manning particular. As near as I can understand by maps, at the head of the great Bay of Fundy, are two other smaller Bays; one is called the Bason of Minas, and the other Cumberland Bay. Mr. Mason and his company, therefore, sailed up the Bay of Fundy to its head, and then entered the Bay of Cumberland, and on its north side made their settlement. The place was then called Tantarramar.]

Here they continued almost eight years, enjoying many spiritual blessings, and witnessing much of the goodness of the Lord, in this new and remote situation. Elder Mason labored here with good success, and the little church increased to about 60 members, and Mr. Job Seamans, formerly pastor of the church in Attleborough, Mass. now of that of New London, N.H. was converted and began to preach among them. But the lands and government not meeting their approbation, and finding themselves uncomfortable in other respects, in 1771 the founders of the emigrating church with Elder Mason removed back again to Massachusetts, and settled at a place called New-Providence, now in the township of Cheshire, in Berkshire county.

This account of Elder Mason's success in Nova-Scotia, was furnished some years ago by Mr. John Leland of Cheshire, which I found among Mr. Backus' papers. What became of the converts, whom Mr. Mason left behind, I do not find; but it is probable that they were scattered, and the church broken up after the founder had left them. Some further account of the Baptists in this place will be given in its due order.

Horton. Not long after the settlement of the church at Sackville, all Elder Moulton from one of the New England States, probably from Massachusetts, began to preach at Horton. His preaching was attended with success, and in a short time a church was formed consisting of Baptists and Congregationalists. What became of Mr. Moulton I do not find; but the church did not enjoy much prosperity, until it was revived under the ministry of Henry Alline. This zealous minister was cordially received among them, and the church adopted his maxims of discipline. They traveled but a short time, however, in fellowship with his New Light connection, before they made choice of a Mr. Piersons, a native of England, for their minister, who induced them to give up their mixed communion plan, and settled them on consistent ground. But in a short time, by the influence of one of their deacons, they broke down all their bars, and again admitted unbaptized persons to their communion. In this practice they continued until 1809, when a reformation was again effected, which is likely to be permanent.

About the year 1790, Elder Piersons removed to Hopewell, New-Brunswick, where he died shortly after.

David George, in speaking of Horton church, (*Rippon's Register*, vol. 1. p. 481) mentions that a Mr. Scott was their minister. He probably succeeded Mr. Piersons, and continued with them but a short time. But I can gain no further account of him.

A few years after Mr. Piersons' removal, the church made choice of Elder Theodore S. Harding, for their pastor, in which office he continues to the present time. He had been a Methodist preacher, but was baptized and ordained by Mr. Burton of Halifax, soon after his settlement in that city.

Newport. -- This town received its name from Newport on Rhode Island, from which most of the planters of it emigrated. While Mr. John Sutton was in Nova-Scotia, he preached some time in Newport and baptized a few persons; but he soon left the country, and returned to New Jersey. Shubal Dimock is said to have been one of the principal promoters of religion in this town. He was a native of Mansfield in Connecticut, and was brought up a Presbyterian. But when he was brought into the light of the gospel, he found himself under the necessity of dissenting from the parish worship, for which he was oppressed and plundered, and this oppression lead him to seek an asylum elsewhere. Accordingly in 1760, he removed to Nova-Scotia, and settled at Falmouth, where he tarried about a year. He then removed to Newport, where he spent the remainder of his days. He became a Baptist about the year 1775. He was a man of eminent piety, and occasionally preached. His eldest son Daniel was a Baptist in sentiment before he left Connecticut, but was not baptized till he settled in Nova-Scotia, when that rite was administered to him by Mr. Sutton about 1765. This man was also a preacher, and preached until within a few days of his death. Joseph Dimock, pastor of the church in Chester, is his oldest son.

The two Dimocks, Shubal and his son Daniel, united with the church in Horton, but labored much to promote religion in their own town. But it does not appear that any Baptist church was formed here until the year 1800. The father died about ten years before this period, and the son about four years after it. Mixed communion was the prevailing custom among most of the Nova-Scotia Baptists, when the church in this town was formed, and it fell in with the practice, continued it a short time, and then gave it up. [I have given the history of this church a place here, for I supposed it was amongst the oldest in the country. Morgan Edwards, in a Catalogue of American churches, which he wrote in 1764, mentions one in this town. Mr. Edwards probably had his information from Mr. Sutton, who had preached in the place. But since writing the account, Mr. Manning has informed me that Mr. Edwards' Catalogue must be incorrect. He is positive there never was a Baptist church in this town until 1800. I have, therefore, corrected the statement, which I at first made, but left the article to stand in its present place.]

The Newport church has waded through many trials from its disputes respecting the terms of communion, but more on account of the ill conduct of its late pastor, William Delany, whose labors were, for a while, attended with much success, but who, a short time since, fell into the sin of drunkenness, and was excommunicated from the church. This shipwreck of their pastor, by causing divisions, had like to have

destroyed their visibility as a church; but they have since recovered, in a good degree, from this painful shock, and although they have no settled minister, bid fair to be one of the most flourishing churches in the province.

Cornwallis. -- This church is situated in a large township of the same name in King's county, on the southern shore of the strait, which connects the Basin of Minas with the Bay of Fundy. The history of this church will lead us back to the year 1776, when Henry Alline began his New-Light ministry in Nova-Scotia, and established a church here upon his plan, over which he was ordained pastor; and under this head it may be proper to say what we propose to of this extraordinary man, and of the mixed and zealous community, which he was instrumental in raising up.

HENRY ALLINE was born of respectable and pious parents, in Newport, R. I. June 14, 1748. In 1760, the family removed from Newport to Nova-Scotia, and settled at Falmouth. Henry was the only son, and was early instructed in the principles of the christian religion, and when about 8 years old; according to his own account, as stated in his journal, his mind was seriously impressed with a sense of divine things. From this early period it appears that convictions followed from time to time, until they terminated in a sound conversion; which happened in March, 1775, when he was almost 27 years old. Soon after his conversion his mind was lead to the work of the ministry. Having always been taught to believe that learning was absolutely necessary to qualify men for this important undertaking, he resolved on going to New England to solicit the aid of his friends and relations there, towards obtaining it. Pursuant to this resolution, he took leave of his friends, and actually proceeded some distance on his journey. But Providence hedged up his way by a number of insurmountable obstacles, and he returned. This was in the close of the year in which he was converted. After passing through many trials, occasioned by the struggles of his own mind, and the solicitations of his friends, some urging him to go in pursuit of learning, others to engage in the ministry without it, he, the next spring, began to preach. His first efforts were crowned with such remarkable success, that he was encouraged to proceed. He soon began to travel extensively, revivals of religion almost constantly attended his ministry, and for about eight years he was abundantly owned of God, as the instrument of the conversion of souls; he was much beloved by his friends, and was much abused and persecuted by many, who unreasonably became his enemies. And notwithstanding some errors in his creed, he was a bright and shining light through the dark regions of Nova-Scotia.

Mr. Alline was brought up a Congregationalist, and from that community he never separated; but he outstripped most of his brethren in his ardent zeal, and evangelical exertions, which soon procured for him the appellation of a New-Light.

His notions of gospel discipline were confused and indefinite. The external order of the gospel, and particularly baptism and the mode of it, he professed to view with great indifference. He baptized but little himself, and never condescended to go into the water; but was willing his followers should practice what mode they chose; and if they could be easy in their minds, under the entire omission of the ordinance, he considered it rather their felicity than neglect; but if their minds dwelt much upon baptism, he advised them to go forward in what mode they chose, that they might thereby quiet the troubles of their minds, and so forget the things which were behind, and be prepared for the calm and undisturbed enjoyment of the things of God.

Such instructions from a leader, we might naturally suppose would lead to confusion among his followers.

Mr. Alline also plunged into some speculations on theological points, which he could not have fully understood, as it would have puzzled a Jesuit to define them. But with all the exceptions to his maxims and doctrine, he was undoubtedly a man of God, and his labors were crowned with remarkable success; he was unquestionably the instrument of the conversion of many hundreds of souls in the provinces of Nova-Scotia and New Brunswick.

Having preached in this country about eight years, viz. from 1776 till 1784, he traveled into the United States, and sickened and died, at the house of Rev. David M. Clure, in the town of North-Hampton, State of New-Hampshire, Feb. 2, 1784, in the 36th year of his age.

As he lived in a country where he had but little opportunity of doctrinal instruction, and was almost incessantly employed, during his short ministry, in travelling and preaching, it is not strange that his sentiments were hastily adopted. Had he lived to have maturely reviewed his system, he would probably have pruned it of many of its exceptionable parts. His principal business was to roam through the forests, and hew down the trees, spending but little time in preparing and arranging them; and he raised up many communities, which were afterwards, (some during his life, and others after his death) organized into distinct churches, of the New Light or Congregational order; the most distinguished of which were those of Cornwallis, Newport, Horton, and Upper-Granville.

There were, at this time, the remains of a few Baptist churches, and besides them there were many Baptist members, scattered in different parts of the country. Many, but not all of them, fell in with the New-Light party. But in a short time, many of the New Light Pedobaptists took to the waters, but all continued in communion together. But Baptist sentiments made rapid advances; some of the New-Light ministers were baptized, and were thus qualified, with more consistency; to baptize their converted brethren. Some great revivals of religion took place, and the converts almost uniformly became Baptists, and followed their Redeemer into the watery tomb. The Baptist leaven thus intermixed, produced a gradual fermentation, and in the course of a few years, many of the New-Light Congregational were in reality transformed into New-Light Baptist churches. But the Baptists, either without much thought upon the subject, or from a principle of reciprocal charity, continued on the mixed communion plan, long after they had become a large majority in the churches.

But what are called close communion principles were at length broached among them, and caused no small stir in the churches. The Pedobaptist, and indeed a number of the Baptist members, were much opposed to the restrictions which they imposed. But as light and consistency prevailed, prejudice and tradition gave way, and in process of time, a reformation, as to external order, was effected; so that now, most of the churches in Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick have adopted what our enemies call the monstrous doctrine of close communion.

But to return to Cornwallis: After Henry Alline's death, a Congregational minister of the New-Light connection, by the name of Payzant, was ordained to the pastoral office here, in which situation he continued a number of years, when he removed to the town of Liverpool, where he now resides. Their next, who is also their present pastor, was Rev. Edward Manning, who has furnished me with much information of Nova-Scotia, and the following respecting himself. He was ordained as their pastor, Oct. 19, 1795, being then an unbaptized New-Light minister. But his mind soon became disturbed about baptism, and for three years subsequent to his ordination, was much agitated on the subject; during which time he continued a motley mixture of administrations, sometimes immersing, and at other times sprinkling both adults and infants, constantly endeavoring to prove from the scriptures the eligibility of his subjects for the ordinance, and the validity of his different administrations. But at length his mind was brought to a stand; the only gospel baptism was clearly exhibited to his view, and he was made willing to obey. He accordingly went to Annapolis, and was baptized by the Rev. Thomas H. Chipman, the former pastor of the church in that place. This measure, as might be expected, produced some agitation in the church, but it was finally agreed, that he should continue their pastor, without being obliged to sprinkle any more, either infants or adults; but open communion both pastor and people conscientiously maintained. About this time, a very refreshing season was granted to the church, and many believers were added by being baptized in the gospel mode. The church, however, was far from being harmonious for many years, but was in an agitated and divided state. Mr. Manning was obliged, after a few years, to relinquish open communion, and in 1807, soon after the church was reformed to its present unmixed and consistent plan, he was lead to call in question the validity of his former ordination. This brought on him a new and peculiar trial, for his brethren were not unanimous in their opinions about the matter. In the midst of their inquiries, Elders Isaac Case and Henry Hale, two missionaries from the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society came among them; by their advice and assistance a unanimity was obtained, and his re-ordination was effected. Since that time they have moved on in order and harmony.

Chester. -- This church was formed in 1788, upon the open communion plan, most of the members at that time being Congregationalists. One article in their Confession was: "We believe baptism to be a divine institution, yet, as there are different opinions as to the subjects and outward administration of the

ordinance, we give free liberty to every member to practice according to the dictates of their consciences, as they profess to be directed by the word of God."

Different ministers labored among them with success. Rev. John Secomb, a very godly minister of the Congregational order, became their pastor, and continued in that office till his death. Rev. Joseph Dimock, who was then a Baptist minister, and who is now their pastor, made them a number of visits during Mr. Secomb's life, and soon after his death, viz. in 1793, he accepted a call and settled among them. Under his ministry they have been a prosperous and generally a happy people. They had, however, for a while, some severe trials, occasioned by their disputes about the terms of communion. In 1809, a partial reformation was effected, so that no more were to be received into the church, unless they were baptized. But still a few good people, who had not been baptized, were admitted to their communion. Thus matters continued until 1811, when the reformation was completed, and the church was received into the association.

The limits prescribed for this work will not permit us to give a full account of the remaining churches, which once stood in the New Light connection. But it is sufficient to say, that they have passed through struggles and changes, in many respects, similar to those already mentioned.

Shelburne. -- This church was formed mostly of black people, under the ministry of a black man, whose name was David George. At the close of the American war, Mr. George with many other people of color, and a large number of whites, fled from the southern States, and settled at Shelburne. An account of the settlement of the church, its progress and breaking up, and the trials of Mr. George, are related in *Rippon's Register*, vol. 1. p. 473-483. The first part of the narrative I shall abridge, the latter part I shall give entire.

DAVID GEORGE was born a slave in Essex county, Virginia, about 1742. His master was very severe with his negroes, which induced him to run away, when he had grown to manhood. He went first to Pedee river in South Carolina, where he tarried but a few weeks, before he found he was pursued. He next went towards the Savanna river, and let himself to a Mr. Green, with whom he labored about two years, when he was again heard of, and to escape his pursuers, he fled among the Creek Indians, and became the servant of their king, who was called Blue Salt. He was now about 800 miles from his master; it was, however, but a few months, before his master's son, who pursued him with unremitting diligence, came where he was, and took him; but before he could get him out of the Creek nation, he escaped from him, and fled to the Nantchee or Natchez Indians, and got to live with their king Jack. As there was much trading between the Indians and white people, he was soon heard of here, and was purchased by a Mr. Gaulfin, who lived on Savannah river, at Silver Bluff. Mr. Gaulfin had an agent among the Indians, whose name was John Miller, and into his custody, the poor hunted refugee was delivered. After serving him a few years, he by his own request, went to live with his master Gaulfin at Silver Bluff. It does not appear that he experienced any unkind usage from any of these masters, whether Indians or white people. And although he appeared peculiarly unfortunate, in being so often detected, yet he soon saw that a kind Providence directed his path, and brought him in due time, to receive that mercy which was laid up in store for him. He was, all this time, a thoughtless and wicked man. After living at Silver Bluff about four years, his mind was awakened to religious concern by the conversation of a man of his own color, whose name was Cyrus. His convictions were deep and distressing, but his deliverance was clear and joyful. Soon after his conversion, he began to pray and exhort among the black people. He received instruction and encouragement from two preachers of his own color, George Liele, who afterwards went to Jamaica, and "_____ Palmer, who was the pastor of a church of black people, at some distance from Silver Bluff," probably at Augusta. He was now entirely illiterate, but he soon set about learning; he got a spelling book, and by his own unwearied exertions, and the instruction of the little white children, he soon learnt so much, that he could read in the Bible. This was before the American war, during the whole of which he continued to preach in different places, under many embarrassments, but with a good degree of success.

The remaining part of the history of this worthy man, I shall give in his own words as related to Dr. Ripport of London, and the late Samuel Pearce of Birmingham.

"When the English were going to evacuate Charleston, they advised me to go to Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, and gave the few black people, and it may be as many as 500 white people, their passage for nothing. We were 22 days on the passage, and used very ill on board. When we came off Halifax, I got leave to go ashore. On showing my papers to General Patterson, he sent orders by a serjeant for my wife and children to follow me. This was before Christmas, and we staid there till June; but as no way was open for me to preach to my own

color, I got leave to go to Shelburne, (150 miles, or more, I suppose, by sea,) in the suite of General Patterson, leaving my wife and children, for a while, behind.

"Numbers of my own color were here, but I found the white people were against me. I began to sing, the first night, in the woods, at a camp, for there were no houses then built; they were just clearing and preparing to erect a town. The black people came far and near, it was so new to them; I kept on so every night in the week, and appointed a meeting for the first Lord's day, in a valley, between two hills close by the river, and a great number of white and black people came, and I was so overjoyed with having an opportunity once more of preaching the word of God, that after I had given out the hymn, I could not speak for tears. In the afternoon we met again, in the same place, and I had great liberty from the Lord. We had a meeting now every evening, and those poor creatures who had never heard the gospel before, listened to me very attentively; but the white people, the justices, and all, were in an uproar, and said that I might go out into the woods, for I should not stay there. I ought to except one white man, who knew me at Savannah, and who said I should have his lot to live upon as long as I would, and build a house if I pleased. I then cut down poles, stripped bark, and made a smart hut, and the people came flocking to the preaching every evening for a month, as though they had come for their supper. Then Governor Parr came from Halifax, brought my wife and children, gave me six months provisions for my family, and a quarter of an acre of land to cultivate for our subsistence. It was a spot where there was plenty of water, and which I had before secretly wished for, as I knew it would be convenient for baptizing at any time. The weather being severe and the ground covered with snow, we raised a platform of poles for the hearers to stand upon, but there was nothing over their heads. Continuing to attend, they desired to have a meeting house built. We had then a day of hearing what the Lord had done; and I and my wife heard their experiences, and I received four of my own color; brother Sampson, brother John, sister Offee, and sister Dinah; these all were well at Sierra Leone, except brother Sampson, an excellent man, who died on his voyage to that place. The first time I baptized here was a little before Christmas, in the creek which ran through my lot. I preached to a great number of people on the occasion, who behaved very well. I now formed the church with us six, and administered the Lord's supper in the meeting-house, before it was finished. They went on with the building, and we appointed a time every other week to hear experiences. A few months after, I baptized nine more, and the congregation very much increased. The worldly blacks, as well as the members of the church, assisted in cutting timber in the woods, and in getting shingles; and we used to give a few coppers to buy nails. We were increasing all the winter, and baptized almost every month, and administered the Lord's supper first of all once in two months; but the frame of the meeting house was not all up, nor had we covered it with shingles, till about the middle of summer, and then it had no pulpit, seats, nor flooring. About this time, Mr. William Taylor and his wife, two Baptists, who came from London to Shelburne, heard of me. Mrs. Taylor came to my house, when I was so poor that I had no money to buy any potatoes for seed, and was so good as to give my children somewhat, and me money enough to buy a bushel of potatoes, which one produced thirty-five bushels. The church was now grown to about fifty members. At this time, a white person, William Holmes, who, with Deborah his wife, had been converted by reading the Scriptures, and lived at Jones's harbor, about twenty miles down the river, came up for me, and would have me go with him in his schooner to his house. I went with him first to his own house, and then to a town they called Liverpool, inhabited by white people. Many had been baptized there by Mr. Chipman, of Annapolis, in Nova-Scotia. Mr. Jesse Dexter preached to them, but was not their pastor. It is a mixed communion church. I preached there; the Christians were all alive, and we had a little heaven together. We then returned to brother Holmes; and he and his wife came up with me to Shelburne, and gave their experiences to the church on Thursday, and were baptized on Lord's day. Their relations, who lived in the town, were very angry, raised a mob, and endeavored to hinder their being baptized. Mrs. Holmes's sister especially laid hold of her hair to keep her from going down into the water; but the justices commanded peace, and said that she should be baptized, as she herself desired it. Then they were all quiet. Soon after this the persecution increased, and became so great that it did not seem possible to preach, and I thought I must leave Shelburne. Several of the black people had houses on my lot; but forty or fifty disbanded soldiers were employed, who came with the tackle of ships, and turned my dwelling house and every one of their houses quite over; and the meeting-house they would have burned down, had not the ring-leader of the mob himself prevented it. But I continued preaching in it, till they came one night and stood before the pulpit, and swore how they would treat me if I preached again. But I stayed and preached, and the next day they came and beat me with sticks, and drove me into a swamp. I returned in the evening, and took my wife and children over the river to Birchtown, where some black people were settled, and there seemed a greater prospect of doing good than at Shelburne. I preached at Birchtown from the fall till about the middle of December, and was frequently hearing experiences, and baptized about twenty there. Those who desired to hear the word of God, invited me from house to house, and so I preached. A little before Christmas, as my own color persecuted me there, I set off with my family to return to Shelburne; and coming down the river the boat was frozen, but we took whip-saws, and cut away the ice till we came to Shelburne. In my absence, the meeting-house was occupied by a sort of tavern-keeper, who said, "The old negro wanted to make a heaven of this place, but I'll make a hell of it." Then I preached in it as before, and as my house was pulled down, lived in it also. The people began to attend again, and in the summer there was a considerable revival of religion. Now I went down about twenty miles to a place, called Ragged Island, among some white people, who desired to hear the word. One white sister was converted there while I was preaching concerning the disciples, who left all and followed Christ. She came up afterwards, gave her experience to our church, and was baptized, and two black sisters with her. Then her other sister gave in her experience, and joined us without baptism, to which she would have submitted, had not her family cruelly hindered her; but she was the only one in our society, who was not baptized. By this time, the Christians at St. John's, about 200 miles from Shelburne, over the bay of Fundy, in New-Brunswick, had heard of me and wished me to visit them. Part of the first Saturday I was there, was spent in hearing the experiences of the black people; four were approved, some of whom had been converted in Virginia; a fortnight after, I baptized them in the river, on the Lord's day. Numerous spectators, white and black, were present, who behaved very well. But on Monday, many of the inhabitants

made a disturbance, declaring that no body should preach there again, without a license from the Governor. He lived at Frederick-town, about an hundred miles from thence up St. John_s river. I went off in the packet to him. Colonel Allen, who knew me in Charleston, lived but a few, miles from the Governor, and introduced me to him; upon which his Secretary gave me a license. [Secretary_s Office, Frederick-town, 17th July, 1792. I do hereby certify, that David George, a free negro man, has permission from his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, to instruct the black people in the knowledge, and exhort them to the practice of the Christian religion. JON. ODELL, Secretary.] I returned then to St. John_s, and preached again, and left brother Peter Richards to exhort among them. He afterwards died on the passage, just going into Sierra Leone, and we buried him there. When I got back to Shelburne, I sent brother Sampson Colbart, one of my elders, to St. John_s, to stay there. He was a loving brother, and the Lord had endowed him with great gifts. When the experiences of nine or ten had been related there, they sent for me to come and baptize them. I went by water to Halifax, and walked from thence to Horton, about 80 miles from Annapolis, and not far from New-Brunswick. There is a large church at Horton, I think the largest in Nova-Scotia. They are all Baptists; Mr. Scott is their minister. We spent one Sabbath together, and all day long was a day to be remembered. When I was landing at St. John_s, some of the people, who intended to be baptized, were so full of joy, that they ran out from waiting at table on their masters, with the knives and forks in their hands, to meet me at the water side. This second time of my being at St. John_s, I staid preaching about a fortnight, and baptized ten people. Our going down into the water, seemed to be a pleasing sight to the whole town, white people and black. I had now to go to Frederick-town again, from whence I obtained the license before; for one of our brethren had been there, and heard the experiences of three of the people, and they sent to me, entreating that I would not return until I had been and baptized them. Two brethren took me to Frederick-town in a boat. I baptized on the Lord_s day, about 12 o_clock; a great number of people attended. The Governor said he was sorry that he could not come down to see it; but he had a great deal of company that day, which also hindered one of his servants from being baptized. I came back to St. John_s, and home to Shelburne. Then I was sent for to Preston, it may be four miles from Halifax, over against it, on the other side of the river. Five converted persons, who lived there, desired to be baptized and join the church. I baptized them, and administered the Lord_s supper to them at Preston, and left brother Hector Peters, one of my elders, with them. In returning to Shelburne, with about 30 passengers, we were blown off into the sea, and lost our course. I had no blanket to cover me, and got frost bitten in both my legs up to my knees, and was so ill when I came towards land, that I could not walk. The church met me at the river side, and carried me home. Afterwards, when I could walk a little, I wanted to speak of the Lord_s goodness, and the brethren made a wooden sledge, and drew me to meeting. In the spring of the year, I could walk again, but have never been strong since.

"The next fall, Agent (afterwards Governor) Clarkson came to Halifax, about settling a new colony at Sierra Leone. The white people in Nova-Scotia were very unwilling that we should go, though they had been very cruel to us, and treated many of us as bad as though we had been slaves. They attempted to persuade us, that if we went away, we should be made slaves again. The brethren and sisters all round, at St. John_s, Halifax, and other places, Mr. Wesley_s people, and all consulted what was best to do, and sent in their names to me, to give to Mr. Clarkson, and I was to tell him that they were willing to go. I carried him their names, and he appointed to meet us at Birchtown the next day. We gathered together there, in the meeting-house of brother Moses, a blind man, one of Mr. Wesley_s preachers. Then the Governor read the proclamation, which contained what was offered, in case we had a mind willingly to go, and the greatest part of us were pleased and agreed to go. We appointed a day over at Shelburne, when the names were to be given to the Governor. Almost all the Baptists went, except a few of the sisters whose husbands were inclined to go back to New York; and sister Lizze, a Quebec Indian, and brother Lewis, her husband, who was an half Indian, both of whom were converted under my ministry, and had been baptized by me.

"There are a few scattered Baptists yet at Shelburne, St. John_s, Jones_ Harbor, and Ragged Island, besides the congregations at the other places I mentioned before. The meeting-house lot, and all our land at Shelburne, it may be half an acre, was sold to merchant Black, for about 7 pounds

"We departed and called at Liverpool, a place I mentioned before. I preached a farewell sermon there; I longed to do it. Before I left the town, Major Collins, who, with his wife, used to hear me at this place, was very kind to me, and gave me some salted herrings, which were very acceptable all the way to Sierra Leone. We sailed from Liverpool to Halifax, where we tarried three or four weeks, and I preached from house to house, and my farewell sermon in Mr. Marchington_s Methodist meeting-house.

"Our passage from Halifax to Sierra Leone was seven weeks, in which we had very stormy weather. Several persons died on the voyage, of a catching fever, among whom were three of my Elders, Sampson Colwell, a loving man, Peter Richards, and John Williams. There was great joy to see the land. The high mountain at some distance from Freetown, where we now live, appeared like a cloud to us. I preached the first Lord_s day, it was a blessed time, under a sail, and so I did for several weeks after. We then erected a hovel for a meeting-house, which is made of posts put into the ground, and poles over our heads, which are covered with grass. While I was preaching under the sails sisters Patty Webb and Lucy Lawrence were converted, and they, with old sister Peggy, brother Bill Taylor, and brother Sampson Haywood, three, who were awakened before they came this voyage, have since been baptized in the river.

"On the voyage from Halifax to Sierra Leone, I asked the Governor if I might not hereafter go to England? and sometime after we arrived there, I told him I wished to see the Baptist brethren who live in his country. He was a very kind man to me and to everybody; he is very free and good natured, and used to come and hear me preach, and would sometimes sit down at our private meetings; and he liked that I should call my

last child by his name. And I sent to Mr. Henry Thornton, O what a blessed man is that! he is brother, father, everything! he ordered me five guineas, and I had leave to come over. When I came away from Sierra Leone, I preached a farewell sermon to the church, and encouraged them to look to the Lord, and submit to one another, and regard what is said to them by my three Elders, brethren Hector Peters, and John Colbert, who are two exhorters, and brother John Ramsey."

Mr. George was on a visit to London when he gave this account of himself; he returned to Sierra Leone, not far from the time that Messrs. Radway and Grigg went as missionaries into that country. Whether he is yet alive, and what progress the Baptist cause has had at Sierra Leone, since about 1792, I have not been able to learn. If David George be yet living, he must be upwards of 70 years old.

The church at Shelburne was broken up when Mr. George and his followers left the place. There were, however, a few scattered Baptist members left, who were formed into a church a few years after, by Mr. Burton of Halifax. William Taylor and his wife, who are respect. fully mentioned in David George_s narrative, came from Dr. Rippon_s church in London, and were, for many years, the principal members in the church at Shelburne, Mr. Taylor was a wealthy and liberal man. By his generosity, and, it is said, by some considerable assistance from the church, from which he emigrated, this small people built a very commodious meeting-house, which is now in a great measure unoccupied. Mr. Taylor died a few years since. During his life he was the deacon of the church, and had the care of the meeting-house. His widow is yet alive. There is yet a small church in Shelburne, but without a pastor.

Halifax. -- This church was founded by Rev. **JOHN BURTON**, its present pastor, in the following manner. Mr. Burton is a native of England, was initiated into the Episcopal church in infancy, and never entirely left that establishment, until he became a Baptist. He was, however, licensed in England, as a dissenting minister. He arrived at Halifax, May 20, 1792, but he had no design of tarrying there, for he left England with an intention of settling in the United States. At this time, there was a Mr. Marchington in Halifax, who had built a meeting house for the Methodists, to which denomination he belonged; but on account of a disagreement between him and the society, his meeting house was unoccupied when Mr. Burton arrived. Into this house he was invited, where he preached for more than a year after his arrival in Halifax. In the fall of 1793, Mr. Burton traveled into the United States, and at the town of Knowlton, in New Jersey, he was baptized in December of this year, and the next month was ordained at the same place. In June, 1794, he returned to Halifax a Baptist minister, to the astonishment of all his friends. He was now entirely alone, there not being an individual Baptist in the town beside himself. He continued preaching in Mr. Marchington_s meeting house, until the next year; and by this gentleman he was much befriended, until after he had become a Baptist. But now being left without patronage, his prospects were truly gloomy and discouraging, being low in his temporal circumstances, and almost destitute of the society of his brethren, as the province was then much overrun with error and enthusiasm, and the few Baptists who were scattered in it, were so much intermixed with the Pedobaptist New-Lights, that he could have but little fellowship or communion with them. But his prospects soon became more encouraging; liberal helpers were raised up for the supply of himself and family; in a short time a number were baptized, and in 1795 a small church was constituted, which has never been large, but is respectable and well established. A respectable congregation has been collected, from which Mr. Burton receives a comfortable support. They have purchased a lot 55 by 36, on which they have erected a commodious house of worship, and also a dwelling house for the accommodation of their pastor. Both of the buildings are of brick, and they, with the lot, cost about 900l. in the currency of the province, which is about 3600 dollars. The meeting house is 36 feet by 25, with galleries; towards the defraying the expenses of this estate, Mr. Burton collected considerable bums in different parts of the United States. [The substance of this account was communicated by Mr. Burton.]

Besides the churches, whose history has been given, there are the following in this province, which have established unmixed communion: viz. Sissiboo, in the township of Digby, Upper Granville, Lower Granville, Ragged Island, Clements, Onslow, Amherst, Lunenburg, Digby-Neck, Nictau, and Wilmot, and a small church on Jordan and Pleasant rivers, in a new settlement between Nictau and Liverpool. On the Isle of St. John_s, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and which island is attached to the province of Nova-Scotia, there is a small church under the care of Elder Isaac Bradshaw. Some of these churches were nearly as old, in their beginning, as those whose history has been given at large, and were formerly mixed in their communion; others are of later date, and were established, at first, on their present foundation.

There are also four churches in this province, which still admit unbaptized members to their communion; viz. Yarmouth, Argyle, Barrington, and Cockweat. There are also about 20 Baptist members in the town of Liver. pool, some of whom are in the communion of a Congregational church, under the pastoral care of a Mr. Payzant. Yarmouth church is said to consist of almost 300 members: Rev. Harris Harding is their pastor. It was first planted by Henry Alline. For many years it consisted of Pedobaptists and Baptists indiscriminately. In 1807, they effected a partial reformation, so that none but Baptists are permitted to sign their articles, and enjoy the privileges of complete membership, but about 20 or 30 Pedobaptists are admitted to their communion; this they call not open, but occasional communion.

Argyle. -- In this place, there was also a church established by that successful planter of churches, Henry Alline; but it had become broken or dissolved, before the present one was erected. About 1806, there was a very pleasing and extensive revival in this place, and the present church was gathered under the ministry of Mr. Enoch Tower, their present minister; their number is about 70. One Pedobaptist, who is a very old and pious person, is admitted to their communion. The church generally are convinced of the propriety of unmixed communion, but the old disciple is not inclined to go into the water, and they are waiting, (with patience, it is hoped) until some escorting angel shall bear him beyond the bars of communion tables, and thus complete the reformation which they have brought to such a hopeful period.

All the churches in Nova-Scotia are to the westward and northward of Halifax, along the Atlantic shore on the Bay of Fundy, the Basin of Minas, and on the creeks and rivers, which empty into these respective waters--the church of Amherst only excepted, which is on the Cumberland Bay.

NEW-BRUNSWICK

This province was formed by a division of that of Nova-Scotia in 1784, and is situated between it and the District of Maine. New-Brunswick contains a greater number of churches than Nova-Scotia, but they are of much later date, having been mostly formed within the present century, and furnish fewer materials for a historical narrative.

Sackville. -- This church claims our first attention. This place was formerly called Tantarramar, which name it is said to have received from the French. It has been the resort of Baptists for about fifty years. We have already seen that Elder Mason and his company from Swansea settled in this place, in 1763, where they continued about eight years, and then returned again to the United States. Two Baptist ministers, whose names were Windsor and Rounds, are mentioned as having labored here in early times, but what became of them I cannot learn. By their names one would think they went from Rhode Island, or Rehoboth, or Swansea. A Mr. Joseph Reed was called to the ministry in this church, probably after Mr. Mason left the place. He labored here awhile with much success, and then removed to Horton and died. But the first Baptist church here was entirely dissolved before Henry Alline's time. Under his ministry there was a revival of religion in this place, and a Congregational church established. But this church was also scattered before the present one was established, which was raised up under the ministry of Mr. Joseph Crandall, the present pastor, in the year 1800.

Salisbury, Waterbury, and Prince-William churches were all likewise constituted in 1800. These churches, together with those of Wakefield and Springfield, belong to the Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick Association. The following churches, I believe, have all been constituted since those abovementioned, viz. Fredericktown, Mangerville, Shepody, city of St. John's, Nashfork or Nashwalk, Woodstock, King's Clear, Long Reach, Sussex, St. Mary's, St. Martin's, St. George's, St. Andrews, and St. Stephen's. Very little information has been obtained respecting the time when, or the circumstances under which these churches were formed, except that a number of them were gathered and others were enlarged and strengthened, by Elders Isaac Case, Henry Hale, Daniel Merrill, and Amos Allin, who have traveled hither, under the patronage of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, and that most of those in the parishes are on the, western boundary of the province, adjoining the District of Maine. By the foregoing sketches it appears that the Baptists are in a flourishing condition, generally speaking, in the two provinces of Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick, and although they began here almost fifty years ago, yet they never prevailed much until within fifteen or twenty years past. In the midst of the ardent zeal of the New-Lights there was no small portion of enthusiasm and error, too much of which was retained by them after they became Baptists. And, indeed, amongst the Baptists, there has been propagated a system of speculations,

called **the NEW DISPENSATION**, of a very fantastic nature. This system consists in a mystical explanation of many passages of scripture, and illustrates many theological points in a fanciful and highly ludicrous manner. This Dispensation was, at one time advocated by some Baptist ministers, who have since abandoned it, and who now hold a very respectable standing among the churches in this country. The Dispensation itself is waxing old and unpopular, and vanishing away.

Many of the churches in this country have enjoyed very precious seasons of revival, within a few years past, some accounts of which have been published in the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine, edited by Dr. Baldwin of Boston. The following extracts will give the reader a better view of these revivals, than we can otherwise exhibit.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM REV. THOMAS H. CHIPMAN, TO THE EDITOR OF THE M. B. M. MAGAZINE.

"Yarmouth, Shelburne county, Nova-Scotia, Dec. 5, 1800.

"Reverend And Dear Sir,

"I have been in this town and Argyle, five weeks, and such glorious times I never saw before. Multitudes are turned to God. It is about three months since the work began in Yarmouth. Brother Harding is the minister of this place, who stands clear in the doctrines of the glorious gospel, and in the order and discipline of God's house. Since the work began, there have been about one hundred and fifty souls brought to own Jesus. But a number of these had probably been born again before, but had received no satisfying evidence until now. Before I came to this place, brother Harding had baptized seven persons; since I came he and myself, on one Sabbath, baptized eighteen. The Sabbath after but one, we baptized forty. We have had two church meetings, and surely I never saw such meetings before. The last Saturday we began at ten in the morning, and continued till eight in the evening, to hear persons relate the dealings of God with their souls. Some of them have been great enemies to the truth, and never went to meeting until God converted their souls. Some would inform the enemies of religion, that they could not say, that this or that preacher or person had influenced or turned them; for God had done the work for them at home. A great many of the subjects of this work have been young people and children.

"Monday, Dec. 8. Yesterday brother Harding and myself baptized twenty-two persons, and there are a considerable number now waiting that have been approved of by the church. The work is still spreading.

"At Argyle, twenty miles from this, there has been a glorious work the summer past. God has visited Tuscut-river, a village between this and Argyle, where brother Harding and myself have baptized four. There is an Esquire L_____, a member of the House of Assembly, who is a christian, whom God hath blessed with a handsome property, and a heart to devote it to his service. His wife is of the same spirit: Two of their children, I believe, are sealed to the day of redemption, Yours, with great esteem, THOMAS H. CHIPMAN"

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM REVEREND ENOCH TOWNER TO THE SAME

Argyle, Nova Scotia, April 13, 1807

"Revered and dear sir,

"On the 16th of July last I sat out from Digby, Annapolis county, my place of residence, on a journey to Argyle, where I arrived on Saturday the 18th, late in the evening. The people not having notice of my coming, and the next morning being very rainy, but few attended the meeting. I was requested to stay another Sabbath, which I did, and preached several times in the course of the week. Religion was at a very low ebb among the few professors, who belonged to a church formerly established by a Mr. Frost, a New Light Congregational minister. After his death the church was re-established and increased under the ministration of other preachers; they still holding the baptism of believers non-essential to fellowship in the

church of Christ. The broken and scattered state of this church was great; all discipline was done away. Nevertheless there were a few mourning souls, that would not be comforted, because God_s heritage lay waste. Here I tarried the next Lord_s day and preached from Solomon_s Song 5:16. His mouth is most sweet: yea, he is altogether lovely. This is my beloved, and this is my friend, O daughters of Jerusalem; and in the afternoon from chap. 1:8. If thou know not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherds_ tents. The set time was now come to raise his people from the dust. A young woman, who had been awakened the winter before, by hearing some young people sing and discourse upon the happiness of religion, in the township of Digby, the impression of which had never left her, till this Sabbath evening, when she found peace and joy in the gospel. Her feelings led her to exhort her young companions to turn to the Lord. Many were brought to bow to the scepter of King Jesus, and proclaim salvation in his blessed name. Here I saw the Lord had begun his work. The young professors manifested a desire to follow their Lord_s commands, and be buried with him by baptism. There being no church here for them to covenant with, as most of the old professors could not see the expediency of baptism, I was at a loss how to proceed; but resolved to follow the Lord_s command to teach and baptize. Accordingly a conference meeting was appointed to hear their experiences, when nine came forward, two old professors; and seven young converts, and were baptized the fourth Lord_s day after my first arrival. After this, the work spread with great power, and people assembled from all parts of the town, and some from the adjoining towns. I thought proper to send for brother Harris Harding, as he was more acquainted with the old professors than I was, as many had professed under his ministry, in order to see if we could settle a church; but it proved to no purpose at this time. However, ten came forward and were baptized. I now thought it proper to form those, who had been baptized, into some order; and for that purpose offered them a covenant which they cheerfully signed. In a few days from this time, there were twenty-two of the old professors, who came forward to baptism. Here was seen a mother, son and wife, and grand-daughter, all following their Lord into the water! Here was one man seventy years of age, and a little boy of only ten! Baptism was administered five Lord_s days successively, until seventy-eight joined the church. After staying here thirteen Sabbaths, I was under the necessity of returning to my people. I tarried there four weeks, and then returned to this place again. I found the Lord was still at work, though not so powerfully as when I left them. But the cloud seemed to return again; for there being a number of men, who follow the seas, on returning home to winter, seeing such an alteration in the place were struck with deep solemnity. Many were wounded to their hearts, and made to groan under the weight of their sins. The last Sabbath in March, twenty came forward and were baptized. I must conclude with adding, that one hundred and twenty have been baptized. There were five baptisms in the winter season. Twenty-four have told their experiences, who are not yet baptized, and a number of others are under hopeful impressions. The work is still going on in this place, and spreading rapidly in different parts of the province.

I am, Sir, your unworthy brother in Christ, ENOCH TOWNER"

Notwithstanding the extent of the foregoing extracts, yet I am unwilling the reader should be without the pleasing intelligence contained in the two following communications.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE REVEREND ISRAEL POTTER, TO THE EDITOR OF THE SAME:

"Clements, Annapolis county, Nova Scotia, May 12, 1810

"Dear and revered sir,

"In the beginning of March last, a most wonderful and powerful reformation began in the lower part of this town, which seemed to pervade the minds of old and young, and many, we hope, were brought to the knowledge of the truth. About ten days after, the good work made its appearance in the middle of the town. The people assembled from every quarter, and it seemed that it might be truly said, that God was passing through the place in a very powerful manner. The glorious work has since spread through every part of the town, and some of all ages have been made to bow to the mild scepter of the Redeemer. The ordinance of baptism has been administered for five Sabbaths successively. Forty-five have been admitted to this sacred rite, and a church has been constituted upon the gospel plan, consisting of sixty-five members, to which we expect further additions. If I should say that two hundred have been hopefully converted to the Lord in this

town since the reformation commenced, I think I should not exceed the truth. The good work is still spreading eastward very rapidly, and looks likely to spread through the province. The opposition has been great, and many oaths have been sworn even in the time of divine service. But the Lord has triumphed gloriously over the horse and his rider, and blessed be his name. At Round Hill I understand there is a number to be baptized today. The province of Nova Scotia has been highly favored with the gospel. We beg an interest in your prayers, that the Lord would give us strength to contend earnestly for the faith that was once delivered to the saints.

Your unworthy friend, ISRAEL POTTER"

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE REVEREND DANIEL MERRILL TO THE EDITOR OF THE SAME:

"Sedgwick, Maine, Aug. 17, 1810

"My dear Brother,

"A fortnight today, I returned from my eastern expedition. My route lay through part of his Britannic Majesty's dominions, and hard by some of the strong holds of Satan; I was everywhere, however, received with sufficient attention and civility. It was very pleasing to me, to behold my beloved brethren of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, who have so lately emerged into gospel liberty, so expert in discipline, so determinate in Christian order and communion, and so well marshalled in battle array. They appear in a very good degree, like veterans whilst they are, in age, but very children. Fourteen years only have elapsed, since but one baptized church was to be found in both provinces. Now they can count nearly forty, and some of them are large and flourishing. Their Association, which I visited as a messenger from the Lincoln, was holden at Sackville on the 25th and 26th of June. It was a good season. Tokens of the Chief Shepherd's kindness and presence appeared specially manifest. The elders and messengers of the churches were solemn, cheerful, and of good courage. The letters from the different churches were refreshing, and fraught with much good news. In one county, (Annapolis, if I mistake not) between two and three hundred had put on Christ the present year, by being baptized into him. Babylon appears to be in full retreat, yet their pursuers should be very wary, for she is very subtle, and by no means in a very good mood. She thrust one of Christ's ministers into prison,* the week before I left those regions, and their evil eye was fixed on brother Hale, to take him the same week; but he being a _Gospel Ranger,_ they were not, and I presume they will not be able to incarcerate him. [* Mr. Ennis. See an account of him towards the close of this chapter.]

"Zion's God is so generally lengthening her cords, and making her stakes stronger, that I cannot, in one short letter, descend to particulars, without leaving the larger half behind. However, that my letter be not altogether in generals, I will particularize a few instances.

"I will begin with Brier Island. The place was notorious for irreligion, perhaps as much so, in proportion to its magnitude, as was Sodom, on the morning of Lot's escape. Last autumn or winter, brother Peter Crandal visited the Island, and preached to as many of the shy Islanders, as he could collect within hearing of his voice. He was threatened with death if he ventured to preach on this Island again. However, he loved their salvation, more than he feared their threatenings; he ventured, the people collected, he spoke, and the Lord spoke too. At a late hour the assembly was dismissed. He retired, but ere soft sleep had closed his eyes, a messenger requested he would visit a house distrest. Without gainsaying he arose and followed him. Whilst on his way, in the first house he passed, he discovered a light; it came into his mind just to call and see how they did. He found them in the agonies of dying unto sin; an household distrest for sins committed and salvation infinitely needed. He saw their anguish manifestly such, as all must feel, or die forever; and observing their exercises and situation such as he judged not expedient to be interrupted, retired in silence. The next house he found and left in a very similar condition. Going a little further, he heard a person in the field, manifesting, by his sighs and groans, bitterness of spirit. Mr. Crandall turned aside, and in silent wonder beheld, and left the sin-sick man. He was soon at the house whence they had sent for him. Here he found a company sorely oppressed with their load of sin, burdened by it, and longing to be free. Here he broke silence, and pointed dying sinners to a living Savior. On this never to be forgotten Island, in sixteen of the eighteen families which reside on it, were thirty-three hopefully born from above.

The reformation had reached the main, so that when I saw him, he had baptized between fifty and an hundred. Before this shall reach you, brother Hale_s to brother Collier will probably be handed to you. In addition to what he has communicated, I will add, that he has given but a very modest account of what the Lord hath wrought on Belisle Bay by him. I know not whether I ever saw or heard of any one garison, being so largely harassed by a single gospel ranger in the compass of one campaign, and that too a winter one. It is true brother Ansley, who is no mean soldier, was there one evening, in which the Lord wrought wonderfully. An account of this evening, with one preceding it, is nearly as much as I have now time to relate. On an evening preceding the two and in which brother Hale delivered his first discourse to the then idle people on Belisle Bay, a Polly Davis was arrested, by the Spirit of truth, and, before the next rising sun, was set at liberty. The next day being a militia muster, the young men came to see their changed associate, and wondered at but hated the change. Another lecture was appointed for the following evening. Not far from the time of meeting, two of the foremost young men, taking the inn on their way, called for half a pint of ardent spirits each, and drank it, observing that they would raise the devil at the meeting. The religious exercises began, and sleep prevailed over the young men, till little more was to be heard. However, they awoke from their drunkenness, and in season to hear a sentence or two, and what they heard was as a nail in a sure place. They had rest no more, till they found it in believing. Soon after this, at an evening lecture, brother Ansley preached, and when brother Hale had observed what he judged expedient, and the assembly were dismissed, the people all sat down. A solemn silence now prevailed for nearly an hour, when a young woman, of about 20, who had been baptized ten years before arose, and, filled with a sense of her backsliding heart, spake in such a feeling and solemn manner, as greatly to affect the whole assembly. It was now a time of weeping, mourning, and lamentation. The saving health of our Immanuel soon appeared in healing the broken hearted, and setting the poor captives free. Before the morning light, nine young converts were chanting forth their young hosannas.

"You can hardly imagine how suddenly and deeply these things waked the enemies of reformation, and roused all their powers of opposition. The church priest now visited where he had never walked before. The dialogues between him and his now converted, but heretofore deluded parishioners, would be sufficiently entertaining, had I time to relate them. From Belisle Bay, I came down the river to the city of St. John_s, where I preached three times, twice on the commons, and baptized one worthy man and two honorable women.

"In bonds of perpetual friendship, I am sincerely yours, DANIEL MERRILL"

NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW BRUNSWICK ASSOCIATION

So much has been said of the churches of which this body is composed, that its history will, of consequence, be short. It commenced and has progressed in the following manner. In 1797, four ministers, whose names were Pazant, Chipman, James and Edward Manning, met in Cornwallis and devised the plan of an Association. According to their request, six churches, by their delegates, met the next year, among whom were six ministers, some of whom were Congregationalists, and some Baptists, and all the churches were, at this time, composed of a mixture of both denominations. At this time the Association was formed, and mixed communion, at that day, was a thing of course, and continued to be practiced in this body, for eleven years, namely until 1809. The Association had now become considerably large; it had enjoyed many prosperous seasons, and believer_s baptism had almost supplanted the doctrine of infant sprinkling. The reader will perceive by the preceding history of the churches, that the terms of communion had been previously much agitated among them. Many had come to a point on the subject, and the Association at its annual session in 1809, found itself so much straitened and embarrassed, that a vote was then passed, that for the future, no church should be considered as belonging to it, which admitted of open communion. On account of this vote, four churches were dropped or else withdrew.

It was a trying circumstance in the minds of many, to shut their doors against so many of their pious and beloved Pedobaptist brethren, who had so long traveled in communion with them. And under these delicate circumstances, some were doubtless over-zealous in pushing the reformation, while others, probably from the tenderness of their feelings, declined promoting a measure, of the propriety of which they were most fully convinced. The reader must not suppose, that all the unbaptized persons, whom these churches admitted to their communion, were zealous for Pedobaptism. Many of them were what some have called **Upland Baptists**, who profess to be convinced of the duty of believer_s baptism, but live through

life in the neglect of it. Some of these persons were so fully convinced of the propriety of unmixed communion, that they said to their brethren, "Do not wait for us, but go forward and do your duty, and leave us to do ours." And many of these who had long been halting, and who felt, in a measure easy in their minds, while their baptized brethren sanctioned their neglect, by admitting them to the same church privileges with themselves, now were awakened to a sense of their duty, come forward and were baptized.

Many, who had been for a long time much embarrassed on their former plan, were now relieved, and viewed themselves as standing on tenable ground; and many individuals throughout the country, and the whole church at Halifax, who had refused communing and associating with the mixed communion connection, as soon as they were reformed, most cordially united with them. The discipline of the churches has been much better regulated on the new plan than on the old one. The Association has opened a correspondence with the Associations in the District of Maine, from which it has derived much comfort and advantage. The new churches which have been formed, have been established on the gospel plan. So that the reformation in the terms of communion was an important era in the history of the Nova Scotia churches.

There are now about eighteen or twenty ordained, and eight or ten unordained ministers in these two provinces, and besides them there are a number of gifted brethren, who bid fair for the ministry. Some of these ministers are natives of the country, and the others have emigrated hither from the United States, and from different parts of Europe. Mr. Chipman was born in Newport, Rhode Island. The two Mannings are natural brothers; they were born in Ireland, and were brought to this country when they were small. Mr. Ries, who has recently been on a mission to New Orleans, is a native of France; he was brought a prisoner to Halifax, when he was quite young. Messrs. Ansley and Towner are both natives of the State of New York. Mr. Burton's history has already been related. Mr. Easterbrooks was born in one of the United States, which, I have not learnt. I believe that all the remaining ministers are natives of one or the other of these two provinces.

Some of their ministers are in part supported by the churches which they serve, and others receive but little. A number of them have good estates. The Baptist churches in this country, as in all others, are pretty careful how they pamper their ministers, but they are said, notwithstanding, to be very liberal to strangers who travel among them; and the fame of this liberality has induced many impostors to visit them.

Mr. Daniel Dodge, pastor of the Baptist church in Wilmington, Delaware, was born at Port Royal in Nova Scotia. Mr. Job Seamans of New London, New Hampshire, began preaching in this country, as did Mr. John Grant, late of Middleton, Connecticut now of Chester, Massachusetts.

The list of churches and ministers in these two provinces will be given in the general table.

The church of England is the established religion in these two provinces, but dissenters are tolerated, and suffer but few restrictions or embarrassments; and what is much for their comfort, "They are excused from any rates or taxes for the support of the established church." In Nova Scotia, no person is obliged to get a license from the Governor, except he be an alien. In that case it is necessary. Mr. Ries, because he is a Frenchman, has been apprehended four times, by the authority of what is called the Vagrant Act, if I mistake not the name. Once he was taken two hundred miles from Halifax, and conducted a prisoner thither, but he easily obtained a release; for these molestations were not from the spirit of the laws or magistrates, but from the malicious spirit of ill-natured people who found an old law which suited their purpose.

In New Brunswick, although there is a general toleration for dissenters, yet there is an old law, which prohibits all dissenters, except Presbyterians, from doing many things, and among the rest from performing the ceremony of marriage, and preaching without the Governor's license. I do not know as all take pains to solicit this permission from his Excellency, but if they do, it is easily obtained. The Episcopal priests are the most interested in this old law, and they care but little who preaches; but the concerns of matrimony they guard with more care on account of the fees. **Some time ago an old Baptist minister by the name of Innes presumed to marry a couple who lived forty miles from where any Episcopal clergyman resided. For this act he was complained of, and thrown into prison, where he lay, I believe, more than a year; but he is now out upon bail,** and the brethren, I am informed, are about to petition for a repeal of the law. The fine for this transgression is not less than fifty, and not more than a hundred pounds.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

DISTRICT OF MAINE

This is a large tract of country of two hundred miles square, belonging to the State of Massachusetts, from which it is separated by the State of New Hampshire. It lies along the Atlantic coast, extends east to the British Province of New Brunswick, and is bounded on the north by Lower Canada.

As early as 1681, there were some Baptists in Kittery on Piscataqua River, in the south-west part of this District, who united at first with the church in Boston, then under the care of Elder Hull. The year after, they were formed into a church, which was soon broken up by the persecutions of its enemies, and by the removal of its members to other parts. The constituents of this church were William Scriven, elder, Humphrey Churchwood, deacon, Robert Williams, John Morgandy, Richard Cutts, Timothy Davis, Leonard Drown, William Adams, Humphrey Azell, George Litten, and a number of sisters. Scriven went to South Carolina, and founded the church at Charleston, and probably some of the others went with him.

After the dispersion of this little company we hear no more of Baptists in this region, nor indeed in this District; until about 1767, when there was a revival of religion in Berwick, which, like Kittery, is in the county of York, just over the line of New Hampshire, and **Mr. Smith of Haverhill** went and baptized a considerable number of persons, who were formed into a church by his assistance the next year.

The next church formed in this District was at **Gorham**, near Casco Bay, in the county of Cumberland. This church was also organized by the assistance of Mr. Smith of Haverhill. Joseph Moody, a member of it, had his horse taken from him for a ministerial tax of about six dollars. Not long after he petitioned the Assembly at Boston, that they would, like the good Samaritan, set him on his own beast. But the legislators, like the Priest and Levite, passed him by without compassion.

In a few years after, other churches arose in the western part of this District, in Sanford, Wells, Shapleigh, Coxhall, Parsonsfield, New Gloucester, Harpswell, etc in the counties of York and Cumberland. These were all founded by the year 1785. In the course of ten years following, other churches had arisen in the same counties at Waterborough, Fryeburg, Cornish, Hebron, Buckfield, Paris, Livermore, and Raymondstown; and since them a great many others have been formed in their respective vicinities. Still farther eastward in this District, in the county of Lincoln, churches began to be formed about 1784, by the labors of James Potter, Job Macomber, Isaac Case, and others.

Mr. Potter was born at Brunswick, in this District, in 1754; Mr. Macomber is a native of Middleborough, and Mr. Case of Rehoboth, in Massachusetts. They all began laboring in this part of Maine, when it was in a wilderness condition, and soon churches were formed in Bowdoinham, Thomastown, Edgecomb, Bowdoin, Vassalborough, Ballston, and many other places. Elder Simon Lock, from Wells, was very useful in his ministerial visits in these parts, and as the churches increased, a number of useful ministers were raised up to supply them, among whom were Elisha Snow, Humphrey Purinton, William Stinson, Asa Wilbour, Lemuel Jackson, Andrew Fuller, Ephraim Hall, Mephibosheth Cain, Nehemiah Gould, Job Chadwick, and others. [Backus, vol. iii. p. 201-212.]

As the settlements extended, the Baptists carried their principles eastward until they reached the British line, and a considerable number of churches have been planted by the ministers of this District, in the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

So great has been the increase of the Baptists in the District of Maine, that it now contains three large Associations, not far from a hundred and thirty churches, and some where between six and seven thousand members. This great increase has been partly by emigrants from other places, but mostly by those many and precious revivals, which, for about thirty years past, have been granted to different parts of this highly favored District.

BOWDOINHAM ASSOCIATION

This Association was begun in 1787, of only the three churches of Bowdoinham, Thomastown, and Harpswell. It took its name from that of the town where it was formed, which is on the Kennebeck River, about 170 miles northeast of Boston. This Association had increased to forty-eight churches by the year 1804. Nothing special appears to have occurred in this body during this period, only it experienced an almost uninterrupted scene of prosperity and enlargement.

The churches of which it was composed, were now scattered over a great extent of country, and a division was thought advisable, which was accordingly amicably effected.

LINCOLN ASSOCIATION

This was formed by the division of the Bowdoinham just mentioned, in 1804. This like the mother body has had a very prosperous course, and has extended its bounds far beyond the Penobscot River, in the new towns, and plantations, which have there been settled. It has increased to fifty churches, in which are about two thousand seven hundred members. An event took place within the bounds of this Association, the year after it was formed, which excited no small attention throughout the United States.

In 1805, Revelation Daniel Merrill, pastor of a Congregational church in Sedgwick, about 300 miles northeast of Boston, embraced the doctrine of believer's baptism, and preached seven sermons in defense of it. These sermons have passed through many editions, and have had an extensive circulation throughout the United States. The church at Sedgwick was then in a flourishing condition, and had before been famed in its connection for its piety and purity. As soon as Baptist principles began to be examined among them, many were convinced of their former errors, and embraced them, and by the assistance of Dr. Baldwin of Boston, Mr. John Pitman of Providence, and Mr. Elisha Williams of Beverly, Mr. Merrill and wife, and others of his church, to the number of sixty-six, were buried in baptism, May 13, 1805. Nineteen more were baptized the day following, and **the whole were formed into a Baptist church,** and Mr. Merrill was ordained their pastor. The Congregational church continued to repair to the water until about a hundred and twenty of them were baptized!

The fame of these proceedings spread far, and produced unusual sensations among different parties. The Baptists had every reason to believe that Mr. Merrill and his church had embraced their sentiments from a sober conviction of their truth. A number of their most judicious ministers had visited them, heard their account, and given them fellowship. But many of the Pedobaptists wondered and reproached. Their Dear Brother Merrill, whom they had always before spoken of in high terms of respect as an evangelical and laborious minister of the cross, was assailed from every quarter. Pamphlet after pamphlet was written against him, to most of which he replied. Others got concerned in the baptismal controversy on both sides of the question, and a watery war raged extensively for a number of years.

The Sedgwick church, after its renovation, united with the Lincoln Association, in which it still continues. The churches of Blue-hill and Deer-isle, one to the north and the other to the south of it, have been formed from it. It has sent forth into the ministry, Phineas Pillsbury, Henry Hale, Dr. John Burnham, John Roundy, and Amos Allen. All of these ministers, except Dr. Burnham, belonged to it while it was on the Pedobaptist plan. Amariah Dodge, another of its members, has been approbated to preach.

On east of the bounds of the Lincoln Association, towards the British line, are a number of churches, which, on account of their remote situation, have not yet united with any Association.

CUMBERLAND ASSOCIATION

The Bowdoinham Association by 1810, only six years after the Lincoln was taken from it, had increased to fifty-one churches, and had again become too large to meet with convenience in one body; it was therefore agreed in that year to divide it, and the Androscoggin or Amoriscoggin River, was fixed upon as the dividing line. The churches east of this line remained with the old Association; those to the west of it, united in a new one, to which they gave the name of Cumberland. This Association is in the southwest

corner of Maine, and comprehends some of the first churches which were organized in it, particularly Harpswell, Hebron, Buckfield, Paris, Livermore, etc.

The church in Livermore was formed in 1793. It is remarkable for having approbated eleven ministers in the course of a few years. Their names were Elisha Williams, Otis Robinson, Henry Bond, Zebedee Delano, Sylvanus Boardman, William Goding, Thomas Wyman, John Simmons, Ebenezer Bray, Perez Ellis, and Ransom Norton. Williams is now at Beverly, Robinson at Salisbury, NewHampshire, Delano at Berwick, Boardman at North Yarmouth, Wyman at Livermore, Norton with the second church in that town, Bray is at Bethel; respecting the others I am not informed.

The church in Portland on account of its singular origin and local situation deserves a brief description. In 1796, five or six persons in this town were hopefully born into the kingdom of God, and became zealously engaged in religious pursuits. The preaching they had usually attended was not sufficiently evangelical to meet their views; they therefore in a short time declined attending it. For a time, some went over to Cape Elizabeth, where they were comforted by the ministry of Reverend Mr. Clark, a Congregational preacher, who died not long after. Among this little company of inquirers for truth, were Benjamin Titcomb, now pastor of the church in Brunswick, and Thomas Beck, one of the deacons of the church, which arose by their means. After the death of Mr. Clark, Mr. Titcomb opened his own house for the reception of his pious associates, and there, for a time, they conducted a little meeting, which frequently did not consist of more than six persons, by singing, praying, and reading sermons. They next proceeded to read the scriptures only, and those who were able expounded them to the rest. All this time they had no thoughts of becoming Baptists, nor was the subject of baptism any part of their study. But having taken the Bible for their guide believers_ baptism followed of course. Mr. Titcomb was baptized in 1799, by Dr. Green of North Yarmouth, twelve miles southeast of Portland, and united with the church then under the Doctor_s care. Others, not long after, followed his example, until ten persons were baptized, and of this number the church, whose history we have in view, was formed in 1801, and Mr. Titcomb, who had previously been called to the ministry by the church in North Yarmouth, became its pastor. He continued here until 1804, and then he removed to his present situation in Brunswick. Twenty were added to the Portland church under his ministry. After his removal it remained destitute of a pastor until 1807, when Mr. John Convers was ordained to the care of it, in which he continued about three years. By this time it increased to over a hundred. Soon after his removal, Mr. Caleb Blood was, by the unanimous voice of the church, settled in the pastoral office, in which he still remains. This church made an early purchase of a lot in a central part of the town, ninety feet front, and seventy back, on which they erected a low temporary building, which they occupied until 1811, when it was removed to make room for their present more spacious edifice, which is sixty-one feet by sixty-four. Thus Mr. Blood, in an advanced age, is settled with a young church under promising circumstances.

A number of churches, and some of the oldest in Maine, belong to the New Hampshire Association. There are a considerable number scattered in different parts of the District, which are not associated, and besides, there is a large body of what are called Free-will Baptists, whose history will be related under a separate head.

The Baptists, in this District, are preparing to erect a college, for the benefit of their community. Considerable sums have already been subscribed towards it, and for a new thing under the sun, the Legislature of Massachusetts very lately granted them a township of unsettled land, for the purpose of carrying forward their design. This was obtained principally by the means of Mr. Merrill of Sedgwick, who was a member of the House of Assembly at the time.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

NEW HAMPSHIRE

The first settlements in this State were begun in 1623, only three years after the fathers of New England landed at Plymouth. But we do not find that any Baptists were settled here, until more than a century after. The oldest and most distinguished Baptist establishments in New Hampshire, were formed in the southeast corner of the State, between the Merrimack and Piscataqua rivers, in the counties of Rockingham and Strafford. Not far from the time that churches began to be gathered here, a few were raised up in the western part of the State, along the Connecticut river, in the counties of Cheshire and Grafton. The third group of churches was gathered in the county of Hillsborough, which lies, for the most part, west of the Merrimack river, and extends from the southern line of the State far up into its middle regions.

But one church was formed in New Hampshire, previous to the year 1770; that was the one at Newtown, which was gathered in 1755. From 1770, until 1779, nine other churches were planted. From this period they began to increase with great rapidity, so that nine more were established in the year 1780.

This rapid increase of the Baptists in this State aroused the jealousies and resentment of some of the neighboring Congregational clergy, to such a degree, that one of them wrote a letter against them the next year, which he published in one of the Boston papers. This invidious and arrogant letter contained the following clause: "Alas! the consequence of the prevalence of this sect! They cause divisions every where. In the State of New Hampshire, where there are many new towns, infant settlements, if this sect gets footing among them, they hinder, and are like to hinder, their settling and supporting learned, pious, and orthodox ministers; and the poor inhabitants of those towns must live, who knows how long! without the ministry of the gospel and gospel ordinances" [Backus_ *History of New England*, vol. iii. p. 278]. But this slanderous epistle had but little effect; the Baptists still continued their zealous and successful exertions, their sentiments prevailed, and their churches increased, so that by the year 1795, there were, within the bounds of New Hampshire, 41 churches, 30 ministers, and 2562 communicants, and these churches were scattered in almost every part of the State.

From the last mentioned date to the present time, the Baptist sentiments have probably prevailed with as much rapidity as at any former period; but as many Baptist members have emigrated to other States, and the Free-will Baptists (as they are called) having of late years proselyted many to their communion, and divided and overrun a number of the Calvinistick churches, their numbers, which may be seen in the table at the end of this work, is not so great as it might otherwise have been. A number of the oldest churches in this State, mentioned by Mr. Backus in his Catalogue for 1784, have either become extinct, or exist under different names.

The New Hampshire, the Meredith, the Woodstock, and Dublin Associations, are all of them either partly or wholly in this State; and there are also a few churches in this State, which belong to the Boston and Leyden Associations in Massachusetts, and those of Barre and Danville in Vermont.

Some brief sketches of the history of these Associations, and of some of their most distinguished churches, we shall now attempt to give. **The first Baptist church, which ever existed in New Hampshire, was gathered at Newtown in 1755**, as has already been mentioned. Mr. Backus, who must be our guide in most of the following observations, has not related, with any degree of precision, the circumstances of its origin. This omission, in that scrutinizing researcher, was, doubtless, for the want of materials. It merely informs us, that this church was small in its beginning, was gathered out of a society of Separate Pedobaptists in 1755, and was the only church in the State for fifteen years. He also states that Walter Powers, the father of the present Walter Powers of Gilmantown, was ordained its pastor the same year it was constituted, that it increased for a while under his ministry, and then fell into difficulties and divisions, which interrupted its harmony, and finally terminated in its dissolution. Soon after the church was formed at Haverhill, by Dr. Hezekiah Smith, which was only seven miles off, a number of members united with

that body, and the Newtown church lay waste until 1796, when it was revived under Mr. John Peak, now of Newburyport.

But long before the Newtown church arose, there resided at some distance to the north of this town, a woman, who, after living forty years a solitary life, as to communion with her brethren, was finally the means of spreading the Baptist sentiments in this part of the State, and of laying the foundation for some of the oldest churches in the New Hampshire Association.

The story of this remarkable woman is thus related by Mr. Backus in his history of New England, vol. 2, p. 265, 266.

About the year 1720, a man by the name of Scammon, of Stratham, on Piscataqua river, married Rachel Thurber, of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, and removed her to his own town. **MRS. SCAMMON** was a woman of piety, and firmly and understandingly established in the Baptist principles. But she was now removed at a distance from her brethren, and settled in a place where the Baptists were not known, and where their sentiments were not named, except by way of censure and reproach. In this lonely situation she remained most of her days, and although she frequently conversed with her neighbors respecting the propriety of her peculiar opinions, yet so strong were their prejudices against them, that **for the space of forty years she gained but one proselyte**. That was a woman, who being convinced of her duty repaired to Boston, the distance of more than fifty miles, and was baptized by Elder Bound, the pastor of the second church in that town.

Mrs. Scammon, towards the close of her life, fell in with Norcott on Baptism. The arguments in that little work appeared so clear and convincing, that she was firmly persuaded they would have an enlightening effect on the minds of her neighbors and friends, if they could be prevailed upon to read them. She accordingly carried the piece to Boston, with a view of getting it reprinted. But when she came to propose the matter to the printer, he informed her that he had more than a hundred copies of the work then on hand. These she immediately purchased, carried them home, and distributed them around her neighborhood, to all who would accept of them. **She, however, did not live to see much of the fruits of her benevolence and zeal**; but she used often to say to her neighbors, that she was fully persuaded that a Baptist church would arise in Stratham, although she might not live to see it. **And so it happened that a Baptist church actually arose there soon after her death**, and others were gathered in different parts of the country not long after, and the light which was reflected from Norcott's little book, which this pious lady had dispersed abroad, was the means either directly or indirectly of producing them. "Thus," says Mr. Backus, "Mrs. Scammon's bread, cast upon the water, seems to have been found after many days; the books which she freely dispersed, being picked up, and made useful to many."

The most remarkable instance of this kind, was in the case of Samuel, generally distinguished by the title of **Dr. Shepard**, who has long been extensively known as an eminent preacher amongst the Baptists, in this part of New Hampshire. He was, at this time, a young man, engaged in the practice of physick, and being at the house of one of his patients, he took up one of the little books above-mentioned; and on reading it through, he found his mind much impressed with the force of the sentiments which it advocated. He had been converted when very young, but remained in the Pedobaptist connection. But the light, which he now received, increased, until he was brought fully to embrace the Baptist sentiments; and in a short time became a Baptist minister, and besides all his other labors, planted a church in Brentwood, which now contains almost seven hundred members.

About the time of Mrs. Scammon's death, a revival commenced in this part of New Hampshire, which prevailed to a considerable extent, and many were led to embrace the Baptist sentiments.

Dr. Smith was now settled in Haverhill, near the borders of New Hampshire. He frequently made excursions into this State, and zealously engaged in the work, which was then going on, and by the eloquence of his preaching, and the weight of his character, bore down the strong prejudices against the Baptists, and was the means of abundantly extending their cause. During one week, in June, 1770, Mr. Smith baptized thirty-eight persons, who belonged mostly to Nottingham, Brentwood, and Stratham. Among this number were a Congregational minister, two deacons, and the majority of a Congregational church. This minister's name was Eliphalet Smith; he was the pastor of a Congregational church in a part

of Nottingham, called Deerfield. In this place a Baptist church was formed soon after this great baptism, and Mr. Eliphalet Smith was ordained their pastor, who after continuing with them a number of years, removed to the county of Lincoln, in the District of Maine, and the church, I conclude, is now included in that of Brentwood. Dr. Shepard was one of the number baptized by Dr. Smith, in this excursion; he began to preach soon after, and was ordained at Stratham, the next year, by Drs. Stillman of Boston, Smith of Haverhill, and Manning of Providence.

The church at Deerfield, we have already observed, was formed in 1770; a church was planted in Stratham the same year, and those in Brentwood and Nottingham were gathered the year after. **Thus in a very short time after Mrs. Scammon's death, four Baptist churches were formed, and the Baptists had become numerous in these parts.** If it be a fact that the angels inform the inhabitants of heaven, of the prosperity of Zion on earth, what joyful tidings must they have carried to this once mourning and anxious, but now glorified spirit.

The remaining part of the history of New Hampshire, we shall now exhibit under the heads of the Associations which it contains.

NEW HAMPSHIRE ASSOCIATION

This body was begun under the name of a Conference, in 1776, and did not assume the name and standing of an Association, until 1785. The churches of which this Conference was at first composed, were those of Brentwood, Berwick and Sanford; the two last were in the District of Maine. Dr. Shepard and William Hooper, then of Berwick, now of Madbury, were the principal promoters of this little Association. At their first interview, they were visited by Mr. Backus, the historian, who was then travelling through the country. This small community soon began to increase; some churches, which had been formed before they began to associate, soon fell in with them, others were raised up soon after, and united with them in their progress, and in a harmonious and prosperous manner, they have traveled on from their beginning to the present time. And although their number has, at various times, been diminished by different causes, yet they remain, in some measure, a large, and in every sense, a respectable body.

From the beginning of this Association some of its churches were in the District of Maine, and in that District, a considerable portion of them have ever been, and are still situated. Some account of these churches has already been given.

Of those churches in this Association which are situated in New Hampshire, the one called Brentwood is by far the largest, and in many respects, the most distinguished; and, indeed, this is the only church in this region, of which I have been able to collect any historical sketches, of any considerable importance.

Brentwood is in the county of Rockingham, about twenty miles westward of Portsmouth. The church here was organized in May 1771, with only thirteen members; but it has now increased to almost seven hundred. This great increase has been partly by means of revivals with which this body has been favored in a remarkable manner, and partly by collecting in its fold other churches, and the broken remains of other churches in its vicinity, some of which had been formed before it.

The Brentwood church at present, comprehends all the Baptists throughout an extensive circle around it; and consists, besides the main establishment at Brentwood, where Dr. Shepard resides, of five other branches, which are distinguished by the names of Epping, Lee and Nottingham, Hawke and Hampstead, Northwood, and Salisbury. These branches extend over a territory, whose diameter is upwards of thirty miles, and whose circumference, of course, is not far from a hundred. They are mostly supplied with preachers, and all of them enjoy the privileges, and exercise, in some measure, the power of distinct churches. Brentwood is their Jerusalem, to which they frequently repair. Here, like a bishop, in the midst of his diocese, resides the venerable elder, who is considered as the pastor of this extensive flock, and who, in his active days, spent much of his time in visiting among them, and whose popularity has probably been the means of collecting this extensive and unwieldy body, this church of churches, whose affairs must certainly be managed with peculiar inconvenience.

This wide spread church, not long since, projected a plan of becoming an association by itself, This plan has not yet been carried into effect, and it would certainly be a preposterous measure. For what is an association, according to the Baptist phraseology, but an assembly of churches? But the Brentwood church proposes to associate with itself.

This church, from its various branches, has sent forth a considerable number of preachers, and among them was **Joshua Smith**, the author of a little hymn book, which has been much esteemed, and had an extensive circulation. This worthy minister, after laboring much, with good success in various places, died with a consumption in 1795. [His Excellency William Plumer, Esq. Governor of New Hampshire, who lives in Epping, was formerly a minister in this church.]

As **DR. SHEPARD**, the founder, father and pastor of this extensive community, is now apparently just upon the verge of time, it may not be improper to give some sketches of his character. He was born at Salisbury, Massachusetts, near Newburyport, in 1739. Some account of his early life, until he engaged in the ministry, has already been given. For many years after he began his ministerial course, his labors were abundant and remarkably successful; and, indeed, he has never been idle in the Lord's vineyard. For besides his labors in the ministry, he has continued more or less through life, to exercise the functions of his medical profession, and he has also been the author of a number of little works, which we shall mention at the close of this account. The calls of his profession, and the extensiveness of his flock, made it necessary for him almost incessantly to lead an itinerant life. The reader may form some idea of the extent and success of the labors of this eminent minister, from the following letter, which he wrote to Mr. Backus in 1781.

"I rejoice, Sir, to hear, that in the midst of judgment, God is remembering mercy, and calling in his elect, from east to west. You have refreshed my mind with good news from the west and south, and in return I will inform you of good news from the north and east. Some hundreds of souls are hopefully converted in the counties of Rockingham, Strafford, and Grafton, in New Hampshire, within about a year past. In the last journey I went before my beloved wife was taken from me, I baptized seventy-two men, women, and some that may properly be called children, who confessed with their mouths the salvation God had wrought in their hearts, to good satisfaction. Meredith, in Strafford, has a church gathered the year past, consisting of between sixty and seventy members. I baptized forty-three in that town in one day, and such a solemn weeping of the multitude on the shore, I never before saw. The ordinance of baptism appeared to carry universal conviction through them, even to a man. The wife, when she saw her husband going forward, began to weep, to think she was not worthy to go with him; in like manner the husband the wife, the parent the child, the children the parent; that the lamentation and weeping, methinks, may be compared to the inhabitants of Hadadrimmon, in the valley of Magiddon. Canterbury, in Rockingham county, has two Baptist churches gathered in the year past, one in the parish of Northfield; the number I cannot tell, but it is considerably large. I baptized thirty-one there, and a number have been baptized since by others. The other is in the parish of Loudon, in said Canterbury, containing above one hundred members. Another church, of about fifty members, is gathered in Chichester; another in Barrington, consisting of a goodly number, and one in Hubbardston, all three in Strafford county. Two churches in Grafton county, one in Holderness, the other in Rumney. The church in Rumney had one Haines ordained last August, much to the satisfaction of the people. All these seven churches have been gathered in about a year past. One church was gathered last fall in Wells, over which brother Nathaniel Lord, late of Berwick, is ordained. There appears to be a general increase of the Baptist principles, through all the eastern parts of New England."

For the want of sufficient materials, and a more intimate acquaintance, I must forbear pursuing the biography of this distinguished servant of Christ. His writings are,

1st. A Scriptural Inquiry respecting the ordinance of water baptism. This piece was answered at different times, by three Pedobaptist ministers.

2d. A Reply to these answers in defense of the Inquiry, etc.

3d. A Scriptural Inquiry concerning what the Friends or Quakers call spiritual baptism. Being an answer to a work, published by Moses Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island.

4th. The Principle of Universal Salvation, examined and tried by the Law and Testimony.

5th. An Examination of Elias Smith's two pamphlets, respecting original sin, the death Adam was to die the day he eat of the forbidden fruit, and the final annihilation of the wicked.

It would doubtless be gratifying to the members of this Association, to read some historical sketches of a number of remaining very respectable churches; but as no adequate materials have been received from them, what has already been said, must suffice for its history. It may, however, be proper to observe, respecting its boundaries, that it extends along the sea coast about eighty miles, from about twenty miles west of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, almost to Portland in the District of Maine, where it meets the Cumberland Association. The churches extend back from the sea coast generally about sixty miles.

MEREDITH ASSOCIATION

This body was formed in 1789. It was small at first, and for some cause has never appeared to enjoy much prosperity or enlargement. It has, however, at different times, contained almost twice as many churches as it does at present. Some of the churches, which formerly belonged to it, have united with the Woodstock and Barre Associations, and others have been overrun by the Free-will Baptists, who have now become numerous in its vicinity.

The town of Meredith from which this Association received its name, is in the county of Strafford, on the west side of Winnipisseogee lake, fifteen miles north of Gilmanton, and seventy north-west of Portsmouth. The church here, which is one of the oldest in this body, was gathered in 1780, when Dr. Shepard, of Brentwood, baptized forty-four persons in one day. Mr. Nicholas Folsom, who went from Brentwood, was ordained the pastor of this church in 1782; and in that office, though far advanced in age, he still continues. This venerable elder has long been considered the father of this little Association.

The church in Sandbornton is also one of the oldest in this body; it was formed in 1780. Mr. John Crockett, their present pastor, was settled among them in 1794.

The church in Rumney, in the county of Grafton, was also formed in 1780. Mr. Cotton Haines was their first pastor, but he was, not long after, rejected from the fellowship of the Baptists. Under the ministry of Mr. Ezra Willmarth, lately pastor of this church, it experienced a great revival; in 1811, it received the addition of about one hundred and forty members, which increased its whole number to upwards of three hundred. Reverend Peletiah Chapin, formerly a Congregational minister, was baptized in this place, by Mr. Willmarth, in 1806. He received Baptist ordination immediately after, and is now preaching some where in this region, to good acceptance.

DUBLIN ASSOCIATION

This little body was organized as an Association in 1809, in the town from which it received its name, which is in the county of Cheshire, upwards of sixty miles west of Portsmouth, and near the southern borders of New Hampshire. It consisted, at the time of its formation, of six churches, which were dismissed from the Woodstock Association. The churches of Temple, Mason, and Dublin, are the oldest in this community, and were among the first, which were formed in this part of the State. The first of these bodies is now destitute of a pastor, but the other two are supplied by Elders William Elliot, and Elijah Willard. These two ministers have been laboring with good success in this part of the vineyard for many years, and they are now the only ordained preachers in this Association.

This Association is situated in the southern parts of the counties of Hillsborough and Cheshire.

On the western side of New Hampshire, along the Connecticut river, and extending some distance back in the country, is a large group of very respectable churches, which are supplied by a number of eminent ministers. These churches mostly belong to the Woodstock Association; and, indeed, they compose about half of that body, and some of them are almost as old as any in New Hampshire.

We shall now attempt to give some general account of the beginning of the Baptists in this region, and then proceed to some historical sketches of a few individual churches.

About the year 1770, and during a few succeeding years, a considerable number of Baptist brethren, and some ministers of the denomination, removed from different parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and some from other parts, and settled along the western side of New Hampshire, in the counties of Cheshire and Grafton, on, and at no great distance from, Connecticut River, which divides this State from Vermont.

Some of the ministers, who settled in this region, were Matturin Ballou, Ebenezer Bailey, Jedidiah Hibbard, Eleazer Beckwith, Thomas Baldwin, now of Boston, Isaac Kenny, etc. The oldest churches, along or near to the river, are those of Richmond, Westmoreland, Marlow, and Newport. In 1779, Elders Job Seamans, of Attleborough, Massachusetts, and Biel Ledoyt, of Woodstock, Connecticut, were appointed by the Warren Association, to travel, and spend a few weeks in preaching in these new and destitute plantations. Their appointment was in consequence of an affecting letter from Mr. Caleb Blood, who was at that time preaching at Marlow. Mr. Blood informed his brethren of the destitute situation of the people around him, and earnestly entreated the Association to send some ministering brethren over into this Macedonia to help him. Messrs. Seamans and Ledoyt were selected for the mission, which they performed in 1779. In their journey, they traveled up the Connecticut river as far as Woodstock, in Vermont, before the church was raised in that place; they preached both sides of the river, but mostly on the New Hampshire side; their coming was refreshing to the hearts of many, and an evident blessing followed their zealous and evangelical labors. Both of these ministers afterwards removed to this State, and settled not far from the scene of their labors in this missionary excursion. Mr. Ledoyt, who settled in Newport, has returned to Woodstock, in Connecticut, where he was settled before his removal hither, but Mr. Seamans still remains at New London, the aged and much respected pastor of the large and flourishing church which was planted, and which hath been built up under his ministry.

A number of ministers, whose names ought to be mentioned with respect, have settled on this side of New Hampshire, still later than those we have already named. Among these are Jeremiah Higbee, Ariel Kendrick, Joseph Wheat, Thomas Brown, Nathan Leonard, and Joseph Elliot.

Near the southwest corner of this State are two churches belonging to the Leyden Association, one of them is called Richmond, and the other Hinsdale and Chesterfield. The Richmond church was formed in 1770, and the same year, Mr. Matturin Ballou was ordained their pastor. The next year they joined the Warren Association, and continued in connection with that body a great number of years. This church has passed through a variety of scenes, both prosperous and adverse. For a number of years they were harassed with ministerial taxes. In 1780, they experienced a revival, by which more than forty members were added. But soon after this joyful event, a division ensued, and another church was formed, and Artemas Aldrich was ordained as its pastor. In 1790, these churches, which had long been low and in broken circumstances, were refreshed by a copious shower of divine grace, and in the course of two years, upwards of a hundred members were added; the two churches laid aside their bickerings and united as one; their two former pastors were dismissed, and Mr. Isaac Kenny was ordained to the pastoral care of the united body. How matters have been with them, from the last mentioned period, to the present time, I have learnt no more, than that they, at present, are reduced to a small number, and are destitute of a pastor.

The church at Hinsdale and Chesterfield has, for its pastor, a young man, by the name of Joseph Elliot, a son of William Elliot of Mason. We shall now proceed to give some brief sketches of a few of the churches on the west side of New Hampshire, which belong to the Woodstock Association.

The church in Westmoreland being the oldest, demands our first attention. Westmoreland is on the east bank of Connecticut river, in Cheshire county, directly opposite Putney in Vermont. Many of the first settlers in the town, removed from Mr. Backus' congregation in Middleborough. The church here was formed in 1771. Mr. Ebenezer Bailey was its first pastor; he was ordained among them about two years after they were constituted, and continued with them until a few years past. But he has now become a member of the church in Alstead, and is succeeded in the pastoral office by Mr. Nathan Leonard.

The same year the church in Westmoreland was formed, there was one gathered in Lebanon, a town in Grafton county, which also lies on the river, but a few miles below Dartmouth College. Mr. Jedidiah

Hibbard was ordained the pastor of this church not long after it was formed, and continued in that office until 1784, when he removed from them. Soon after he left them, the church was so much reduced by the removal of others, that, in a few years, it became extinct.

In this county are also two churches of considerable age, distinguished by the names of Canaan and Grafton. The first was formed in 1783, and was, for a number of years, under the pastoral care of Dr. Baldwin; the other was gathered in 1785; its first pastor was Oliver Williams, who died among them in 1790. He was from Rhode Island, and is supposed to have been a descendant of the famous Roger Williams, the founder of that State. This church is now under the care of Mr. Joseph Wheat.

The church in Marlow was formed in 1777. Mr. Eleazer Beckwith was its pastor many years. He, and many of the members of the church, removed from Lyme in Connecticut. In this church, Mr. Caleb Blood, who was afterwards in Shaftsbury, then in Boston, and now in Portland, was ordained. This has, at times, been a large and flourishing body. In 1790, it contained almost two hundred members; but it has now become so much reduced, that it has almost, if not entirely lost its visibility as a church. The church, which is now called Newport, according to Mr. Backus, was first established in Croydon, a neighboring town, in 1778. But in 1790, the brethren here united with those in Newport, and settled among them Mr. Biel Ledoyt, from Woodstock, Connecticut, whose name has not long since, been mentioned. From that period the church has been known by the name of Newport, which name suggests, that some of its first settlers removed from one of the principal towns in Rhode Island. Mr. Ledoyt resided here about fourteen years, and then returned again to Woodstock. While resident in Newport, he prosecuted his ministry with that evangelical ardor, for which he has, from the commencement of it, been peculiarly distinguished, and he had the happiness of seeing that his labors were not in vain in the Lord. In 1793, he thus wrote to a friend: "It hath been a long, dark, and cloudy night with me and the people here; but glory to our God, the cloud is dispersing fast. His work is begun among us. Newport and Croydon are greatly blest. There have been forty souls hopefully converted in a few weeks among us. I have baptized twenty-nine in four weeks. The work appears still going on. I cannot be idle, it is out of my power to answer all the calls I have at this time; but I endeavor to do all I can. Being favored with health, and the spirit of preaching, I ascend the mountains easy. There is a prospect of a glorious reformation in these parts. O may it spread far and wide! God hath remembered my family also for good; my three eldest daughters, I hope, are converted; the oldest seventeen years, and the youngest ten years old, are baptized." New London.

This church is in the northwest corner of the county of Hillsborough, about twenty miles east of Connecticut river. It was planted in 1788, by Mr. Job Seamans, who still remains its aged and much respected pastor. Mr. Seamans was born in Swansea, Massachusetts, in 1748. He was one of the company, which went to Nova Scotia, with Elder Nathan Mason, in 1765. Here he was converted and began to preach. After his return he became pastor of the church in Attleborough, in his native State, now under the care of Mr. James Read, in which station he continued fourteen years. From this place he removed to his present residence, when the country was very new, and much uncultivated in every respect. Here he soon planted a little church, which immediately began to increase, and has now arisen to a large and flourishing body. Mr. Seamans has had the happiness of witnessing, in this field of his labors, many precious and extensive revivals. A work broke out among his people in 1792, of which he gave the following account in a letter to Mr. Brickus:

"This town consists of about fifty families, and I hope that between forty and fifty souls have been translated out of darkness into God's marvellous light, in this town, besides a number in Sutton and Fishersfield, who congregate with us. Fifteen have been baptized, and joined to the church, and I expect that a number more will come forward in a short time. Indeed, I know not of one of them but what is likely to submit to gospel order, nor one person in the town, who stands in any considerable opposition. We have lectures or conferences almost every day or evening in the week. Our very children meet together to converse and pray with each other; and I believe I may safely say, that our young people were never a quarter so much engaged in frolicking, as they now are in the great concerns of the soul and eternity. Some things in this work have exceeded every thing I ever saw before. Their convictions have usually been very clear and powerful, so that industrious men and women have had neither inclination nor strength to follow their business as usual. And they freely acknowledge the justice and sovereignty of God. They also have desires beyond what I have ever before known, for the universal out-pouring of the Holy Spirit."

This letter was written in 1793. This work progressed so fast, that by the next year, the church, which, at its commencement, consisted of only eighteen members, had increased to a hundred and fifteen. Some of all

ages, from seventy down to eight years old, had been brought in; and what was remarkable, there were, at that time, in this church, thirty-seven men and their wives. [Backus_ *History*, vol. iii. p. 284, 285.]

Another revival, which prevailed to a considerable extent, took place among this people, but a few years ago.

Our limits forbid us to make any particular mention of but two more of this cluster of churches, and of these we can give but very brief accounts. These churches are Cornish and Alstead, both in the county of Cheshire. The town of Cornish is on Connecticut river, directly opposite Windsor in Vermont. In this town a church was established in 1788. Mr. Jedidiah Hibbard was pastor of it some years after he left Grafton, but it is now supplied by Mr. Ariel Kendrick, and is a large and respectable body.

Alstead is situated still lower down the river, eight miles below Charlestown, formerly called No. 4. The church was formed here in 1790 of fifteen members, but it has now increased to about a hundred and fifty. Its pastor is Jeremiah Higbee, a native of Middletown, Connecticut, who was ordained among them in 1794.

In the county of Hillsborough, and towards the lower part of this State, are three churches which formerly belonged to the Warren, but now to the Boston Association. These churches are distinguished by the name of Weare, New Boston, and Nottingham West. The church at Weare was formed in 1768. An account of its origin and early progress I have not obtained; but about 1787, Mr. Amos Wood, who was educated at Rhode Island college, was ordained among them, and continued their pastor until his death. Mr. Wood was a minister of considerable eminence and usefulness, and under his ministry this church became a large and respectable body. But since his death, it has, for the most part, been destitute of preaching, and in other respects in a tried and broken situation. But lately, they were supplied, a part of the time, by a young man, by the name of Evans, from the church in Reading, near Boston, and their circumstances became more comfortable and prosperous. The church is now under the care of Elder Ezra Willmarth.

Respecting the church in New Boston, I have obtained no historical sketches. It has not, however, been formed many years, and it is now under the pastoral care of a very worthy minister, whose name is Isaiah Stone, who was once at Dummerston, in Vermont.

The church in Nottingham West was formed in 1805. It is said to owe its origin to the labors of Mr. Daniel Merrill, now of Sedgwick, Maine, while he was a Pedo-baptist minister. In the winter of 1793, Mr. Merrill spent a number of months in this place. A revival commenced under his ministry, in which about thirty were hopefully converted, and professed religion, at that time, in the Pedobaptist connection. But most of them became Baptists afterwards, and were the principal materials in building the Baptist church in this place.

In the neighborhood of these three churches, are the broken remains of some others, particularly at Londonderry and Hopkinton. The churches of Bow and Goffs-town, have lately been revived; they have united into one, and are under the pastoral care of Elder Gates.

Thus we have given a general view of the Calvinistic Associated Baptists in New Hampshire. **There are a few churches of the same faith and order, which are not associated**, which will be brought to view in the general list of Associations and churches.

There is, also, in this State, a considerable number of churches of the Free-will Baptists, of whom some information will be given in the history of that community.

The Congregational church is the established religion of New Hampshire. But dissenters of various denominations form a large body of its inhabitants. I do not find that the Baptists have suffered much in this State, from religious oppression, or been much harassed with those fretting plagues to New England dissenters, ministerial taxes. This moderation we may attribute partly to the spirit of the established church, but mostly to other causes. While New Hampshire was a provincial government, its Governors and Counsellors were appointed by the Crown of England. This circumstance was favorable to dissenters, and

operated as a check to the monopolizing views of the Congregational clergy, and was the reason, as Mr. Backus informs us, why that denomination was not exalted to such an overbearing pre-eminence here, as in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Another reason why ecclesiastical publicans, or ministerial tax-gatherers have not been so troublesome to the Baptists and other dissenters in this State, as in some of the neighboring ones, may be, that under the government of Benning Wentworth, while a large portion of the State was unsettled, there were grants of ministerial lands in all the unsettled townships. These grants provided one lot for the first settled minister, and another for the support of the ministry. A few Baptist ministers obtained these lands by right of being the first settled ministers, for they were not exclusively promised to any one denomination; but most of them have fallen into the hands of Congregational ministers; and have, in many places, precluded the need of religious taxation.

By the Constitution of New Hampshire, "all towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies, etc. are empowered to make adequate provision for public protestant teacher_s of piety, morality and religion." But it also provides, "that no person of any one particular religious sect or denomination, shall ever be compelled to pay towards the support of the teachers of another persuasion, sect, or denomination." [Bill of Rights, Article 6.]

This article promises all that dissenters would ask. But notwithstanding these strong and unqualified terms of exemption, the Baptists and other dissenters, have, in a few instances, been obliged to lodge certificates, or make some formal declaration of their faith to get clear of parish rates. But these instances have not been numerous, and, at present, our brethren in this State generally enjoy all the religious privileges, which they have ever asked from the civil power, namely to be left alone.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

VERMONT

This is wholly an inland State, and is bounded north by Lower Canada, east by Connecticut river, which divides it from New Hampshire, south by Massachusetts, and west by New York. This State began to be settled about 1725 or 1730; the south part of it, at that time, was claimed by Massachusetts. After the year 1741, the whole territory was considered as lying within the jurisdiction of New Hampshire; but in 1764, it was by order of the King of Britain, annexed to the province of New York. This occasioned a long series of altercation between the settlers and claimants under New Hampshire and the government of New York. But these tedious controversies were finally adjusted, and in 1791, Vermont was admitted a member of the federal union. [Morse's *Geography*, vol. i. p. 361.]

There were but two Baptist churches established in this State, previous to the year 1780. The first of these was gathered in Shaftsbury in 1768, and the other at Pownal in 1773. An account of these churches will be given when we come to treat of the Association, to which they belong. About the year 1780, and during a few succeeding years, a number of Baptist ministers from different parts of the neighboring States removed and settled amidst the lofty forests of this then uncultivated territory. These ministers were preceded in their settlement here, by a few families of their brethren, they were attended in their removals by a considerable number more, and multitudes shortly followed after them, who dispersed in almost every direction on both sides of the Green Mountains, in the lower and middle regions of the State, and thus laid the foundation for the large number of churches, which shortly afterwards arose.

Between the years 1780 and 1790, thirty-two churches were planted in Vermont, so that together with the two which had been planted before, there were at the last mentioned date, thirty-four churches in this State, in which were twenty-eight ordained, and fifteen licensed preachers, and their whole number of communicants was about sixteen hundred. Elisha Ransom, Elisha Rich, Joseph Cornell, Thomas Skeels, Hezekiah Eastman, William Bentley, John Hibbard, John Peak, Caleb Blood, Aaron Leland, Isaac Beal, John Drew, Isaac Webb, Henry Green, Isaiah Stone, and Joseph Call, were among the first Baptist ministers, who settled in this State, and by whose laborious and evangelical exertions, the early churches were planted. But few of these ministers moved into the State, with the immediate expectation of taking the pastoral care of churches, for at the time of their removal very few churches had been gathered; but most of them came by the invitation of the few scattering inhabitants, who had just commenced the settlement of their plantations, and were desirous of having the gospel preached among them. And some of them were merely adventurers into a new country for the purpose of obtaining lands on which they might plant their families, and provide for their support. But that wise Providence, which led them in the wilderness, not only made a way for their temporal comfort and advantage, but soon opened a door for peculiar usefulness in their ministerial labors; showers of grace were soon sent down on many of the infant settlements; the calls for their labors became numerous and importunate, and the Lord inspired his servants with diligence and delight in his service, and crowned their labors with abundant success.

In the churches, which were planted by these men, have been raised up a number of ministerial sons, who have long been and still continue to be successful laborers in this part of the Lord's vineyard. Their names will be mentioned in the history of the churches and Associations with which they are respectively connected.

There are, at present, within the bounds of this State about 80 churches, most of which are connected with the Shaftsbury, the Woodstock, the Vermont, the Richmond, the Barre, and the Danville Associations, all of which bodies were organized within this State; none of them, however, are exclusively in it, and the Shaftsbury and Woodstock have the majority of their churches in the States of New York, Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

As the churches, in this State, began to associate soon after they were planted and have, with a very few exceptions, always traveled in an associated capacity, it may be best to exhibit what the limits of this work will permit us to say of them, in connection with the histories of the Associations to which they belong.

SHAFTSBURY ASSOCIATION

This Association was formed in the town from which it received its name, in the year 1780. It contained at first the five following churches, namely two in Shaftsbury, the first in Cheshire, then called, now New Providence, one in Stillwater, and one at White Creek. The principal ministers were Peter Warden, William Wait, Lemuel Powers, and Joseph Cornell. Lemuel Powers was ordained at this first meeting of the Association.

For a few years after this body was formed, it embraced some churches, which now belong to the Vermont Association. At present, though this Association contains thirty-two churches, yet but four of them are in the State of Vermont, namely the first and fourth in Shaftsbury, the first in Pownal, and the church in Stanford; sixteen are in the State of New York, eight in that of Massachusetts, and four in Upper Canada.

Some sketches of those churches belonging to this body, which are situated in Massachusetts, New York, and Upper Canada, will be given in the history of the States and Province to which they belong. Although there are so few churches in this community situated in Vermont, yet, as it was formed in this State, this may be the most proper place to give a general view of its movements. We shall first, however, give some brief sketches of the few churches which belong to it in this State.

Shaftsbury. This town is in Bennington county, near the southwest corner of the State. It joins the town of Bennington on the south, and the State of New York on the west. Such is its local situation, being near to the place where the three States of New York, Vermont, and Massachusetts meet, that it has never been at any great distance from the center of the Association, and here its sessions have very frequently been held. It has already been observed, that the oldest church in Vermont was formed in this town in 1768; this was but four years after Bennington began to be settled. I can find no particular account of the origin of this church. Mr. Backus merely mentions, that Mr. Bliss Willoughby, who was ordained as the pastor of a Separate church, at a place called Newent, in the town of Norwich, Connecticut, in 1753; who went to England in the character of an agent for the Separate churches in 1756, became a Baptist after the year 1764, was a leader in early times amongst the Baptists in this place. [Backus_ *History*, vol. iii. p. 296. I find the account of Mr. Willoughby_s being a leader, etc. is disputed by some, and supposed probable by others. And so I must leave it.] He also mentions that his son Ebenezer Willoughby, preached among this people, although neither he nor his father had the pastoral care of them; and that in 1774, the church consisted of 39 members. This town appears to have abounded with Baptists; a second church was formed here in 1780, a third in 1781, and a fourth in 1788. The third church was composed of brethren, mostly from Rhode Island, who were strenuous for the imposition of hands, and their church was founded upon what are called The Six Principles. This church united with the fourth in 1798. At present there are three churches in this town, called the first, second, and fourth. Two of them belong to the Association, and one does not. The first church is under the pastoral care of a young man, a native of the place, whose name is Isaiah Matrisson.

The second church has no pastor, and never had; but they have a worthy exhorter among them, by the name of Downer, who is now 80 years old. The fourth in this town has flourished more than any of the rest. It was many years supplied by Mr. Caleb Blood, and under his ministry it experienced some precious revivals and prospered greatly. The most distinguished of these refreshing seasons, was in the years 1798 and 1799, at which time, about 150 persons were baptized. An interesting account of this revival was written by Mr. Blood, and after being inserted in a number of pamphlets and magazines, it was published in Mr. Woodward_s *Surprising Accounts*, etc. After administering to this church about nineteen years, Mr. Blood, in 1807, by the request of the third church, then newly formed in Boston, removed and settled with them. There he continued about three years, and then he removed to Portland, in the District of Maine, where he now resides. The church, which he left in Shaftsbury, has had some refreshing seasons since his removal; they are still a large and respectable body; but as yet remain destitute of a pastor.

His Excellency Jonas Galusha, Esq. the present Governor of Vermont, resides in the neighborhood of this church, of which a number of his family are members. One of his sons, who was bred to the law, has lately embraced the gospel, has united with this church, and by it has been approbated to preach.

Pownal. This town is also in the county of Bennington, and lies in the southwest corner of Vermont, having Massachusetts on the south, and New York on the west. Through it runs the Hoosuck river, on which some Dutch people from the State of New York, formed settlements, as early as any which were made in Bennington.

In 1764, a Baptist minister by the name of Benjamin Garner, from West Greenwich, in the State of Rhode Island, traveled into these parts, and preached among the few inhabitants through the summer of that year; and the year following he removed his family and settled in the place. Nothing of a religious nature appeared here, until 1772, when Mr. Garner, having found five Baptist members besides himself, he united with them, and embodied them into a church. The next year the place was visited with a distressing sickness, which was the means of awakening many to the concerns of religion, and the church, this year, was increased to sixty members.

Mr. Garner made high pretensions to godliness, but his profession and practice were far from corresponding with each other. The foul sin of uncleanness easily beset him. Of this sin he had been accused while in Rhode Island, and a repetition of it here, plunged him into disgrace, and the new-formed church into embarrassment and confusion. This affair happened soon after the enlargement just mentioned, and in a broken and disconsolate situation, this infant church remained, until the winter of 1781, when they were visited by Francis Bennet from Foster in Rhode Island, whose labors were blessed among them, and the church soon after resumed its visibility and travel. [Mr. Garner died at Pownal, in the autumn of 1793, in the 78th year of his age. For a long time before his death he was, to use his own words, "A poor object of despair." But a little before he died, he manifested some comfortable views in the prospect of eternity, and once said to a friend "That he believed that all the punishment he should ever endure would be in this life."]

In 1788, **Elder Caleb Nichols**, who was also from Rhode Island, settled in Pownal, and became the pastor of this church, in which station he labored with much acceptance and success for many years. Mr. Nichols was born in Exeter, Rhode Island March 12, 1743. He was a vain and thoughtless youth, much attached to the violin and merry company. At the age of twenty-four, he was brought to embrace the Savior, and soon after was baptized by Elder Nathan Young. Not long after he began to preach, he was ordained to the pastoral care of the second church in Coventry in his native state, which had been constituted a few months before. Under Mr. Nichols' ministry, this church prospered greatly, so that in the course of eight or ten years it increased to 350 members; but in the time of the war the members scattered abroad, and the church became so broken and feeble, that Mr. Nichols thought best to remove from them, at the time already mentioned.

In a Ms. of Mr. John Leland's, written while Mr. Nichols was alive, I find his character thus given: "Elder Nichols moved into Pownal in 1788, bringing with him not only fair paper credentials, but what far exceeds, a heart flowing with love to God and men; and now, instead of using his violin to captivate the thoughtless throng, he is engaged with successful zeal in sounding the gospel trumpet. His life and conversation are exemplary; his preaching is spiritual and animating, pretty full of the musical New-Light tone. But his gift in prayer is his great excellency; for he not only prays as if he was softly climbing Jacob's ladder to the portals of heaven, but his expressions are so doctrinal, that a good sermon may be heard in one of his prayers."

Under the ministry of this excellent man, the Pownal church was edified and enlarged. The year after he removed among them, a revival attended his labors. In 1793, another powerful work of God broke out among them, and in a short time about seventy were added to their number. This worthy minister finished his course in 1804. Since his death, the church has experienced some refreshing seasons, and been supplied with different preachers, but have not as yet settled any one among them in the pastoral office.

The second church in Pownal was gathered in the west part of the town in 1790, by Mr. Bennet, whose name has already been mentioned. This church has never been larger and has never united with the

Association. Concerning the church in Sailford, I have received no information. We shall now proceed to give some brief sketches of the body whose history we have under consideration.

The Shaftsbury Association, although of a recent date, compared with some of its sister communities, yet on account of its almost continual prosperity and enlargement, the number and size of its churches, and the number of eminent ministers amongst them, must be considered as one of the most important establishments of the kind amongst the American Baptists.

In 1788, the number of its churches had increased to sixteen, at which time the total number of members was about 800.

In 1796, the number of churches was twenty-eight, and in this year upwards of four hundred were added by baptism, which made the whole number of members almost eighteen hundred.

In the year 1800, this Association contained upwards of forty churches, and more than four thousand members. In this year there were added by baptism 767. In this prosperous manner, this body progressed, until the year 1804, when its number amounted to between five and six thousand. It had now become so large and extensive, that a division which had previously been proposed was amicably effected.

The churches in this Association, at the time of its division, were scattered over the counties of Berkshire and Hampshire in Massachusetts, and in those of Columbia, Rensselaer, Washington, and Saratoga, in New York. It had in former years been much more extensive in its boundaries, but many churches had been dismissed before this period, to unite with Associations which had been established within their respective vicinities.

Most of the churches which were dismissed in 1804 were situated to the westward of the Hudson river, in the counties of Washington and Saratoga in the State of New York; these united in forming the Saratoga Association.

About the time of this division, the Association probably contained as great a number of Elders of distinguished abilities and eminent usefulness, as any other Association in the United States. But the Saratoga Association took off some of these men, others, not long after, were taken away by death, and some removed to other parts; and thus this extensive and influential establishment, was not only reduced in its numbers but enfeebled in its energies. But at present it appears to be resuming its former character, and is travelling on with reputation and strength.

For a number of years, this Association was considerably occupied in discussing the question, "**Whether church members ought to be tolerated in uniting with, and continuing to frequent, Masonick Societies,** to the grief of their brethren?" This was a question of much importance, and at the same time of a very embarrassing nature. It appears to have been started in the Association in 1798, and continued to be agitated more or less for five or six years. It is stated in their Minutes, that **there were, in some of their churches, at the time this matter was taken up, brethren, who had united with Masonick Societies, and who continued to frequent their Lodges in opposition to the remonstrances, and to the continual grief of their brethren.** When this matter was brought before the Association, the brethren generally were puzzled to know what advice to give. They could by no means approve of the grievous conduct of the brethren complained of; and at the same time, as it could not be proved that they had, by uniting with the Masonick Fraternity, violated any moral rule, they could find no law by which they could be made the subjects of church discipline and censure. The Association, at first, said but little on the matter, but the question being agitated from year to year, they at length became somewhat animated with their own discussions, and expressed themselves with more energy and decision on the subject. In 1803, a committee, who had been appointed for the purpose, after a short preamble, made the following report:

"In order to prevent any further difficulty on the subject, we wish now to be fairly and fully understood; that as to the propriety or impropriety of Free Masonry, we do not, as an Association, undertake to determine. Yet we freely say, that inasmuch as our brethren do not pretend they are bound in conscience, by any rule in the word of God, to unite with that fraternity, for them to form a connection with them, or frequent their Lodges, when they know it is a grief to their Christian brethren, and makes disturbance in the churches; it (in our

opinion) gives sufficient reason for others to conclude they are not such as follow after the things that make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another, Romans 14:19; but rather are such as cause divisions and contentions, contrary to the doctrine we have learned, Romans 16:17; and, of course, if they continue obstinately in such practices, ought to be rejected from fellowship; and consequently it is not reasonable for us to invite them to a seat in our Association. We therefore answer the query from the church at Providence, in the negative.

"Yet we do not wish, at present, to have this resolution so construed, as to interrupt our correspondence with sister Associations, but to have it continued.

"If there be any brethren, in any of our churches or sister Associations, who live in the practice of frequenting the Masonick Lodges, we flatter ourselves, that such churches and Associations, after hearing our minds on the subject, will not feel disposed to grieve brethren among us, by sending such of their members as delegates to this Association."

This report was received by the Association and inserted in their minutes for 1803, page 9. The broad hints towards the close of it were not the most grateful to some members of corresponding Associations, who had been let farther into the secrets of Masonry, than their proscribing brethren, and who had never considered that the meeting with Masonick Lodges was, in itself, a crime of sufficient magnitude to interrupt christian fellowship.

But to make short the history of this affair, it is sufficient to observe, that it proved in the end, to be much labor and time spent to little purpose.

The Association, notwithstanding their spirited resolves, left the question pretty much as they found it. They, it is true, manifested some portion of wisdom in their discussion of the matter, but they showed by far the most when they gave it up.

WOODSTOCK ASSOCIATION

This Association lies on both sides of the Connecticut river, in the States of Vermont and New Hampshire. It was organized with a very few churches, February, 1785, in Woodstock, which is one of the principal towns in Windsor county, a few miles above Windsor in Vermont, and not far below Hanover in New Hampshire, and no great distance west of Connecticut river.

Some of the oldest churches in this body are situated on the eastern side of the river in the counties of Cheshire, Grafton and Hillsborough, in New Hampshire. An account of these churches has already been given in the history of the State to which they belong. As this body originated in Vermont, we shall, under this head, give a brief narrative of its proceedings, together with some historical sketches of the most distinguished churches which it contains.

This Association has never been large compared with the Shaftsbury and some others; but it has generally been in a flourishing state, its movements have been harmonious and regular; its churches have been well established and respectable, many of which have been, and still are, supplied with ministers eminent for their abilities and usefulness.

Dr. Baldwin, now the pastor of the second Baptist church in Boston, was, for a number of years, the pastor of the church in Canaan, (N.H.) one of the constituent members of this Association, and the most remarkable event, which I find in its history is, that by their request, he exhibited before them, a small treatise, entitled, "**The Baptism of Believers only, and the Particular Communion of the Baptist Churches, explained and vindicated.**" This performance, being approved by the Association was, at their instance, forwarded to the press. "This work was intended rather as an apology for the particular communion of the Baptists, than as an attack upon the sentiments and practice of others." But it was, however, viewed by the Pedobaptists, as a work of too much importance to pass unnoticed.

Accordingly, in 1791, the Reverend Noah Worcester, pastor of a Congregational church in Thornton, (N.H.) published a reply to it, entitled, "A Friendly Letter," etc. This called forth a reply from Dr. Baldwin in 1794, after he had settled in Boston. In a word, the little tract which Dr. Baldwin wrote amidst the

forests and mountains of New Hampshire, laid the foundation for that baptismal controversy, which he has since, with much ability, maintained against a number of opposers. Amongst the oldest churches in the Woodstock Association, on the Vermont side of the river, we must reckon those of Woodstock, Hartford, Bridgewater, Westminster, Dummerston, Royalton, Windsor, Putney, Chester, Rockingham, and Reading. Dummerston, Putney, and some other churches in the southeast corner of Vermont, now belong to the Leyden Association. Of a few of the remaining ones it may be proper to give some brief accounts.

The Woodstock church was planted in 1780, by Elder Elisha Ransom, who had removed from Sutton, Massachusetts, and settled in this town a short time before. This church joined to the Warren Association the same year in which it was gathered, and continued with it, until the Woodstock Association was formed. The Woodstock church prospered much for some time. In the course of three years from its beginning, it increased to eighty members, and became so extensive that another church was formed from it in the same town, about 1785, which, however, was not long afterwards re-united to the mother establishment. Mr. Ransom continued in the pastoral office here, upwards of twenty years. And after him, Mr. Jabez Cottie administered to the church a few years; but he has removed from thence; and the followers of Elias Smith have prevailed so much, that the church has now nearly or quite lost its visibility.

The church in Chester, Windsor county, was formed in 1789. It originated in the following manner. In 1786, Aaron Leland, a native of Holliston, Massachusetts, who had been approbated to preach a little before, by the church in Bellingham, then under the care of Elder Noah Alden, received a letter from fifteen persons living in Chester, none of whom however were Baptist members, requesting him to come and preach among them for a short time. Conformable to this request, he took a journey to the place a few months after. But when he arrived, he found it so much uncultivated, both in a natural and moral point of view, and the prospect so unpromising, that he was unwilling to think of tarrying with them long. But after being here a short time, he felt a powerful application to his mind of this passage, "The Lord hath much people in this city." This scripture afforded him much comfort then, and he has had the happiness since of seeing it abundantly verified. After preaching with the people a few weeks, he returned; visited them again not many months after, and in a short time settled among them. He had been previously ordained by the church in Bellingham.

In 1789, he had the happiness of seeing a small church gathered, which consisted of only ten members, including himself. This little body traveled on in harmony and order, experiencing a gradual increase, but no remarkable ingathering for ten years after it was founded. But in 1799, a revival commenced, which became very powerful and extensive, and spread, not only throughout Chester, but prevailed in a number of the neighboring towns. At the close of this work, the church had become so numerous and extensive, that they thought proper to make a division, and by the advise of their brethren, who were called for the purpose, on the first of August, 1803, four churches were set off from the original body, which were named from the towns in which they were situated, Andover, Grafton, Wethersfield, and Cavendish. This was an interesting day, and the circumstance is probably unexampled in the annals of our churches. These detached churches are now all supplied with pastors, and are well established and flourishing bodies. Two of their pastors had been deacons in the mother church before its division, the other two came from other parts. Mr. Jonathan Going, pastor of the church in Cavendish, was educated at Brown University. Besides planting so many daughters around her, and furnishing two of them with pastors, the Chester church has sent out three other ministers, who are laboring in other parts.

Notwithstanding this great and sudden reduction, this fruitful body was left with between 70 or 80 members. It experienced no great addition, from the time of its division, until 1811, when another revival commenced within its bounds, by which a goodly number have been added. Mr. Leland, the worthy pastor of this church, has, in addition to his ministerial duties, filled a number of civil offices in the State. He was nine years a Representative from the town of Chester in the State Legislature, four of which he was Speaker of the House of Assembly. In 1803, he was appointed Judge of the County Court for the county of Windsor. This office he still holds. He has also held a number of minor offices, all of which he has now resigned. He was at one time, so loaded with civil offices and honors, that many of his friends were much concerned for his religious and ministerial character. And, indeed, he at length became concerned about himself, and that not without cause. Although he had been enabled to maintain an unspotted character, in the midst of all his worldly elevations, yet he found such a want of religious enjoyment, and such a defection in the zeal and success of his ministry, that he, a few years ago, gave up all his civil

employments, except that of officiating on the bench, which occupies his attention but a few weeks in the course of a year, and he is now once more very zealously and affectionately engaged in the most honorable, and at the same time the most despised employment amongst men. Mr. Leland is distantly related to John Leland of Cheshire.

The county of Windham, in the southeast corner of this State, has been in some measure a distinguished resort and nursery of Baptists, for upwards of forty years. In this county are twelve churches, belonging to the Leyden Association, the seat of which body is considered to be in Massachusetts. The first church in Guilford, and the church in Dummerston, are the oldest among them; the Guilford church appears to be the oldest on this side of the Green Mountains, the origin of which was in the following manner: About the year 1770, a number of persons from different parts, moved into this town, many of whom were soon afterwards awakened to religious concerns, and embraced the Baptist sentiments. These persons, to the number of thirty-three, were embodied into a church in 1776. This church increased so much that another was formed out of it in 1785. But the next year, for some reason, these two churches were again united into one, and a revival commenced among them soon after, by which a large number were added, and the church moved on in harmony, until the famous dispute between the States of New York and New Hampshire disturbed its tranquillity. As the church was established on disputed land, the members imbibed the spirit of controversy, and soon fell into an unhappy contention, insomuch that the church was scattered and nearly dissolved. But in 1790, after the interfering claims of the contending States were adjusted, and the territory of Vermont was restored to tranquillity, this church recovered from its dispersion, and re-commenced its travel. The town of Guilford has abounded with Baptists, and it now contains three churches, but I have not gained sufficient information to give an account of their origin or movements.

The ministers, who have labored here at different times, were Whitman Jacobs, a native of Bristol, Rhode Island, who planted the church in Thompson, Connecticut; Peleg Hix, from Rehoboth, Massachusetts, and Richard Williams, from Groton, Connecticut. The first church is now under the pastoral care of Jeremy Packer; the one called Guilford United Church, is supplied by Lewis Allen; the third church is destitute of a pastor.

Dummerston church was constituted in 1783. The next year after it was formed, Mr. Isaiah Stone, who is now at New Boston, New Hampshire, settled in the town, and preached a part of the time with this church for a number of years. When he removed from them, the church contained only thirty-one members. Soon after his removal, a revival commenced, by which about a hundred were added to their number.

In 1793, Rufus Freeman settled among them, and soon after he was ordained their pastor, in which office he continued many years. Mr. Freeman was a native of Providence, Rhode Island, where he was born in 1762. His father died at sea when he was an infant, his mother died while he was yet a child. At six years of age he was carried to Fitzwilliam, in New Hampshire, by a man who brought him up. In this town he was converted in the seventeenth year of his age, and here, also, he began to preach in 1789. From Fitzwilliam he went to Hardwick, and from that place to Dummerston. His next remove was to Colerain, and farther than this I cannot trace him. Mr. John Leland, in his MS. History of this church, speaks of Mr. Freeman in respectful terms.

The present pastor of this church is Jonathan Hunt, who has been with them a number of years. Of the remaining churches in this county, I have not obtained sufficient information, to form any interesting details.

VERMONT ASSOCIATION

This was the third confederacy of the kind established in this State. It was organized in Elder Joseph Cornell's barn, in the town of Manchester, May, 1785. The country was then so new, and the houses so small, that a mansion similar to that in which the Savior was first seen by mortals, was the most convenient place in which they could assemble. This body, at the time of its constitution, comprized only five small churches, in which were but four elders, and 231 members. In five years from its beginning, it increased to thirteen churches, and 740 members. The number of churches is now twenty-two, which contain about 1900 communicants.

This Association lies wholly west of the Green Mountains, and is mostly in the counties of Rutland and Addison. Two of its churches, namely Salem and Granville, are in Washington county, New York. This body now comprises a number of large and respectable churches, which are supplied by a number of ministers, eminent for their abilities and usefulness; but as to its movements we cannot say that they have, at all times, been harmonious and comfortable. For many years the Association traveled in peace and love, but at length it fell into a dispute about the prerogatives which it possessed. Some were for constituting it a board of trial for ministers, churches, etc. others opposed these measures as an infringement on the independency of the churches, and an usurpation of power, to which they had no constitutional claim. And thus, to use a familiar figure, while some were endeavoring to plant horns on their body, which in their opinion was wanting in energy, others stood by with their weapons to beat them off; and at length the contest arose so high, that the Association was rent asunder, and the two parties, for a short time, met in separate companies; thus the body, about which they were contending, was left without either head or horns. It is not intended, by this familiar manner of treating these measures, to trifle with the feelings of those worthy brethren, by whom they were promoted. These unhappy proceedings must not be reckoned among their wisest and most condescending acts. But it is pleasant to learn, that a spirit, conciliatory and forbearing, soon succeeded that which was so discordant and painful; a convention composed of delegates from both parties came to an amicable adjustment of their differences, the powers of an Association were unanimously agreed upon, the dissevered members of this body were happily united, and it has, from that period, traveled on in harmony and love. The substance of these remarks was communicated by a minister who has long held a respectable standing in this Association.

Respecting the history of the churches in this connection, some very brief sketches must suffice. I was not enabled to travel amongst them. I have, however, taken much pains to ascertain their history, a few things have been communicated, but many more which were expected have, for some reason, not come to hand.

The five constituent churches of this Association were those of Clarendon, Granville, Manchester, Danby, and Mapletown. The churches in Wallingford, Ira, Middletown, and Pittsfield, were constituted before the Association was formed; and those of Poultney, Orwell, Hubbardston, Brandon and Paulet, but a few years after.

The church in Wallingford was gathered in 1780, and is the oldest within the bounds of the Vermont Association. It was named after Wallingford in Connecticut, from which town many of the first settlers emigrated. Mr. Henry Green, now in Cornwall, was its first pastor. The Wallingford church withdrew from the Association in the time of its contentions, and has never united with it since. It is still in respectable standing, though destitute of a pastor.

The next church in point of seniority, is that of Manchester, in the county of Bennington, which was planted by Elder Joseph Cornell, in 1781. Mr. Cornell is a native of Swansea, Massachusetts, from which place he removed to Cheshire, in the same State, in 1770, where he was ordained ten years after. Immediately after his ordination, by the request of more than seventy heads of families in Manchester, he removed and settled among them, and continued upwards of thirteen years, pastor of the church which he established there.

This church, like that of Wallingford, wishing to let alone contention, before it is meddled with, left the Association at the same time, and yet remains out of it, Mr. Cornell left them before this time. Its circumstances are prosperous, being under the care of a worthy minister, whose name is Calvin Chamberlain.

There is also an unassociated church in East Clarendon, which is now supplied by an Elder M_Culler.

Middletown. The church here was constituted, October, 1782. It remained without a pastor until 1790, when Mr. Sylvanus Haynes, a native of Princeton, Massachusetts, was settled among them, under whose ministry they have been edified and built up to a large and respectable body.

Poultney. This church was constituted in 1785, It was formed upon Calvinistick principles, but on the plan of open communion, which plan was continued a number of years, but has long since been given up.

This church was small, and in a measure destitute of preaching for many years. In 1801, it was reduced to fifteen members, who thought best to attach themselves to the church in Middletown, under the character of a branch of that body. But the next year, having Mr. Clark Kendrick to preach among them, they again resumed their travel as a distinct church; Mr. Kendrick was, soon after, ordained over them, and still continues their much respected pastor: Mr. Kendrick was born in Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1776, and is a brother of Ariel Kendrick, of Cornish in that State.

I have not received accounts from any other churches in this Association, except the one in Middlebury, which was formed in 1809, and is now under the care of Nathaniel Kendrick, who was formerly in Lansingburg, New York. Some sketches of a number of others would doubtless be as interesting as those which have been given, but as they have not been forwarded as was expected, they must of necessity be omitted.

RICHMOND ASSOCIATION

This Association is situated northward of the Vermont, and extends from Onion river to the northern boundaries of the State, and three of the churches are in the province of Lower Canada. It is bounded on the west by lake Champlain, and extends eastward to the Green Mountains, and is in the counties of Chittenden, Franklin, and Orleans.

This Association was begun with not more than four or five churches, in 1795, and although it has been gradually increasing from its beginning, it has not yet become large. Respecting the history of the churches in this establishment, I have obtained scarcely any information, except that some were raised up by the labors of Elders Jedidiah Hibbard, from New Hampshire, and Joseph Call, from Woodstock, in this State. I find, also, that Elders Ezra Willmarth, now of Weare, New Hampshire, Samuel Rogers, at present in Galway, New York, and Elisha Andrews, of Templeton, Massachusetts, were preaching within the bounds of this Association, in the early part of its movements.

Elder Ezra Butler, who has long been in the State Legislature, a member of the Senate, a county Judge, and who is now a member of Congress, belongs to this Association, and resides at Waterbury, on Onion river. Three churches in the Richmond Association, namely Sutton, Hatley, and Stanstead, and St. Armond, are in the province of Lower Canada. I have lately been informed that this Association has changed its name to that of Fairfield, and that the churches in Canada which contain about two hundred members, are not included in it.

Besides those already mentioned, there are two other small Associations in this State, which are situated on the east side of the mountains. These Associations are Barre and Danville.

The Barre Association lies immediately north of the Woodstock. It was formed about 1807, of six or seven churches, and is yet very small. It is situated in the counties of Orange, Caledonia, and Jefferson. The churches of Hanover and Lyme are in the county of Grafton in New Hampshire. The Danville Association lies still north of the Barre, mostly in the county of Caledonia. It was formed of four or five small churches, about 1810. This Association is mostly the fruits of Missionary labors.

The unassociated churches in this State will be brought into the list of Associations and Churches.

There are a number of Baptist churches in this State of the Free-will order, which will be taken notice of in the history of that community.

Although many of our brethren were amongst the first settlers, in most parts of this State, yet the greater part of the settlers were of the Congregational order, from the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut. These people carried with them the religious maxims of their native States, and by their influence the country was divided into parishes, in most of which Congregational churches were established, and a law was passed similar to those in the other New England States, empowering these parishes to levy a general tax for building meeting-houses, and supporting their ministers. The Baptists in a few instances, and but a few, have been oppressed with these taxes. But now, all laws, regulating religious worship, are done away,

and the gospel is left in Vermont as it is in all the other United States except three, and as it ought to be every where, and as we believe it finally will be, to be supported by the voluntary contributions of its advocates and friends.

A brief account of the nature, progress, and abrogation of these laws will now be given.

I do not find that any laws were made in Vermont, with regard to religion, until 1797. Then an act was passed for the support of the gospel, etc. the substance of which was to empower the inhabitants of every town or parish in the State, (in which there should be twenty-five voters) to associate for religious purposes, to levy and collect taxes, to build meeting houses, and to hire and support religious teachers of such denomination, as a majority of such town or parish thought proper. And every person of "adult age, was, by said act, considered as being of the religious opinion and sentiment of such society, and liable to be taxed, after residing in said town or parish one year, unless he should, previous to the vote for raising taxes, etc. obtain, and procure to be recorded in the Town Clerk's office in said town, a certificate of his different belief, signed by some minister of the gospel, deacon, elder, moderator, or clerk of the church, congregation, sect or denomination, to which he belonged."

This statute remained in force, until the third of November, 1801, when the Legislature passed an act, repealing so much of the former act, as related to procuring certificates; but still considered the voters in such town or parish of the religious opinion of such society, and made them liable to be taxed for religious purposes; unless they should, individually, previous to any vote of said society, etc. deliver to the clerk of such town a declaration in writing, with their names thereto subscribed, in the following words, "I do not agree in religious opinion, with a majority of the inhabitants of this town," or parish, etc.

Thus stood the law until the 24th day of October, 1807, when the Legislature passed an act, repealing all the statutes on the subject, except the section relating to voluntary associations, and contracts individually entered into." [This information was communicated by Cephas L. Rockwood, Esq. of Chester.]

The bill which proposed this law, which is so congenial with every principle of religious freedom, was two sessions before the Vermont Assembly, and was supported by the united exertions of the great body of dissenters. Messrs. Aaron Leland and Ezra Butler were at this time members of the State Legislature. Leland was Speaker of the Lower House, and Butler was an active member of the Senate. It is generally thought that our ministering brethren had better keep at home, than to engage in the bustle of political affairs. But on this occasion, these two ministers did much good. This bill was much contested. In the Lower House it was debated by a committee of the whole, which brought Mr. Leland on the floor. Both he and Mr. Butler zealously and ably advocated it, and exhibited with much perspicuity and effect those unanswerable arguments, which the Baptists always urge against supporting religion by law. They were seconded by many gentlemen of different persuasions. But their arguments were, at the same time, violently opposed by many powerful adversaries. But the spirit of freedom prevailed, and the bill, to the honor of the valiant Green Mountain men, finally passed into a law.

Many had very alarming apprehensions of the levelling consequences of this law; none of them, however, have been realized. There were, at this time, about a hundred Congregational ministers settled in this State, but not one of them was displaced in consequence of this law. They were a worthy set of men, and as soon as their churches and congregations saw the law was repealed, which empowered them to raise money for their support, they set about raising it in other ways, and all of them were supported as well without law, as they had been with.

This would doubtless be the case generally in the other New England States. But the ministers there have so long been accustomed to lean on the strong arm of the civil power for their support, that they are afraid to stand up and trust to the voluntary contributions of their flocks. And it is highly probable that many of them would make out poorly indeed. But those who are worth having, would be supported, and those, who are not, ought to dig for themselves, and it is no matter how soon they are displaced.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

MASSACHUSETTS

There was not any church of the Baptist order founded in this State, until more than forty years after its settlement; but there were at first, and all along during this period, some persons of the Baptist persuasion, or to speak in the language of that day, persons tinctured with Anabaptistical errors, intermixed with the inhabitants. And before we proceed to the churches and associations in this Commonwealth, we shall exhibit it in one view, the number, names, circumstances, and sufferings of our brethren, and of those who were baptistically inclined, in this boasted asylum of religious freedom, up to the year 1883, when the first church in Swansea was founded.

It is asserted by Dr. Mather, in his *Magnalia*, that "some of the first planters in New England were Baptists;" and this assertion is corroborated by some of the laws and letters which will be mentioned in the following sketches. Roger Williams was not a Baptist practically while he resided in this government, but he, nevertheless, began here his baptistical career, and it is evident that the fear of the consequences of his popular ministry induced the priest-led magistrates to pass the cruel sentence of banishment against him. While he was at Plymouth, it was feared "that he would run the same course of rigid separation and Anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smith of Amsterdam had done;" and after he went to Salem, it is said, that "in one year_s time he filled that place with principles of rigid separation, tending to Anabaptism" [Backus, vol. i. p. 56]. Anabaptism, in the view of the Massachusetts people, was a heretical monster, of which they were most terribly afraid. It has always been found that the leading principles of the first reformers, when carried forward to their legitimate consequences, will endanger the cause of infant baptism. "Bishop Sanderson says, that the Revelation Archbishop Whitgift, and the learned Hooker, men of great judgment and famous in their times, did long since foresee, and declare their fear, that if ever Puritanism should prevail among us, it would soon draw in Anabaptism after it. This, Cartwright and the Disciplinarians denied, and were offended at. But these good men judged right, they considered only as prudent men, that Anabaptism had its rise from the same principles the Puritans held, and its growth from the same course they took; together with the natural tendency of their principles and practices toward it; especially that one principle, as it was then by them misunderstood, that the Scripture was *adequata agendorum regula*, so as nothing might be lawfully done without express warrant, either from some command or example therein contained; which clue, if followed as far as it would go, would certainly in time carry them as far as the Anabaptists had then gone." "This," says Mr. Callender, "I beg leave to look on as a most glorious concession, of the most able adversaries. One party contends that the scripture is the adequate rule of worship, and for the necessity of some command or example there; the other party say this leads to Anabaptism."

The Archbishop and Mr. Hooker were by no means mistaken in their conjectures; for so many of the Puritans as adhered strictly to that one principle, that the scripture is the adequate rule of worship, did become Anabaptists, as they were called; and the reason why all did not, was, that they would not allow this one powerful principle, which is sufficient to demolish the whole fabric of human inventions, to operate in all its force against infant baptism, but threw in its way Abraham_s covenant, and the traditions of the fathers.

The first settlers of New England knew by what they had seen at home, the danger of the Puritans running into Anabaptism; or to speak correctly, their disposition to revive to its apostolic purity the ordinance of baptism; they therefore continually made use of every precaution, to hush all inquiries, and to close every avenue of light upon the subject; and although we condemn their methods, we must at the same time confess that they were attended with too much success.

It was a long time before the Baptists could gain much ground in either of the colonies of Plymouth or Massachusetts. It is probable however that they would have gained establishments here much sooner than they did, notwithstanding the vehement zeal with which they were opposed, had not the glorious liberties of the little colony of Rhode Island offered them an asylum so much

to their mind. But notwithstanding all their attempts to keep them out and to beat them down, it is evident there have been Baptists in this state, from its first settlement, which is now a period of upwards of a hundred and ninety years; and some distinguished persons resided here for a time, who became Baptists after they left the colony and settled in other parts. Hansard Knollys, who afterwards became a very distinguished Baptist minister in London, came over to this country in 1638, and landed at Boston, but afterwards went to Dover on the Piscataqua river, where he tarried a few years, and then went back to England.

In 1659, it seems there was an attempt to found a **Baptist church at Weymouth**, a town about fourteen miles southeast of Boston, which was, however, frustrated by the strong arguments of interposing magistrates. John Smith, John Spur, Richard Sylvester, Ambrose Morton, Thomas Mackpeace, and Robert Lenthal, were the principal promoters of this design. **They were all arraigned before the General Court at Boston, March 13, 1639, where they were treated according to the order of the day;** Smith, who was probably the greatest transgressor, was fined twenty pounds, and committed during the pleasure of the Court. Sylvester was fined twenty shillings and disfranchised. Morton was fined ten pounds, and counselled to go to Mr. Mather for instruction. Mackpeace had probably no money; he was not fined, but had a modest hint of banishment, unless he reformed. Lenthal it seems compromised the matter with the court for the present; consented to appear before it at the next session; was enjoined to acknowledge his fault, and soon. How matters finally terminated with him I do not find; but it is certain he soon after went to Mr. Clark's settlement on Rhode Island, and began to preach there before the first church in Newport was formed.

The court having thus dispersed the heretical combination, "thought fit to set apart a day of humiliation, to seek the face of God, and reconciliation with him by our Lord Jesus Christ, etc." [Backus_ *History*, etc. vol. i. p. 113, 114].

In 1640, Mr. **Charles Chauncey** came over to this country; he was an advocate for the doctrine of dipping in baptism, but at the same time held that infants were proper subjects of the ordinance. He was esteemed a great scholar and a godly man. The church in Plymouth were anxious to settle him amongst them; but they were as strenuous for sprinkling as he was for immersion. "There was much trouble about the matter. The magistrates and the elders there, and the most of the people, withstood the reviving of that practice, (that is immersion) not for itself so much as for fear of worse consequences, as the annihilating our baptism, etc." [Winthrop's journal as quoted by Backus.] The church finally proposed that Mr. Reyner, their other minister, with whom he was to be associated, should do all the sprinkling, so that he should not be obliged to administer the sacred rite, only in his own way; but with this temporizing proposal, "he did not see light to comply." For although he was but half right, yet he was strong so far as he had gone. From Plymouth, Mr. Chauncey went to Scituate, a town on the Massachusetts Bay, about twenty-eight miles southeast of Boston, where he was settled and resided many years. We are told that "here he persevered in his opinion of dipping in baptism, and practiced accordingly, first upon two of his own children, which being in very cold weather, one of them swooned away; another having a child about three years old, but fearing it would be frightened, as others had been, carried it to Boston, with testimonials from Chauncey, where the seal of the covenant was impressed upon it in a milder form."

Mr. Backus well observes, that "Mr. Chauncey's grand difficulty in burying in Baptism, was his admitting subjects, who had not the faith or discretion necessary for such an action" [Backus_ *History*, etc. vol. i. p. 115 and 145, 146].

There is, it must be acknowledged, a conformity between babes and sprinkling. Both of them are puerile things, and seem well fitted for each other.

The same year in which Mr. Chauncey came over, a female of considerable distinction, whom Governor Winthrop calls the **Lady [Deborah] Moody**, and who, according to the account of that candid statesman and historian, was a wise, amiable, and religious woman, "was taken with the error of denying baptism to infants." She had purchased a plantation at Lynn, ten miles northeast of Boston, of one Humphrey, who had returned to England. She belonged to the church in Salem, to which she was near, where she was dealt with by many of the elders and others; but persisting in her error, and to escape the storm which she saw gathering over her head, she removed to Long Island and settled among the Dutch. "Many others infested

with Anabaptism removed thither also." Eleven years after Mrs. Moody's removal, Messrs. Clark, Holmes, and Crandal, went to visit some Baptists at Lynn, by the request of an aged brother, whose name was William Witter. This circumstance makes it probable, that although many Anabaptists went off with this lady, yet there were some left behind. We shall soon have occasion to take more particular notice of the Baptists in this place.

In 1644, we are informed by Mr. Hubbard, that "**a poor man, by the name of [Thomas] Painter**, was suddenly turned Anabaptist, and having a child born would not suffer his wife to carry it to be baptized. He was complained of for this to the court, and enjoined by them to suffer his child to be baptized. But poor Painter had the misfortune to dissent both from the church and court. He told them that infant baptism was an antichristian ordinance, for which he was tied up and whipt. He bore his chastisement with fortitude, and declared that he had divine help to support him. The same author who recorded this narrative, intimates that this poor sufferer "was a man of very loose behavior at home." This accusation was altogether a thing of course; it would have been almost a miracle, for a poor Anabaptist to have been a holy man. Governor Winthrop tells us he belonged to Hingham, and says he was whipt "for reproaching the Lord's ordinance." Upon which Mr. Backus judiciously inquires, "did not they who whipt this poor, conscientious man, reproach infant sprinkling, by taking such methods to support it, more than Painter did?" [Backus_ *History*, vol. i. p. 147, 148.]

About this time Mr. **[Roger] Williams** returned from England, with the charter for Rhode Island, and landed at Boston. He brought with him a letter, signed by twelve members of Parliament, addressed to the Governor, Assistants, and people of Massachusetts, exhorting them to lenient measures towards their dissenting brethren, and towards Mr. Williams in particular. The sentence of banishment yet lay upon him, which these noble advocates for liberty besought them to remove. But every avenue of compunction and mercy was closed; "Upon the receipt of this letter the Governor and magistrates of Massachusetts found, upon examination of their hearts, no reason to condemn themselves for any former proceedings against Mr. Williams, etc." [Hubbard, as quoted by Backus, vol. i. p. 155-6.]

The Baptists and those inclined to their sentiments were, doubtless, emboldened by the favor which Mr. Williams had obtained at home, and by knowing that he had obtained the royal assent for a colony which would afford them an asylum in time of danger. About this time, we are told by Winthrop, that "the Anabaptists increased and spread in Massachusetts." This increase was a most fearful and ungrateful sight to the rulers of this colony, and was doubtless the means of leading the General Court to pass the following act for the suppression of this obnoxious sect.

"Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully and often proved, that since the first rising of the Anabaptists, about one hundred years since, they have been the incendiaries of commonwealths, and the infectors of persons in main matters of religion, and the troublers of churches in all places where they have been, and that they, who have held the baptizing of infants unlawful, have usually held other errors or heresies therewith, though they have (as other heretics use to do) concealed the same, till they spied out a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them, by way of question or scruple; and whereas divers of this kind have, since our coming into New England, appeared, amongst ourselves, some whereof (as others before them), denied the ordinance of magistracy, and the lawfulness of making war, and others the lawfulness of magistrates, and their inspection into any breach of the first table; which opinions, if they should be connived at by us, are like to be increased amongst us, and so must necessarily bring guilt upon us, infection and trouble to the churches, and hazard to the whole commonwealth; it is ordered and agreed that if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction, shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful right and authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the first table, and shall appear to the court willfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction, **every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment.**"

This was the first law which was made against the Baptists in Massachusetts. It was passed November 13th, 1644, about two months after Mr. Williams landed in Boston as above related. Two charges, which it contains, Mr. Backus acknowledges are true, namely that the Baptists denied infant baptism and the ordinance of magistracy; or as a Baptist would express it, the use of secular force in religious affairs; but all the other slanderous invectives he declares are utterly without foundation. He furthermore asserts, that he had diligently searched all the books, records, and papers, which he could find on all sides, and could not find an instance then (1777) of any real Baptist in Massachusetts being

convicted of, or suffering for any crime, except the denying of infant baptism, and the use of secular force in religious affairs.

If a Puritan Court in the seventeenth century, professing to be illuminated with the full blaze of the light of the Reformation, could thus defame the advocates for apostolic principles, will any think it strange if we suspect the frightful accounts which were given of them in darker ages by a set of monkish historians, who believed that fraud and falsehood were christian virtues, if they could be made subservient to the good of the church? Mr. Hubbard, one of their own historians, speaking of their making this law says, "but with what success it is hard to say; all men being naturally inclined to pity them that suffer, etc." The clergy doubtless had a hand in framing this shameful act, as they, at this time, were the secretaries and counsellors of the Legislature.

Mr. Backus_ observations upon these measures, and the men by whom they were promoted, are very judicious. "Much (says he) has been said to exalt the characters of the good fathers of that day: I have no desire of detracting from any of their virtues; but the better the men were, the worse must be the principles that could ensnare them in such bad actions."

Mr. Hubbard informs us, that "at a General Court in March, 1645, two petitions were preferred, one for suspending (if not abolishing) a law made against the Anabaptists the former year; the other was for easing a law of like nature made in Mrs. Hutchinson_s time, forbidding the entertaining of any strangers, without license of two magistrates, etc. But some, continues the same author, at this time were much afraid of the increase of Anabaptism. This was the reason why the greater part prevailed for the strict observation of the aforesaid laws, although peradventure a little moderation as to some cases might have done very well, if not better.

Many books, coming out of England in this year, some in defense of Anabaptism and other errors, and for liberty of conscience as a shelter for a general toleration of all opinions, led the ministers of all the United Colonies to meet at Cambridge, etc. One of the Anabaptist books above referred to was sent by the famous **John Tombes**. It was an examination of a sermon in defense of infant baptism, preached by Stephen Marshall, and dedicated to the Westminster Assembly. Soon after the news reached England of the law to banish the Baptists, Mr. Tombes sent a copy of his work to the ministers of New England, and with it an epistle dated from the Temple in London, May 25, 1645, "hoping thereby to put them upon a more exact study of that controversy, and to allay their vehemency against the Baptists." "But the Westminster Assembly, says Backus, were more ready to learn severity from this country, than these were to learn lenity from any."

Soon after Mr. Tombes sent over his book and letter, Sir Henry Vane, whose interest was then very great in Parliament, wrote to Governor Winthrop as follows:

"Honored Sir, I received yours by your son, and was unwilling to let him return without telling you as much. The exercise and troubles which God is pleased to lay upon these kingdoms, and the inhabitants in them, teaches us patience and forbearance one with another in some measure, though there be difference in our opinions, which makes me hope, that from the experience here, it may also be derived to yourselves, lest, while the Congregational way amongst you is in its freedom, and is backed with power, it teach its oppugners here, to extirpate it and root it out, from its own principles and practice. I shall need say no more, knowing your son can acquaint you particularly with our affairs. Sir, I am your affectionate friend, and servant in Christ, H. VANE June 10, 1645"

All these remonstrances, however, were unavailing, and the bigoted New Englanders persisted in their persecuting career. And lest their exterminating laws should not effect the business, the press was set to work to prevent the alarming progress of Anabaptistical errors. In this year, three pieces were written for this purpose by Messrs. Cotton of Boston, Cobbet of Lynn, and Ward of Ipswich, then called by its Indian name Agawam. Cotton and Cobbet lay some strange charges against the devil, for seeking to undermine the cause of infant baptism, because it is not commanded in the Scripture. The reader will doubtless be astonished at this assertion; but let him read the following quotations fairly made, and then he may judge whether it is not correct. Mr. Cotton says, Satan, despairing of success by more powerful arguments, "chooseth rather to play small game, as they say, than lost all. He now pleadeth no other argument in these stirring times of reformation, than may be urged from a main principle of purity and

reformation, namely That no duty of God's worship, nor any ordinance of religion is to be administered in the church, but such as hath just warrant from the word of God. And in urging this argument against the baptism of children, Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light," [Cotton's *Grounds and Ends of Children's Baptism*, p. 3, 4, as quoted by Backus, vol. i. p. 176] and so on. This was the great Mr. Cotton, who, for many years, was the bishop and legislator of New England. He was doubtless a great and good man; he reasoned well on many subjects, and the absurdity of his arguments here must be ascribed to the weakness of the cause which they were intended to support. His successors have made great improvements in arguing this point, but we must acknowledge that the Baptists have made none at all. What was their main principle then, is their main principle now. They wish it not to be altered or amended, but are willing it should stand just as Mr. Cotton has stated it. It has ever proved an insurmountable barrier against all the assaults of their enemies, and so far as it is permitted to operate, is sure to beat down all the inventions of men. But the greatest curiosity is, that this Reverend Divine accuses the devil of helping them to it.

Mr. Cobbet accuses Satan of having a special spite at the seed of the church. He says it is one of Satan's old tricks to create scruples in the hearts of God's people about infant baptism. And Thus it is written, and Thus saith the Lord, according to this singular divine, are nothing but "satanical suggestions."

The Baptists feel perfectly secure against this kind of logic, and the deceivers of mankind would doubtless be much obliged to his adversaries if they would never assault his kingdom with any more powerful weapons. The last of this mighty triumvirate does not lay so much of the blame to satan; but his arguments are, if possible, still more weak and contemptible. He accuses the Anabaptists of a "high pitch of boldness in cutting a principal ordinance out of the kingdom of God." He also charges them with the crime of "dislocating, disgoothing, unhallowing, transplacing, and transtiming a stated institution of Jesus Christ." "What a cruelty is it," says he, "to divest children of that only external privilege, which their heavenly Father hath bequeathed them, to interest them visibly in himself, his Son, his Spirit, his covenant of peace, and the tender bosom of their careful mother, the church. What an inhumanity it is, to deprive parents of that comfort they may take from the baptism of their infants dying in their childhood!" [Backus, vol. i. p. 184.]

Had the Pedobaptists in Massachusetts assaulted our brethren with no weapons more powerful than their pens, they would have had nothing to fear. But if the arguments of their divines were weak and contemptible, those of their magistrates were strong and cruel as we shall soon have occasion to observe.

Hitherto but few instances of corporal punishments had taken place among our brethren in the Massachusetts colony. Most of the fathers of it were yet alive, and had grown gray in the midst of their persecutions at home, and their labors here. It is charitably doubted by some, whether they had it in their hearts at first to imitate the bloody scenes from which they had fled. Such would suppose that their threatening legislative acts were intended merely to be hung out as a terror to dissenters from the idol uniformity which they had set up. But be that as it may, they had established a principle fraught with blood. Roger Williams, secure in his little colony at Providence, foresaw the sanguinary storm, which was approaching, and which, according to his prediction, soon burst upon this Commonwealth, and blotted its annals with an indelible stain. With a view to open the eyes of his old neighbors and associates to the tendency of their maxims, he published his piece, entitled, "The Bloody Tenet," etc. as early as 1644. But remonstrances were vain. **The bloody tenet was scrupulously maintained, and hurried forward to its baneful consequences, so that in 1651, the Baptists were unmercifully whipped, and not long after, the Quakers were murderously hung.**

We are now prepared to give an account of a scene of suffering peculiarly cruel and afflictive.

PERSECUTION AGAINST CLARK, HOLMES, CRANDAL

We have already seen that there were some Baptists at Lynn, in 1640, when the lady Moody left the place, and it is probable that a little band remained there until the period now under consideration. In July, 1651, Messrs. Clark, Holmes, and Crandal, "being the representatives of the church in Newport, upon the request of William Witter of Lynn, arrived there, he being a brother in the church, who, by reason of his advanced age, could not undertake so great a journey as to visit the church." This account is found among the records

of the ancient church at Newport. The circumstance of these men being representatives, lead us to infer that something was designed more than an ordinary visit. Mr. Witter lived about two miles out of the town, and the next day after his brethren arrived, being Lord's day, they concluded to spend it in religious worship at his house. While Mr. Clark was preaching from Revelation 3:10, "Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also, will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth," and illustrating what was meant by the hour of temptation and keeping the word with patience, "two constables, (says he) came into the house, who, with their clamorous tongues, made an interruption in my discourse, and more uncivilly disturbed us than the pursuivants of the old English bishops were wont to do, telling us that they were come with authority from the magistrate to apprehend us. I then desired to see the authority by which they thus proceeded, whereupon they plucked forth their warrant, and one of them with a trembling hand, (as conscious he might have been better employed) read it to us; the substance whereof was as followeth: 'By virtue hereof, you are required to go to the house of William Witter, and so to search from house to house, for certain erroneous persons, being strangers, and them to apprehend, and in safe custody to keep, and tomorrow morning at eight o'clock to bring before me, Robert Bridges.'

"When he had read the warrant, I told them, Friends, there shall not be, I trust, the least appearance of a resisting of that authority by which you come unto us; yet I tell you, that by virtue hereof, you are not strictly tied, but if you please you may suffer us to make an end of what we have begun, so may you be witnesses either to or against the faith and order which we hold. To which they answered they could not. Then said we, notwithstanding the warrant, or any thing therein contained, you may. They apprehended us and carried us away to the alehouse or ordinary, where at dinner one of them said unto us, Gentlemen, if you be free I will carry you to the meeting. To whom it was replied, Friend, had we been free thereunto we had prevented all this; nevertheless we are in thy hand, and if thou wilt carry us to the meeting thither will we go. To which he answered, Then will I carry you to the meeting. To this we replied, If thou forcest us into your assembly, then shall we be constrained to declare ourselves, that we cannot hold communion with them. The constable answered, That is nothing to me, I have not power to command you to speak when you come there, or to be silent. To this I again replied, Since we have heard the word of salvation by Jesus Christ, we have been taught, as those that first trusted in Christ, to be obedient unto him both by word and deed; wherefore, if we be forced to your meeting, we shall declare our dissent from you both by word and gesture. After all this, when he had consulted with the man of the house, he told us he would carry us to the meeting; so to their meeting we were brought, while they were at their prayers and uncovered; and at my first stepping over the threshold I unveiled myself, civilly saluted them, and turned into the seat I was appointed to, put on my hat again, and sat down, opened my book and fell to reading. Mr. Bridges being troubled, commanded the constable to pluck off our hats, which he did, and where he laid mine, there I let it lie, until their prayers, singing, and preaching was over; after this, I stood up and uttered myself in these words following: I desire as a stranger to propose a few things to this congregation, hoping in the proposal thereof, I shall commend myself to your consciences to be guided by that wisdom that is from above, which, being pure, is also peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated; and therewith made a stop, expecting that if the Prince of peace had been among them, I should have had a suitable answer of peace from them. Their pastor answered, We will have no objections against what is delivered. To which I answered, I am not about at present to make objections against what is delivered, but as by my gesture at my coming into your assembly, I declared my dissent from you, so lest that should prove offensive unto some whom I would not offend, I would now by word of mouth declare the grounds, which are these: First, from consideration we are strangers each to other, and so strangers to each other's inward standing, with respect to God, and so cannot conjoin and act in faith, and what is not of faith, is sin. And in the second place, I could not judge that you are gathered together, and walk according to the visible order of our Lord. Which, when I had declared, Mr. Bridges told me I had done, and spoke that for which I must answer, and so commanded silence. When their meeting was done, the officers carried us again to the ordinary, where being watched over that night as thieves and robbers, we were the next morning carried before Mr. Bridges, who made our *mittimus*, and sent us to the prison at Boston."

About a fortnight after, the court of assistants passed the following sentences against these persecuted men, namely that Mr. Clark should pay a fine of twenty pounds, Mr. Holmes of thirty, and Mr. Crandal of five, or be publicly whipped. They all refused to pay their fines, and were remanded back to prison. Some of Mr. Clark's friends paid his fine without his consent. Mr. Crandal was released upon his promise of appearing at their next court. But he was not informed of the time until it was over, and then they exacted his fine of the keeper of the prison. The only crime alleged against Mr. Crandal was his being in company with his

brethren. But Mr. Holmes was kept in prison until September, and then the sentence of the law was executed upon him in the most cruel and unfeeling manner. In the course of the trial against these worthy men, Mr. Clark defended himself and brethren with so much ability, that the court found themselves much embarrassed. "At length, says Mr. Clark, the Governor stepped up and told us we had denied infant baptism, and being somewhat transported, told me I had deserved death, and said he would not have such trash brought into their jurisdiction; moreover he said, "you go up and down, and secretly insinuate into those that are weak, but you cannot maintain it before our ministers. You may try and dispute with them." To this I had much to reply, but he commanded the gaoler to take us away. So the next morning, having so fair an opportunity, I made a motion to the court in these words following:

"To the honourable court assembled at Boston. Whereas it pleased this honored court yesterday, to condemn the faith and order which I hold and practise; and after you had passed your sentence upon me for it, were pleased to express, I could not maintain the same against your ministers, and thereupon publicly proffered me a dispute with them: Be pleased by these few lines to understand, I readily accept it, and therefore desire you to appoint the time when, and the person with whom, in that public place where I was condemned, I might with freedom, and without molestation of the civil power, dispute that point publicly, where I doubt not by the strength of Christ to make it good out of his last will and testament, unto which nothing is to be added, nor from which nothing is to be diminished. Thus desiring the Father of lights to shine forth, and by his power to expel the darkness, I remain your well-wisher, JOHN CLARK From the prison, this 1st day, 6th month, 1651"

This motion, if granted, I desire might be subscribed by their Secretary_s hand, as an act of the same court, by which we were condemned."

This motion was presented, and after much consultation, one of the magistrates informed Mr. Clark, that a disputation was granted to be the next week. But on the Monday following, the clergy held a consultation, and made no small stir about the matter, for although they had easily foiled these injured men in a court of law, yet they might well anticipate some difficulty in the open field of argument, which they were absolutely afraid to enter, as will soon appear. Near the close of the day, the magistrates sent for Mr. Clark into their chamber, and inquired whether he would dispute upon the things contained in his sentence, etc. "For," said they, "the court sentenced you, not for your judgment and conscience; but for matter of fact and practice." To which Mr. Clark replied, "You say the court condemned me for matter of fact and practice: be it so. I say that matter of fact and practice was but the manifestation of my judgment and conscience; and I make account, that man is void of judgment and conscience, with respect unto God, that hath not a fact and practice suitable thereunto. If the faith and order which I profess do stand by the word of God, then the faith and order which you profess must needs fall to the ground; and if the way you walk in remain, then the way that walk in must vanish away; they cannot both stand together: to which they seemed to assent; therefore I told them, that if they please to grant the motion under the Secretary_s hand, I would draw up the faith and order which I hold, as the sum of that I did deliver in open court, in three or four conclusions, which conclusions I will stand by and defend, until he, whom you shall appoint, shall, by the word of God, remove me from them; in case he shall remove me from them, then the disputation is at an end. But if not, then I desire like liberty by the word of God, to oppose the faith and order which he and you profess, thereby to try whether I may be an instrument in the hand of God to remove you from the same. They told me the motion was very fair, and the way like unto a disputant, saying, because the matter is weighty, and we desire that what can, may be spoken, when the disputation shall be, therefore would we take a longer time. So I returned with my keeper to prison again, drew up the conclusions, which I was resolved, through the strength of Christ, to stand in defense of, and through the importunity of one of the magistrates, the next morning very early I showed them to him, having a promise I should have my motion for a dispute granted under the Secretary_s hand."

Mr. Clark_s resolutions were four in number, and contain the leading sentiments of the Baptists, which have been the same in every age respecting positive institutions, the subjects and mode of baptism, and gospel liberty and civil rights. But while he was making arrangements and preparing for a public dispute, his fine was paid, and he was released from prison.

Great expectations had been raised in Boston and its vicinity respecting this dispute, and many were anxious to hear it. And Mr. Clark, knowing that his adversaries would attribute the failure of it to him, immediately on his release drew up the following address:

"Whereas, through the indulgency of tender-hearted friends, without my consent, and contrary to my judgment, the sentence and condemnation of the court at Boston (as is reported) have been fully satisfied on my behalf, and thereupon a warrant hath been procured, by which I am secluded the place of my imprisonment, by reason whereof I see no other call for present but to my habitation, and to those near relations which God hath given me there; yet, lest the cause should hereby suffer, which I profess is Christ_s, I would hereby signify, that if yet it shall please the honored magistrates, or General Court of this colony, to grant my former request under their Secretary_s hand, I shall cheerfully embrace it, and upon your motion shall, through the help of God, come from the island to attend it, and hereunto I have subscribed my name, JOHN CLARK 11th day, 6th month, 1651"

This address was sent next morning to the magistrates, who were at the commencement at Cambridge, a short distance from Boston, and it was soon noised abroad that the motion was accepted, and that Mr. Cotton was to be the disputant on the Pedobaptist side. But in a day or two after, Mr. Clark received the following address from his timorous adversaries:

Mr. John Clark,

"We conceive you have misrepresented the Governor_s speech, in saying you were challenged to dispute with some of our elders; whereas it was plainly expressed, that if you would confer with any of them, they were able to satisfy you, neither were you able to maintain your practice to them by the word of God, all which we intended for your information and conviction privately; neither were you enjoined to what you were then counselled unto; nevertheless, if you are forward to dispute, and that you will move it yourself to the court or magistrates about Boston, we shall take order to appoint one, who will be ready to answer your motion, you keeping close to the questions to be propounded by yourself, and a moderator shall be appointed also to attend upon the service; and whereas you desire you might be free in your dispute, keeping close to the points to be disputed on, without incurring damage by the civil justice, observing what hath been before written, it is granted; the day may be agreed, if you yield the premises. JOHN ENDICOTT, Governor THOMAS DUDLEY, Deputy Governor RICHARD BELLINGHAM, WILLIAM HIBBINS, INCREASE NOWEL. 11th day of the 6th month, 1651."

This communication Mr. Clark answered in the following manner:

"To the honored Governor of the Massachusetts, and the rest of that Honorable Society these present.
Worthy Senators,

I received a writing subscribed with five of your hands, by way of answer to a twice repeated motion of mine before you, which was grounded as I conceive sufficiently upon the Governor_s words in open court, which writing of yours doth no way answer my expectation, nor yet that motion which I made; and whereas (waving that grounded motion) you are pleased to intimate that if I were forward to dispute, and would move it myself to the court, or magistrates about Boston, you would appoint one to answer my motion, etc. be pleased to understand, that although I am not backward to maintain the faith and order of my Lord the King of saints, for which I have been sentenced, yet am I not in such a way so forward to dispute, or move therein lest inconvenience should arise. I shall rather once more repeat my former motion, which, if it shall please the honored General Court to accept, and under their Secretary_s hand shall grant a free dispute, without molestation or interruption, I shall be well satisfied therewith; that what is past I shall forget, and upon your motion shall attend it; thus desiring the Father of mercies, not to lay that evil to your charge, I remain your well-wisher, JOHN CLARK From prison, this 14th day, 6th month, 1651"

Thus ended Mr. Clark_s chastisement and the Governor_s challenge. The last communication, which he had from his fearful opponents, was indeed signed by the heads of departments, but it was not made in official manner. Mr. Clark all alone kept in view the law which had been made seven years before, which threatened so terribly anyone, who should oppose infant baptism. This was the reason of his requesting an order for the dispute in a legal form. But it was abundantly evident to him, as it will be to every impartial reader, that neither the great Mr. Cotton, nor any of his clerical brethren, dared to meet him in a verbal combat. Infant baptism was safe while defended by the sword of the magistrate, but they dared not risk it in the field of argument. Mr. Clark therefore left his adversaries in triumph; but poor Mr. Holmes was retained a prisoner, and in the end experienced the full weight of their cruel intolerance. An account of his sufferings is thus related by himself.

"Unto the well-beloved brethren, John Spillsbury, William Kiffen, and the rest that in London stand fast in the faith, and continue to walk stedfastly in that order of the gospel, which was once delivered unto the saints by Jesus Christ: Obadiah Holmes, an unworthy witness that Jesus is the Lord, and of late a prisoner for Jesus_ sake, at Boston, sendeth greeting.

"Dearly beloved and longed after, My heart_s desire is to hear from you, and to hear that you grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, etc.

"Not long after these troubles (at Rehoboth which he relates in the first part of this letter) I came upon occasion of business into the colony of the Massachusetts, with two other brethren, as brother Clark being one of the two can inform you, where we three were apprehended, carried to Boston, and so to the court, and were all sentenced; what they laid to my charge you may here read in my sentence;* upon the pronouncing of which, as I went from the bar, I expressed myself in these words: I bless God I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus. Whereupon John Wilson (their pastor, as they call him) struck me before the judgment seat, and cursed me, saying, the curse of God or Jesus go with thee: So we were carried to the prison, where not long after I was deprived of my two loving friends, at whose departure the adversary stepped in, took hold of my spirit, and troubled me for the space of an hour, and then the Lord came in and sweetly relieved me, causing to look to himself, so was I stayed, and refreshed in the thoughts of my God; and although during the time of my imprisonment, the tempter was busy, yet it pleased God so to stand at my right hand, that the motions were but sudden, and so vanished away; and although there were that would have paid the money, if I would accept it, yet I durst not accept of deliverance in such a way, and therefore my answer to them was, that although I would acknowledge their love to a drop of cold water, yet could I not thank them for their money, if they should pay it. So the court drew near, and the night before I should suffer according to my sentence, it pleased God I rested and slept quietly; in the morning my friends came to visit me, desiring me to take the refreshment of wine and other comforts; but my resolution was not to drink wine nor strong drink that day, until my punishment was over; and the reason was, lest in case I had more strength, courage, and boldness, than ordinarily could be expected, the world should either say he is drunk with new wine, or else that the comfort and strength of the creature hath carried him through; but my course was this: I desired brother John Hazel to bear my friend_s company, and I betook myself to my chamber, where I might communicate with my God, commit myself to him, and beg strength from him. I had no sooner sequestered myself, and come into my chamber, but satan lets fly at me, saying, Remember thyself, thy birth, breeding, and friends, thy wife, children, name and credit; but as this was sudden, so there came in sweetly from the Lord as sudden an answer, Tis for my Lord, I must not deny him before the sons of men, (for that were to set men above him, but rather lose all, yea, wife, children, and mine own life also: To this the tempter replies, Oh, but that is the question, is it for him? and for him alone? is it not rather for thy own or some other_s sake? thou hast so professed and practiced, and now art loth to deny it; is not pride and self at the bottom? Surely this temptation was strong, and thereupon I made diligent search after the matter, as formerly I had done, and after a while there was even as it had been a voice from heaven in my very soul, bearing witness with my conscience, that it was not for any man_s case or sake in this world, that so I had professed and practiced, but for my Lord_s cause and sake, and for him alone; whereupon my spirit was much refreshed; as also in the consideration of these three scriptures, which speak on this wise, Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God_s elect? Although I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, thy rod and thy staff, they shall comfort me. And he that continueth to the end, the same shall be saved. But then came in the consideration of the weakness of the flesh to bear the strokes of a whip, though the spirit was willing, and thereupon I was caused to pray earnestly unto the Lord, that he would be pleased to give me a spirit of courage and boldness, a tongue to speak for him, and strength of body to suffer for his sake, and not to shrink or yield to the strokes, or shed tears, lest the adversaries of the truth should thereupon blaspheme and be hardened, and the weak and feeble-hearted discouraged, and for this I sought the Lord earnestly; at length he satisfied my spirit to give up, as my soul, so my body unto him, and quietly to leave the whole disposing of the matter to him; and so I addressed myself in as comely a manner as I could, having such a Lord and Master to serve in this business. And when I heard the voice of my keeper come for me, even cheerfulness did come upon me, and taking my Testament in my hand, I went along with him to the place of execution, and after a common salutation there stood. There stood by also one of the magistrates, by name Increase Nowel, who for a while kept silent, and spoke not a word, and so did I, expecting the Governor_s presence, but he came not. But after a while Mr. Nowel bade the executioner do his office. Then I desired to speak a few words, but Mr. Nowel answered, it is not now a time to speak. Whereupon I took leave, and said, men, brethren, fathers, and countrymen, I beseech you give me leave to speak a few words, and the rather because here are many spectators to see me punished, and I am to seal with my blood, if God give strength, that which I hold and practice in reference to the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus. That which I have to say in brief is this; although I confess I am no disputant, yet seeing I am to seal what I hold with my blood, I am ready to defend it by the word, and to dispute that point with any that shall come forth to withstand it. Mr. Nowel answered me, now was no time to dispute. Then said I, then I desire to give an account of the faith and order I hold, and this I desired three times, but in comes Mr. Flint, and saith to the executioner, Fellow, do thine office, for this fellow would but make a long speech to delude the people. So I being resolved to speak, told the people, that which I am to suffer for is the word of God, and testimony of Jesus Christ. No, saith Mr. Nowel, it is for your error, and going about to seduce the people. To which I replied, not for error, for in all the time of my imprisonment, wherein I was left alone, (my brethren being gone) which of all your ministers in all that time, came to convince me of an error; and when upon the Governor_s words a motion was made for a public dispute, and upon fair terms so often renewed, and desired by hundreds, what was the reason it was not granted? Mr. Nowel told me, it was his fault that went away and would not dispute; but this the writings will clear at large. Still Mr. Flint calls to the man to do his office: so before, and in the time of his pulling off my clothes, I continued speaking, telling them, that I had so learned, that for all Boston I would not give my body into their hands thus to be bruised

upon another account, yet upon this I would not give the hundredth part of a wampum peague [a wampum peague is the sixth part of a penny with us] to free it out of their hands, and that I made as much conscience of unbuttoning one button as I did of paying the 30 pounds in reference thereunto. I told them moreover, the Lord having manifested his love towards me, in giving me repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ, and so to be baptized in water, by a messenger of Jesus, into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, wherein I have fellowship with him in his death, burial and resurrection, I am now come to be baptized in afflictions by your hands, that so I may have further fellowship with my Lord, and am not ashamed of his sufferings, for by his stripes am I healed. And as the man began to lay the strokes upon my back, I said to the people, though my flesh should fail, and my spirit should fail, yet my God would not fail. So it pleased the Lord to come in, and so to fill my heart and tongue as a vessel full, and with an audible voice I broke forth, praying unto the Lord not to lay this sin to their charge; and telling the people, that now I found he did not fail me, and therefore now I should trust him forever, who failed me not; **for in truth, as the strokes fell upon me, I had such a spiritual manifestation of God's presence, as the like thereof I never had nor felt, nor can with fleshly tongue express, and the outward pain was so removed from me, that indeed I am not able to declare it to you, it was so easy to me, that I could well bear it, yea, and in a manner, felt it not, although it was grievous, as the spectators said, the man striking with all his strength (yea, spitting in his hands three times, as many affirmed) with a three corded whip, giving me therewith thirty strokes.** When he had loosed me from the post, having joyfulness in my heart and cheerfulness in my countenance, as the spectators observed, **I told the magistrates, you have struck me as with roses;** and said moreover, although the Lord hath made it easy to me, yet I pray God it may not be laid to your charge. After this, many came to me rejoicing to see the power of the Lord manifested in weak flesh; but sinful flesh takes occasion hereby to bring others in trouble, informs the magistrates hereof, and so two more are apprehended as for contempt of authority; their names were John Hazel and John Spur, who came indeed and did shake me by the hand, but did use no words of contempt or reproach unto any; no man can prove that the first spoke any thing, and for the second, he only said thus, blessed be the Lord; yet these two for taking me by the hand, and thus saying after I had received my punishment, were sentenced to pay forty shillings, or be whipped. Both were resolved against paying their fine; nevertheless, after one or two days imprisonment, one paid John Spur's fine, and he was released; and after six or seven days imprisonment of brother Hazel, even the day when he should have suffered, another paid his, and so he escaped, and the next day went to visit a friend about six miles from Boston, where the same day he fell sick, and within ten days ended his life. **When I was come to the prison, it pleased God to stir up the heart of an old acquaintance of mine, who with much tenderness, like the good Samaritan, poured oil into my wounds, and plastered my sores;** but there was present information given what was done, and inquiry made who was the surgeon, and it was commonly reported he should be sent for, but what was done I yet know not. [In a manuscript of Governor Joseph Jenks, wrote near one hundred years ago, he says, "Mr. Holmes was whipped thirty stripes, and in such an unmerciful manner, that in many days, if not some weeks, he could not take no rest but as he lay upon his knees and elbows, not being able to suffer any part of his body to touch the bed whereon he lay."] Yet thus it hath pleased the Father of mercies so to dispose of the matter, that my bonds and imprisonments have been no hindrance to the gospel, for before my return, some submitted to the Lord and were baptized, and divers were put upon the way of inquiry. And now being advised to make my escape by night, because it was reported there were warrants forth for me, I departed; and the next day after, while I was on my journey, the constable came to search at the house where I lodged, so I escaped their hands, and was, by the good hand of my heavenly Father, brought home again to my near relations, my wife and eight children. The brethren of our town and Providence, having taken pains to meet me four miles in the woods where we rejoiced together in the Lord. Thus have I given you as briefly as I can, a true relation of things; wherefore my brethren, rejoice with me in the Lord, and give glory to him, for he is worthy, to whom be praise forevermore; to whom I commit you, and put up my earnest prayers for you, that by my late experience who have trusted in God, and have not been deceived, you may trust in him perfectly. Wherefore my dearly beloved brethren, trust in the Lord, and you shall not be ashamed nor confounded; so I also rest, Yours in the bond of charity, OBADIAH HOLMES"

[* "The sentence of Obadiah Holmes, of Seaconk, the 31st of the fifth month, 1651. Forasmuch as you, Obadiah Holmes, being come into this jurisdiction about the 21st of the 5th month did meet at one William Witter's house, at Lynn, and did here privately (and at other times, being an excommunicate person, did take upon you to preach and baptize) upon the Lord's day or other days, and being taken then by the constable, and coming afterward to the assembly at Lynn, did, in disrespect to the ordinance of God and his worship, keep on your hat, the pastor being in prayer, insomuch that you would not give reverence in vailing your hat, till it was forced off your head, to the disturbance of the congregation, and professing against the institution of the church, as not being according to the gospel of Jesus Christ; and that you, the said Obadiah Holmes, did, upon the day following, meet again at the said William Witter's in contempt to authority, you being then in the custody of the law, and did there receive the sacrament, being excommunicated and that you did baptize such as were baptized before, and thereby did necessarily deny the baptism that was before administered to be baptism, the churches no churches, and also other ordinances, and ministers, as if all were a nullity, and did also deny the lawfulness of baptizing of infants; and all this tends to the dishonour of God, the despising the ordinances of God among us, the peace of the churches, and seducing the subjects of this commonwealth from the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and perverting the straight ways of the Lord, the court doth fine you 30 pounds, to be paid, or sufficient sureties that the said sum shall be paid by the first day of the next Court of Assistants, or else to be well whipped, and that you shall remain in prison till it be paid, or security given in for it. By the Court, Increase Nowell"]

Warrants were issued out against thirteen persons, whose only crime was showing some emotions of sympathy towards this innocent sufferer. Eleven of them escaped, and two only were apprehended; their names were John Spur and John Hazel. Spur was probably the man who had been apprehended at

Weymouth. Hazel was one of Mr. Holmes_ brethren of Rehoboth. Both of these men were to receive ten lashes or pay forty shillings apiece. The latter they could not do with a clear conscience, and were therefore preparing for such another scourging as they had seen and pitied in their brother Holmes. But some without their knowledge paid their fines. Mr. Backus has given an account of their trial, and the depositions which were preferred against them, in which nothing more was pretended than that they took Mr. Holmes by the hand when he came from the whipping post, and blessed God for the strength and support he had given him. But this was "a heinous offense," and called for the vengeance of the civil arm. Mr. Hazel was upwards of sixty years old, and died a few days after he was released, before he reached home. Mr. Clark went to England this same year, where he published a narrative of these transactions, from which the preceding sketches have been selected.

These measures of intolerance and cruelty tended to promote rather than retard the Baptist cause. And many Pedobaptists, both here and in England, remonstrated with much severity against the intemperate zeal of their persecuting brethren. And among the rest, Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the Massachusetts magistrates then in England, wrote to Mr. Cotton and Wilson of Boston in the following manner:

"Reverend and dear friends, whom I unfeignedly love and respect, -- It doth not a little grieve my spirit to hear what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecutions in New England, as that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. First, you compel such to come into your assemblies as you know will not join you in your worship, and when they show their dislike thereof, or witness against it, then you stir up your magistrates to punish them for such (as you conceive) their public affronts. Truly, friends, this your practice of compelling any in matters of worship to do that whereof they are not fully persuaded, is to make them sin, for so the apostle, (Romans 14:8) tells us, and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for fear of punishment. We pray for you, and wish you prosperity every way, hoped the Lord would have given you so much light and love there, that you might have been eyes to God_s people here, and not to practice those courses in a wilderness, which you went so far to prevent. These rigid ways have laid you very low in the hearts of the saints. I do assure you I have heard them pray in the public assemblies that the Lord would give you meek and humble spirits, not is strive so much for uniformity, as to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

MR. COTTON_S ANSWER:

Honored and dear Sir,

"My brother Wilson and self do both of us acknowledge your love, as otherwise formerly, so now in the late lines we received from you, that you grieve in spirit to hear daily complaints against us. Be pleased to understand we look at such complaints as altogether injurious in respect of ourselves, who had no hand or tongue at all in promote either the coming of the persons you aim at into our assemblies, or their punishment for their carriage there. Righteous judgement will not take up reports, much less reproaches against the innocent. We are amongst those, whom (if you knew us better) you would account peaceable in Israel. Yet neither are we so vast in our indulgence or toleration, as to think the men you speak of, suffered an unjust censure. For one of them, (Obadiah Holmes) being an excommunicate person himself, out of a church in Plymouth patent, came into this jurisdiction, and took upon him to baptize, which I think himself will not say he was compelled to perform. [What an evasion is this! Sir Richard spoke of compelling persons into their worship, and Cotton here turns it as if he meant compelling persons out of one government into another to worship in their own way.] And he was not ignorant that the rebaptizing of an elder person, and that by a private person out of office and under excommunication, are all of them manifest contestations against the order and government of our churches established, we know, by God_s law, and he knoweth, by the laws of the country. As for his whipping, it was more voluntarily chosen by him than inflicted on him. His censure by the court, was to have paid, as I know, 30 pounds or else be whipped; his fine was offered to be paid by friends for him freely, but he chose rather to be whipped; in which case, if his suffering of stripes was any worship of God at all, surely it could be accounted no better than will-worship. ["Although the paying of a fine seems to be but a small thing in comparison of a man_s parting with his religion; yet the paying of a fine is the acknowledging of a transgression; and for a man to acknowledge that he has transgressed when his conscience tells him he has not, is but little, if anything at all, short of parting with his religion; and it is likely that this might be the consideration of those sufferers. Governor Jenks"] The other, (Mr. Clark) was wiser in that point, and his offense was less, so was his fine less, and himself as I hear, was contented to have it paid for him, whereupon he was released. [If the reader will look back to page 369 and read Mr. Clark_s letter to the magistrates, he will see how contrary this is to truth.] The imprisonment of either of them was no detriment. I believe they fared neither of them better at home, and, I am sure, Holmes had not been so well clad for many years before.

"But be pleased to consider this point a little further, You think, to compel men in matter of worship is to make them sin. If the worship be lawful in itself, the magistrate compelling him to come to it, compelleth him not to sin, but the sin is in his will that needs to be compelled to a christian duty. If it do make men hypocrites, yet better be hypocrites than profane persons. Hypocrites give God part of his due, the outward man, but the profane person giveth God neither outward nor inward man. You know not, if you think we came into this wilderness to practice those courses here which we fled from in England. We believe there is a vast difference between men_s inventions and God_s institutions; we fled from men_s inventions, to which we else should have been compelled; we compel none to men_s inventions. If our ways (rigid ways as you call them) have laid us low in the hearts of God_s people, yea, and of the saints, (as you style them) we do not believe it is any part of their saint-ship. Nevertheless, I tell you the truth, we have tolerated in our churches some Anabaptists, some Antinomians, and some Seekers, and do so still at this day. We are far from arrogating infallibility of judgment to ourselves or affecting uniformity; uniformity God never required, infallibility he never granted us.

Such was Mr. Cotton_s logic in support of persecution, and Mr. Ivimey well observes, "that we have happily arrived at a period when arguments are not necessary to prove the absurdity of his reasoning;" and he also observes, "that the severities were not so much the result of the disposition of these New England persecutors, as of the principles which they had adopted."

What on earth can be more shocking to any being, who has human feelings, than to see a humble and devout christian, who renders to Caesar what is his due, merely for not believing some things which his brethren believe, arrested in his peaceful and pious course sentenced to be tied to a public whipping post like a malefactor, and there to have his body barbarously scourged, to chastise and cure the conscientious scruples of his mind; and all this by his countrymen, his neighbours; yea, by his fellow christians, who profess to worship the same God, and trust for salvation in the same Redeemer! Who can contemplate such a scene of barbarity without being sickened at the sight, and retiring from it with disgust and horror! To say nothing of hanging, burning, and torturing to death, with all the murderous engines, which hellish ingenuity can invent, the circumstance merely of one christian beating another thirty strokes with a three-corded whip, for conscience_s sake, is a scene on which heaven must frown, the earth on which it is perpetrated must groan, and candid devils (if such there are) must be astonished and confounded at the folly and absurdity of men.

In the period now under review, I find but one more event, of any considerable importance as it respects the Baptists or their sentiments, and that was the case of **PRESIDENT DUNSTAR**. This learned gentleman was the first President of Cambridge College or Harvard University. He was a native of England, but when and where he was born I do not find; he became the President of this then infant institution in 1640, in which office he continued with much reputation and success about thirteen years. By the united testimonies of Johnson, Hubbard, and Prince, he was a man of profound erudition, and "an orthodox preacher of the truths of Christ." This eminent man, in 1653, was brought so far on to the Baptist ground, that he not only forbore to present an infant of his own unto baptism, but also thought himself under some obligations to bear his testimony in some sermons, against the administration of baptism to any infant whatever." For this defection he was immediately opposed with violence, and soon after removed from the town, and settled at Scituate in Plymouth Colony, where he spent the remainder of his days. What progress President Dunstar made in his pursuit of Baptist principles I do not find, but it does not appear that he ever openly espoused the Baptist cause. Captain Cudworth, writing to Mr. John Brown of Rehoboth, then in England, in 1658, says, "Through mercy we have yet among us worthy Mr. Dunstar, whom the Lord hath made boldly to bear testimony against the spirit of persecution." Morton says that he fell asleep in the Lord, in 1659.

It is said by Mr. Backus, that President Dunstar was led to inquire into the Baptist sentiments, by the persecutions against Messrs. Holmes, Clark, and Crandal, and that his preaching against infant baptism set Thomas Gould to examining the subject; and his examination issued in the founding of the first Baptist church in Boston. While this learned advocate for apostolical baptism was yet in Cambridge, Mr. Jonathan Mitchel, the minister of the place, went to converse with him on the subject. "When I came from him, (says he) I had a strange experience; I found hurrying and pressing suggestions against Pedobaptism, and injected scruples and thoughts, whether, the other way might not be right, and infant baptism an invention of men; and whether I might, with a good conscience, baptize children, and the like." But all these "unreasonable suggestions," he ascribed to the devil, and resolved with Mr. Hooker, that "he would have an argument able to remove a mountain before he would recede from, or appear against a truth or practice received among the faithful!" What an expeditious way of silencing one_s doubts and convictions! How

many have reason to believe, in order to avoid going over to the despised Baptists, have entrenched themselves with barriers equally irrational and strong! "But sure I am," says Mr. Backus, "that if any Baptist minister had told such a story, and made such an absurd resolution, our adversaries would then have such grounds to charge us with willfulness and obstinacy as they never yet had" [Backus, vol. i. p. 284, 320, 821].

From these brief sketches of the early Baptists in this commonwealth, we shall proceed to a more systematical narration of their subsequent affairs, and give some detailed accounts of the churches and Associations, which have arisen within its bounds.

It is highly probable, that the late severities exercised towards our brethren in this jurisdiction, set many to examining into their principles, and we may also suppose, that those Baptists, who had hitherto traveled in communion with the Pedobaptist churches, some of whom were accused of the profane trick of turning their backs, when infants were sprinkled, were now constrained to come out and separate themselves from a church, whose tenets were bloody, and which had now begun its persecuting career. These events I state as probabilities, not being in possession of authentic details. But certain it is that the Baptists now began to be more numerous; they were also encouraged to take a bolder stand against the encroachments of their adversaries, their terrible legislative threatenings, and their merciless scourgings notwithstanding.

In 1666, a church was founded in Swansea, and two years after the church was begun, which afterwards took the name of the first in Boston. In 1685, a church was begun in Dartmouth, about seventy miles southwesterly from Boston. But so slow was the progress of the Baptists in this government, that in a hundred years from the organization of the church in Swansea, they had planted but eighteen churches, which had acquired a permanent standing. Some few besides had arisen during the century which had lost their visibility before its close. Many were the oppressions and privations, which our brethren suffered in this boasted asylum of liberty, until the American War. That calamitous scene, so distressing to the country otherwise, was nevertheless peculiarly auspicious to the cause of religious liberty in this commonwealth, as well as in other colonies, where religious establishments were domineering with tyrannic sway.

Although the war shook very sensibly the system of religious oppression, it was not the cause of its demolition here as it was the case in Virginia. Many of its bands were indeed broken, yet some by the vigilance of a watchful priesthood were preserved entire. In the unsettled state of affairs, which succeeded the war, the Baptists with Mr. Backus at their head preferred a petition to the Legislature, praying "that ministers should in future be supported by Christ's authority, and not at all by assessment and secular force." And had statesmen been let alone in their discussions, it is highly probable that this petition would have been regarded; but the clergy, poor men, were afraid to be left on this precarious ground; they therefore put forth their cries; legislators heard them, pitied their dangerous condition, and disgraced their State Constitution with an article to regulate religious worship, and so on.

But notwithstanding the failure of this righteous request, our brethren, under the new government, found their circumstances materially improved. The predominant party, it is true, still had the power of oppressing them in certain cases, but it was used less frequently than formerly; many became convinced of the truth of Baptist sentiments, and embraced their communion, and many others, who went not so far, were constrained to let them alone. **Many new churches soon arose in different parts of the State, so that by the year 1784, their whole number amounted to sixty-four.** Twenty more were added to this number during the ten succeeding years. And the number of churches, as well as communicants, have been increasing in about the same proportion, from the last mentioned period to the present time. Their number will be exhibited in the General Table. In this commonwealth are a part of the Warren Association, all the Boston except one or two small churches, part of those named Sturbridge, Leyden, Westfield, and Shaftsbury. Four of these six associations, namely the Boston, Sturbridge, Leyden, and Westfield, are considered as having their seat in Massachusetts, and those of Warren and Shaftsbury have always had a large portion of their members and influence in this State. I have thought proper in farther prosecuting the history of this State, to consider it under two divisions; and the line, which we shall fix upon, will be drawn from about the northeast corner of the State of Rhode Island, and extend northerly to the State of New Hampshire. That portion of the State which lies east of this line, I shall consider the first division, and that which lies west of it the second.

FIRST DIVISION

This division comprehends the oldest settlements as well as the oldest churches in the state, and in it are situated the Warren and Boston Associations. It embraces the counties of Essex, Middlesex, a part of Worcester, the whole of Suffolk, Norfolk, Bristol, Plymouth, Barnstable, Dukes, and Nantucket. It is bounded east and south by the Atlantic ocean. In this division we find a number of churches distinguished for age and sufferings, and those now called the first in Swansea and Boston, stand the foremost on the list; their history will of necessity occupy more room than that of the rest. They are dated, the first in 1663, and the other in 1665; but both of them were in reality begun a number of years before. Although the Swansea church is the oldest, yet as we shall regard the local and relative situation of the churches about to be described, we shall begin with the one in Boston, and then take notice of the other churches in the northern part of this division, before we come to Swansea and those in the southern.

First Church in Boston. The date of this church has already been given; it existed a few years in Charlestown [Charlestown is separated from Boston by Charles River], where it was founded, and then its seat was removed to Noddle's Island, a little out in the Massachusetts Bay, where it remained some time before it was established in the town from which it received its name.

We have given a general account of the Baptists in this government up to about the time of the founding of this body, which originated as follows: Mr. Hubbard, one of the Massachusetts historians, observes, that "while some were studying how baptism might be enlarged and extended to the seed of the faithful in their several generations, there were others as studious to deprive all unadult children thereof, and restrain the privilege only to adult believers" [Backus, Vol. 1 p. 355].

"Infant baptism," says Dr. Mather, "hath been scrupled by multitudes in our day, who have been, in other points, most worthy christians, and as holy, watchful, fruitful, and heavenly people, as perhaps any in the world." Some few of these people, he says, were among the first settlers in New England. Some of their names have been mentioned, and many things make it probable that there were many more who never happened to fall under the lash of the law, and whose names for that reason do not appear on the page of history; for the Baptists at this time had no one to tell their story, and we never get a view of them, except at the tribunals of their adversaries, in their prisons, or at their whipping posts.

After being long harassed in courts and churches, a few of our brethren, despairing of better times, and being prepared for the worst, took the bold step of embodying themselves into a church of the Baptist order. The constituents were nine in number; their names were Thomas Gould, Thomas Osburn, Edward Drinker, John George, Richard Goodall, William Turner, Robert Lambert, Mary Goodall, and Mary Newell. Gould and Osburn were members of the Pedobaptist church in Charlestown. Goodall was a member of a Baptist church in London, of which Mr. Kiffin was pastor. His wife was probably a member of the same church. Turner and Lambert were members of a church in Dartmouth, England, whose pastor was a Mr. Stead. Of the others we have not so particular information. Turner accepted a captain's commission in king Philip's war, and lost his life in the defense of a colony, in which he was most cruelly oppressed. **The founding of this church was considered by the Massachusetts people, as a most heinous and heaven-daring offense, and many of the members of it spent most of their time in courts and prisons; they were often fined, and some of them were banished,** or at least were ordered to depart out of the jurisdiction, or desist from the error of their way; neither of which however would they do; **they were of course denounced obstinate heretics, and suffered accordingly.** "It would take a volume," says Morgan Edwards, "to contain an account of all their sufferings for ten or twelve years."

The ostensible reason, which their enemies urged for distressing them, was, that they had formed a church without the approbation of their ministers and rulers. "This principle," says Mr. Neal, "condemns all the dissenting congregations, which have been formed in England since the act of uniformity in the year 1662." The fact was they were determined that no churches should be formed only upon their own plan, Our brethren well knew that no such permission would be granted, and, besides, they could not in principle solicit the favor. And finding by experience that the churches, established by law, would not suffer them to live quietly in their communion, nor peaceably separate from it, they resolved to set up a standard of their own, and united in a solemn covenant in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to walk in fellowship and

communion together, in the practice of all the holy appointments of Christ, which he had, or should further make known to them."

"The king_s commissioners being here," says Mr. Backus, "caused the court not to lay hold of these people so soon as otherwise they might have done. But in August a note was entered in Roxbury church records, and published in an Almanac, which has been communicated to me in these words: "The Anabaptists gathered themselves into a church, prophesied one by one, and some one among them administered the Lord_s supper after he was regularly excommunicated by the church at Charlestown; they also set up a lecture at Drinker_s house, once a fortnight."

THOMAS GOULD was the founder of this church, and for many years had the principal share of the sufferings it underwent. The manner in which he came to embrace the Baptist sentiments, and the treatment of the church in Charlestown towards him are thus related by himself:

"It having been a long time a scruple to me about infant baptism, God was pleased at last to make it clear to me by the rule of the gospel, that children were not capable nor fit subjects for such an ordinance, because Christ gave this commission to his apostles, first to preach to make them disciples, and then to baptize them, which infants were not capable of; so that I durst not bring forth my child to be partaker of it; so looking that my child had no right to it, which was in the year 1655, when the Lord was pleased to give me a child; I stayed some space of time and said nothing, to see what the church would do with me. On a third day of the week when there was a meeting at my house, to keep a day of thanksgiving to God, for his mercy shown to my wife, at that time one coming to the meeting brought a note from the elders of the church to this effect, that they desired me to come down on the morrow to the elder_s house, and to send word again what time of that day I would come, and they would stay at home for me; and if I could not come that day, to send them word. I looking on the writing with many friends with me, I told them I had promised to go another way on the morrow. Master Dunstar (probably President Dunstar) being present, desired me to send them word that I could not come on the morrow, but that I would come any other time that they would appoint me; and so I sent word back by the same messenger. The fifth day, meeting with elder Green, I told him how it was, he told me it was well, and that they would appoint another day when he had spoken with the pastor, and then they would send me word. This lay about two months before I heard any more from them. On a first day in the afternoon one told me I must stop, for the church would speak with me. They called me out, and Master Sims told the church, that this brother did withhold his child from baptism, and that they had sent unto him to come down on such a day to speak with them, and if he could not come on that day, to set a day when he would be at home; but he refusing to come, would appoint no time, when we wrote to him to take his own time, and send us word. I replied that there was no such word in the letter, for me to appoint the day; but what time of that day I should come. Mr. Sims stood up and told me, I did lie, for they sent to me to appoint the day. I replied again that there was no such thing in the letter. He replied again, that they did not set down a time, and not a day, therefore he told me it was a lie, and that they would leave my judgment, and deal with me for a lie and told the church, that he and the elder agreed to write, that if I could not come that day, to appoint the time when I could come, and that he read it after the elder wrote it, and the elder affirmed it was so; but I still replied there was no such thing in the letter, and thought I could produce the letter. They bid me let them see the letter, or they would proceed against me for a lie. Brother Thomas Wilder, sitting before me, stood up and told them, that it was so in the letter as I said, for he read it when it came to me. But they answered, it was not so, and bid him produce the letter, or they would proceed with me; he said I think I can produce the letter, and forthwith took it out of his pocket, which I wondered at; and I desired him to give it to Mr. Russel to read, and so he did, and he read it very faithfully, and it was just as I had said, that I must send them word what time of that day I would come down; so that their mouths were stopped, and master Sims put it off and said he was mistaken, for he thought he had read it otherwise; but the elder said, it is nothing, let us proceed with him for his judgment. Now let any man judge what a fair beginning this was, and if you wait awhile you may see as fair an ending. They called me forth to know why I would not bring my child to baptism? My answer was, I did not see any rule of Christ for it, for that ordinance belongs to such as can make profession of their faith, as the Scripture doth plainly hold forth. They answered me, that was meant of grown persons and not of children. But that which was most alleged by them was, that children were capable of circumcision in the time of the law, and therefore as capable in the time of the gospel of baptism; and asked me, why children were not to be baptized in the time of the gospel, as well as children were circumcised in the time of the law? My answer was, God gave a strict command in the law for the circumcision of children; but we have no command in the gospel, nor example,

for the baptizing of children. Many other things were spoken, then a meeting was appointed by the church the next week at Mr. Russell_s.

"Being met at Mr. Russell_s house, Mr. Sims took a writing out of his pocket, wherein he had drawn up many arguments for infant baptism, and told the church that I must answer those arguments, which I suppose he had drawn from some author, and told me I must keep to those arguments. My answer was, I thought the church had met together to answer my scruples, and to satisfy my conscience by a rule of God, and not for me to answer his writing. He said he had drawn it up for the help of his memory, and desired we might go on. Then I requested three things of them. First. That they should not make me offender for a word. Second. They should not drive me faster than I was able to go. Third. That if any present should see cause to clear up anything that is spoken by me, they might have their liberty without offense; because here are many of you that have their liberty to speak against me if you see cause. But it was denied, and Mr. Sims was pleased to reply, that he was able to deal with me himself, and that I knew it. So we spent four or five hours speaking to many things to and again, but so hot both sides, that we quickly forgot and went from the arguments that were written. At last one of the company stood up and said, I will give you one plain place of Scripture where children were baptized. I told him that would put an end to the controversy. That place is in the second of the Acts, 39th and 40th verses. After he had read the Scripture, Master Sims told me that promise belonged to infants, for the Scripture saith, The promise is to you and your children, and to all that are afar off; and he said no more; to which I replied, Even so many as the Lord our God shall call. Mr. Sims replied that I spoke blasphemously in adding to the Scriptures. I said, pray do not condemn me, for if I am deceived, my eyes deceive me. He replied again, I added to the scripture, which was blasphemy. I looking into my Bible, read the words again, and said it was so. He replied the same words a third time before the church. Mr. Russell stood up and told him it was so as I had read it. Ay, it may be so in your Bible, saith Mr. Sims. Mr. Russell answered, yea, in yours too if you will look into it. Then he said he was mistaken, for he thought on another place; so after many other words we broke up for that time.

"At another meeting, the church required me to bring out my child to baptism. I told them I durst not do it, for I did not see any rule for it in the word of God. They brought many places of Scripture in the Old and New Testament, as circumcision and the promise to Abraham, and that children were holy, and they were disciples. But I told them that all these places made nothing for infant baptism. Then stood up W. D. in the church and said, "Put him in the court! Put him in the court!" But Mr. Sims said, "I pray forbear such words." But it proved so, for presently after they put me in the court, and put me in seven or eight courts, whilst they looked upon me to be a member of their church. The elder pressed the church to lay me under admonition, which the church was backward to do. Afterwards I went out at the sprinkling of children, which was a great trouble to some honest hearts, and they told me of it. But I told them I could not stay, for I looked upon it as no ordinance of Christ. They told me that now I had made known my judgment, I might stay, for they knew I did not join with them. So I stayed and sat down in my seat when they were at prayer and administering that service to infants. Then they dealt with me for my irreverent carriage. One stood up and accused me, that I stopped my ears; but I denied it.

"At another meeting they asked me if I would suffer the church to fetch my child and baptize it? I answered, if they would fetch my child and do it as their own act, they might do it; but when they should bring my child, I would make known to the congregation that I had no hand in it; then some of the church were against doing of it. A brother stood up and said, "Brother Gould, you were once for children_s baptism, why are you fallen from it?" I answered, "It is true, and I suppose you were once for crossing in baptism, why are you fallen from that?" The man was silent, but Mr. Sims stood up in a great heat, and desired the church to take notice of it, that I compared the ordinance of Christ to the cross in baptism; this was one of the great offenses they dealt with me for. After this, the deputy-governor, Mr. Bellingham, meeting me in Boston, called me to him and said, "Goodman Gould, I desire you that you would let the church baptize your child." I told him that "if the church would do it upon their own account, they should do it, but I durst not bring out my child." So he called to Mrs. Norton of Charlestown, and prayed her to fetch Goodman Gould_s child and baptize it. So she spake to them, but not rightly informing them, she gave them to understand I would bring out my child. They called me out again, and asked me if I would bring forth my child? I told them "No, I durst not do it, for I see no rule for it."

In much the same manner the church proceeded with their obnoxious brother, until Master Sims, who was not only a petulant but an ignorant priest, put on him the second admonition. "This," says he, _continued

a long time before they called me out again. In the mean time, I had some friends, who came to me out of old England, who were Baptists, and desired to meet at my house on a first day, which I granted; of these was myself, my wife, and Thomas Osbourne, that were of their church. Afterward they called me forth, and asked why I kept the meeting in private on the Lord's day, and did not come to the public? My answer was, "I know not what reason the church had to call me forth." They asked me if I was not a member of that church? I told them they had not acted toward me as a member, who had put me by the ordinances of Christ seven years ago; they had denied me the privileges of a member. They asked whether I looked upon admonition as an appointment of Christ? I told them "yes but not to lie under it above seven years, and to be put by the ordinances of Christ in the church; for the rule of Christ is first to deal with men in the first and second place, and then in the third place before the church; but the first time that ever they dealt with me, they called me before the whole church." Many meetings we had about this thing, whether I was a member or not, but could come to no conclusion; for I still affirmed that their actings rendered me no member. Then Mr. Sims told the church that I was ripe for excommunication, and was very earnest for it; but the church would not consent."

It was not till some time after this, that they "delivered him up to Satan for not hearing the church."

This account was found by Mr. Backus among Mr. Callender's papers. It gives the reader a view of the spirit of the times, and also of the deliberate manner in which Mr. Gould proceeded amidst a constant scene of irritation and abuse. It appears from a number of expressions in different parts of the narrative, which have not been extracted, that he would have preferred remaining with his Pedobaptist brethren, if they would have permitted him to enjoy his Baptist principles in peace; but because he could not in conscience bring out his babe to be christened, they drove him on to a separation, which he did not meditate at first. The names of the first members of the Baptist church which he founded, have already been mentioned. The sufferings which they endured for a number of years are related by Mr. Backus in a more extensive manner than we can do it here. But it is sufficient to say, that they were many and grievous, and were similar to those to which the Baptists of that day were everywhere exposed, where the defense of the church was entrusted with the civil power. This little Anabaptist church consisting of only nine members, a part of whom were females, and the rest itinerate mechanics, made full employ for the rulers of Massachusetts a number of years. **The innocent people, who gave them so much trouble, were accused of no other crime than that of forming a church without their permission, and of meeting in their own houses to worship their Maker according to the dictates of their consciences.** And for these heinous offenses, they were incessantly stunned with the harangues of the priests and lawyers, and distressed and ruined by courts, legislatures, forfeitures, and prisons.

The New England persecutors we would charitably believe, were actuated more by their principles than dispositions. They certainly conducted the business in a bungling and ridiculous manner, and at times manifested some misgivings for their injustice and absurdity.

After Mr. Gould and his companions had been condemned as heretics and law-breakers, fined and imprisoned for non-conformity, they were **challenged to a public dispute** upon their peculiar sentiments, that it might be determined whether they were erroneous or not! The six following divines, namely Messrs. John Allen, Thomas Cobbet, John Higginson, Samuel Danforth, Jonathan Mitchell, and Thomas Shepard were nominated to manage the dispute on the Pedobaptist side, which was appointed to be April 14, 1668, in the meeting house in Boston, at 9 o'clock in the morning. But lest these six learned clergymen should not be a match for a few illiterate Baptists, the Governor and magistrates were requested to meet with them. The news of this dispute soon spread abroad, and Mr. Clark's church in Newport sent William Hiscox, Joseph Tory, and Samuel Hubbard, to assist their brethren in Boston in it, who arrived there three days before it was to come on. No particular account of this dispute has been preserved. Mr. Backus has made an extract of considerable length from a paper supposed to have been written by Mr. Gould's wife, in which some things respecting it are mentioned, and by which it appears that the Baptists instead of having full liberty to vindicate their sentiments, were called together only to be tantalized and abused. "When the disputants were met, there was a long speech made by one of them of what vile persons the Baptists were, and how they acted against the churches and government here, and stood condemned by the court. The others desiring liberty, to speak, they would not suffer them, but told them they stood there as delinquents, and ought not to have liberty to speak. Then they desired they might choose a moderator as well as they; but they denied them. Two days were spent to little purpose. In the close, Master Jonathan Mitchell

pronounced that dreadful sentence against them in Deuteronomy, 17th chapter, from the 8th to the end of the 12th verse." The passage is as follows:

"If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy, within thy gates; then shall thou arise, and get thee up into the place, which the Lord thy God shall choose: And thou shalt come unto the priests, the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and inquire; and they shall show thee the sentence of judgment. And thou shalt do according to the sentence which they of that place, which the Lord shall choose, shall show thee; and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee: According to the sentence of the law, which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: thou shalt not decline from the sentence which they shall show thee, to the right hand nor to the left. And the man, that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest, that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die: and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel." (Deuteronomy 17:8-12.)

This was the same Mitchell, who was afraid to converse with President Dunstar, lest his mind should be shaken upon infant baptism; who found such satanical scruples against it, that he had much ado to write his sermons for Sunday; and who, in the end, resolved that he would have an argument able to remove a mountain, before he would give it up.

So far as we can gain information of the management of this dispute, on the part of the Pedobaptists, it exceeded in cowardly and contemptible tyranny, any thing of the kind we read of in England. [Neal somewhere mentions that an English Bishop got so exasperated against the dissenters around him, that he appointed a day in which he would dispute with them, and prove them all heretics, etc. When the day came, a vast concourse assembled, and when the bishop began to raft, the Quakers paid him in his own coin, and browbeat him so hard that he was forced to yield; as he was going to his house they followed him with shouts, "The hireling fleeth! The hireling fleeth!"] We will excuse in part the men, and lay the most of the blame at the door of their popish, ever hurtful principles of confounding together the Jewish and Christian dispensations, of placing Aaron and Moses in the same chair, and of committing the defense of the church to the civil power.

This curious disputation was in April. The May following the Assembly enacted, that

"Whereas the council in March last did for the further conviction, etc. appoint a meeting of divers elders, and required the said persons to attend the said meeting, which was held in Boston with a great concourse of people. This court, being sensible of their duty to God and the country, and being desirous that their proceedings in this great cause might be clear and regular, do order that the said Gould and company be required to appear before this court, on the seventh instant, at eight in the morning, that the court may understand from themselves, whether upon the means used, or other considerations, they have altered their former declared resolution, and are willing to desist from their former offensive practice, that accordingly a mete effectual remedy may be applied to so dangerous a malady. At the time they made their appearance, and after the court had heard what they had to say for themselves, proceeded. Whereas, Thomas Gould, William Turner, and John Farnum, sen. obstinate and turbulent Anabaptists, have sometime since combined themselves with others in a pretended church estate, without the knowledge and approbation of the authority here established, to the great grief and offense of the godly orthodox; the said persons did, in open court, assert their former practice to have been according to the mind of God, that nothing that they had heard convinced them to the contrary; which practice, being also otherwise **circumstanced with making infant baptism a nullity, and thereby making us all to be unbaptized persons**, and so consequently no regular churches, ministry, or ordinances; as also renouncing all our churches, as being so bad and corrupt, as they are not fit to be held communion with; denying to submit to the government of Christ in the church, and entertaining of those who are under church censure, thereby making the discipline of Christ to be of none effect, and manifestly tending to the disturbance and destruction of these churches; opening the door for all sorts of abominations to come in among us, to the disturbance not only of ecclesiastical enjoyments, but also contempt of our civil order, and the authority here established; which duty to God and the country doth oblige us to prevent, by using the most compassionate effectual means to attain the same; all which considering, together with the danger of disseminating their errors, and encouraging presumptuous irregularities by their examples, should they continue in this jurisdiction; this court do judge it necessary that they be removed to some other part of this country, or elsewhere, and accordingly doth order, that the said Thomas Gould, William Turner, and John Farnum, sen. do before the twentieth of July next remove themselves out of this jurisdiction; and that if after the said 20th of July, either of them be found in any part of this jurisdiction, without license had from this court or the council, he or they shall be forthwith apprehended and committed to prison by warrant from any magistrate, and there remain without bail or mainprise, until he or they shall give sufficient security to the Governor or any magistrate, immediately to depart the jurisdiction, and not to return as above said. And all constables and other officers are required to be faithful and diligent in the execution of this sentence. And it is further ordered, that the keepers of all prisons, whereto the said Thomas, or any of them shall be committed, shall not permit any resort of companies of more than two at one time to any of the said persons. And our experience of their high obstinate and presumptuous carriage,

doth engage us to prohibit them any further meeting together, on the Lord's day or other days, upon pretense of their church estate, or for the administration or exercise of any pretended ecclesiastical functions or dispensation of the seals or preaching; wherein, if they shall be taken offending, they shall be imprisoned until the tenth of July next, and then left at their liberty within ten days to depart the jurisdiction upon penalty as aforesaid. And whereas Thomas Gould is committed to prison in the county of Middlesex, by the last court of assistants, for non-payment of a fine imposed, this court judgeth it meet, after the sentence of this court is published, this day after the lecture to them, that the said Gould shall be discharged from imprisonment in Middlesex as to his fine, that so he may have time to prepare to submit to the judgment of this court."

It is truly difficult to preserve one's patience while reviewing these tyrannical proceedings. We would gladly draw a veil over the hurts of the fathers of Massachusetts; but what is history, but a relation of facts, whether pleasant or painful? The injuries sustained by Thomas Gould and his associates excited the compassion of many, who did not think with them, both in Europe and America. While they were suffering in prison because they would not go into exile, a petition was presented to the court in their favor, signed by sixty-six persons, among whom are said to have been Captain Hutchinson, Captain Oliver, and others of note in the country. But the court was under the influence of the clergy; and so far were they," says Backus, from listening to the petition, that the chief promoters of it were fined, and the others were compelled to make all acknowledgment for reflecting on their honours." About this time, the following letter was sent from England, which exhibits a very correct view of the iniquity of these measures.

"My Dear Brother,

The ardent affection and great honors that I have for New England transport me, and I hope your churches shall ever be to me as the gates of heaven. I have ever been warmed with the apprehension of the grace of God towards me in carrying me thither. I have always thought that of the congregational churches of New England in our days. But now it is otherwise, with joy as to ourselves, and grief as to you, be it spoken. Now the greater my love is to New England the more am I grieved at their failings. It is frequently said here, that they are swerved aside towards Presbytery; if so, the Lord restore them all. But another sad thing, that much affects us is, to hear that you, even in New England, persecute your brethren; men sound in the faith; of holy life; agreeing in worship and discipline with you; only differing in the point of baptism. Dear brother, we here do love and honor them, hold familiarity with them, and take sweet counsel together; they lie in the bosom of Christ, and therefore they ought to be laid in our bosoms. In a word, we freely admit them into churches; few of our churches, but many of our members are Anabaptists; I mean baptized again. This is love in England; this is moderation; this is a right New Testament spirit. But do you now (as is above said) bear with, yea, more than bear with the Presbyterians? yea, and that the worst sort of them, namely those who are the corruptest, rigidest, whose principles tend to corrupt the churches; turning the world into the church, and the church into the world; and which doth no less than bring a people under mere slavery? It is an iron yoke, which neither we nor our congregational brethren in Scotland were ever able to bear. I have heard them utter these words in the pulpit, that it is no wrong to make the independents sell all they have, and depart the land: and many more things I might mention of that kind; but this I hint only, to show what cause there is to withstand that wicked tyranny which was once set up in poor miserable Scotland, which I verily believe was a great wrong and injury to the reformation. The generality of them here, even to this day, will not freely consent to our enjoyment of our liberty; though through mercy, the best and most reformed of them do otherwise. How much more, therefore, would it concern dear New England, to turn the edge against those, who, if not prevented, will certainly corrupt and enslave, not only their own, but also their churches? Whereas Anabaptists are neither spirited nor principled to injure nor hurt your government nor your liberties; but rather these be a means to preserve your churches from apostasy, and provoke them to their primitive purity, as they were in the first planting, in admission of members to receive none into your churches but visible saints, and in restoring the entire jurisdiction of every congregation complete and undisturbed. We are hearty and full for our Presbyterian brethren enjoying equal liberty with ourselves. Oh, that they had the same spirit towards us! But, oh, how it grieves and affects us, that New England should persecute! Will you not give what you take? Is liberty of conscience your due? and is it not as due unto others that are sound in the faith? Read the preface to the declaration of the faith and order, owned and practiced in the Congregational churches in England. Amongst many other scriptures, that in the 14th of Romans much confirms me in liberty of conscience thus stated; to him that esteems any thing unclean, to him it is unclean. Therefore, though we approve of the baptism of the immediate children of church members, and of their admission into the church when they evidence a real work of grace; yet to those that in conscience believe the said baptism to be unclean, to him it is unclean. Both that and mere ruling elders, though we approve of them, yet our grounds are mere

interpretations of, and not any express scripture. I cannot say so clearly of anything else in our religion, neither as to faith or practice. Now must we force our interpretation upon others pope-like! In verse 5th of that chapter, the Spirit of God saith, let everyone be fully persuaded in his own mind; therefore this being the express will of God, who shall make a contrary law, and say, persuaded or not persuaded, you shall do as we say, and as we do! And verse 2nd, what is not of faith is sin; therefore there must be a word for what we do, and we must see and believe it, or else we sin if we do not. And Deuteronomy 12 and last, as we must not add, nor may we diminish. What is commanded we must do. Also 8th of Matthew. And what principles is persecution grounded upon? Domination and infallibility. This we teach is the truth. But are we infallible, and have we the government? **God made none, no not the apostles, who could not err, to be lords over faith; therefore, what monstrous pride is this!** At this rate, any persuasion getting uppermost may command, and persecute them that obey them not; all non-conformists must be ill-used. Oh wicked and monstrous principle! **Whate_er you can plead for yourselves against those that persecute you, those whom ye persecute may plead for themselves, against you.** Whatever they can say against the poor men, your enemies say against you. And what is that horrid principle crept into precious New England; who have felt what persecution is, and have always pleaded for liberty of conscience! Have not those run equal hazards with you for the enjoyment of their liberties; and how do you cast a reproach upon us, that are congregational in England, and furnish our adversaries with weapons against us? We blush and are filled with shame and confusion of face, when we hear of these things. Dear brother, we pray that God would open your eyes and persuade the hearts of your magistrates, that they may no more smite their fellow-servants, nor thus greatly injure us their brethren; and that they may not thus injure the name of God, and cause his people to be reproached, nor the holy way of God (the congregational way) to be evil spoken of. My dear brother, pardon my plainness and freedom, for the zeal of God_s house constrains me. What cause have we to bless God who gives us to find favor in the eyes of his Majesty? and to pray God to continue him, and to requite it graciously to him in spiritual blessings. Well, strive I beseech you with God by prayers, and use all lawful ways and means even to your greatest hazard, that those poor men may be set free. For be assured, that this liberty of conscience, as we state it, is the cause of God; and hereby you may be a means to divert the judgments of God from falling upon dear New England, for our Father in faithfulness will afflict us if we repent not. Doth not the very gospel say, what measure we mete to others, shall be measured to us? God is not unrighteous. What is more provoking to him than the persecuting of his saints! Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm; did he not reprove kings for their sake? Those who have the unction the apostle John speaks of, and the spirit and gift of prophecies. With what marvellous strength did holy Mr. Burroughs urge that place against persecution? Persecution is bad in wicked men, but it is most abominable in good men, who have suffered and pleaded for liberty of conscience themselves. Discountenance men that certainly err, but persecute them not. I mean gross errors. Well, we are travelling to our place of rest. With joy we look for new heavens and new earth. We shall ere long be in the fullness of bliss, holy, harmless in the bosom of Christ. Let us pray the earth may be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, that they may not hurt nor destroy in all his holy mountain. The Lord grant we may by the next hear better things of the government of New England. My most hearty love to your brother and to all the brethren. My respects and service to my dear cousin Leveret and to Mr. Francis Willoughby. The Lord make them instrumental for his glory, in helping to reform things among you. I shall be glad to hear from you. I remember our good old sweet communion together. My dear brother, once again pardon me, for I am affected! I speak for God, to whose grace I commit you all in New England, humbly craving your prayers for us here, and remain,

Your affectionate brother, ROBERT MASCALL. Finsbury, near Morefield, the 25th of March, 1669."

Another letter of a similar import was about this time addressed to the Governor, signed by twelve dissenting ministers in London, among whom were the learned Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Caryl.

But all remonstrances were without effect, and Mr. Backus concludes from the best information he could gain, that these turbulent Anabaptists were imprisoned more than a year after the sentence of banishment was pronounced against them. After Mr. Gould was released, he went to live on Noddle_s Island in Boston harbour, where the church assembled for some years. At what time it was removed to Boston, is not certain; but it was not till after the year 1672.

The next members, who were added to it after its constitution were Isaac Hull, John Yarnurn, Jacob Barney, John Russell, jr. John Johnson, George Farlow, Benjamin Sweetser, and Ellis Callender, all before 1669. After them were added Joshua Turner, Thomas Foster, John Russell, senior, William Hamlit, James Loudon, Thomas Skinner, John Williams, Philip Squire, Mary Gould, Susanna Jackson, Mary Greenleaf, etc.

Mr. Gould died in 1675. I can learn nothing more of his history than what has been related in the preceding sketches. It is much to be regretted that a more particular account of him has not been preserved; his name ought to be recorded on the tallest page of the history of the New England Baptists; and when the reader considers that the church, which he founded, included the whole of the Baptist interest in the colony of Massachusetts, for about seventy years, he will not think it improper to give this lengthy and particular account of its origin.

Mr. Gould was succeeded in the pastoral office by Isaac Hull. How long he continued among them, their records do not show.

John Russell was his successor, and it seems probable that both of these ministers preached in the church at the same time. They were companions in sufferings, having both been fined and imprisoned for nonconformity. Of Mr. Hull, we have scarce any account. Of Mr. Russell, the following sketches have been preserved. He was ordained in 1679, but died the next year. Previous to his death he wrote a narrative of the sufferings of this little flock, which was sent over to London, and printed in 1680, with a preface to it by Messrs. William Kiffin, Daniel Dyke, William Collins, Hansard Knollys, John Harris, and Nehemiah Cox. These eminent Baptist ministers made some very severe but judicious reflections on the unaccountable conduct of the New England fathers. **It seems strange, said they, that christians in New England should pursue the very same persecuting measures, which they fled from Old England to avoid!** This argument they knew not how to withstand, and their reasonings against it were altogether frivolous and contemptible. Protestants, said they, ought not to persecute Protestants, yet that Protestants may punish Protestants cannot be denied! Because Mr. Russell was by occupation a shoe-maker, many low, abusive reflections were made upon him, even after he was dead. One of the Boston divines published an answer to his narrative with a Latin title, the English of which was, Cobler keep to your Last. Dr. Mather published a piece in which he accused the Baptists of the sin of Jeroboam, in making priests of the lowest order of the people, etc. Mr. Willard said, "Truly if Goodman Russell was a fit man for a minister, we have but fooled ourselves in building colleges and in instructing children in learning." Hubbard, who was generally more candid and fair than the rest, in speaking of the narrative, etc. observed, "One John Russell, a wedder drop_d shoe-maker, stitched up a pamphlet, wherein he endeavors to clear the innocence of those commonly (though falsely he says) called Anabaptists." In this scurrilous manner was this honest and worthy minister treated by his impotent adversaries. But had he and his associates met with nothing more than the revilings of priests, their case would have been less deplorable, but to these were added forfeitures, stripes, and prisons.

Those three eminent ministers of Swansea, Job, Russell, and John Mason, were great-grand-children of this worthy but much despised man. From him also descended the Russells of Providence, Rhode Island; and Jonathan Russell, Esq. late Charge de Affairs in France and England, is one of his descendants.

In 1678, this church built them a house for worship, out of which, however, they were soon shut, and a long difficulty ensued upon the matter. They had been often reproached for meeting in private houses, "but since," said they, "we have for our convenience, obtained a public house, on purpose for that use, we are become more offensive than before." Their leaders were convened before the General Court, who not finding any old law to suit their purpose, made a new one, which forbid their assembling, and they furthermore enacted that their house, and all houses for worship, which were built without legal permission, together with the premises, appurtenances, etc. should be forfeited to the use of the county, and be disposed by the county-treasurer, by sale or demolishing, as the court that gave judgment in the case should order.

This affair went the whole round of courts and legislatures. The patient little flock submitted quietly to the orders of the sanctimonious court, and "waited to see what God would do for them."

Not long after this, the king of England wrote to the Massachusetts rulers, "requiring that liberty of conscience should be allowed to all protestants, so as that they might not be discountenanced from sharing in the government, much less that no good subjects of his, for not agreeing in the Congregational way, should by law be subjected to fines and forfeitures, or other incapacities for the same, which, said his majesty, is a severity the more to be wondered at, whereas liberty of conscience was made a principal motive for your transportation into those parts." But this remonstrance from the throne was disregarded by the priest-led magistrates.

Deplorable indeed, says Mr. Backus, was the case of these brethren; but having information of the king's letter in their favor, they again presumed to meet in their house, which they had done but a few times before they were again called before the canting, vexatious court to answer for their high offense of worshipping God contrary to law. But being emboldened by the royal mandate in their favor, they began to take a bolder stand against the unrighteous encroachments of their adversaries.

But the next thing we hear of, the doors were nailed up by the Marshall, and a paper put on them, which said,

"All persons are to take notice, that by order of the court, the doors of this house are shut up, and that they are inhibited to hold any meeting, or to open the doors thereof without license from authority, til the General Court take further order, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Dated at Boston, 8th March, 1680, EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary"

The church thought fit to regard this paper blockade, and accordingly the next Lord's day assembled in their yard; and in the ensuing week erected a shed for their covering. But when they came together the second Lord's day, they found their doors opened, and since then they have been left to the care of the sexton, and not constables and sheriffs. But the leaders of the church were convented before the Assembly, the May following, where they plead, First, That the house was their own. Second, That it was built when there was no law to forbid it, there, therefore, they were not transgressors. Third, That it was the express will and pleasure of the king, that they should enjoy their liberty. After some reviling speeches were cast upon them, they were publicly admonished by the Governor, pardoned for their past offenses, but prohibited from meeting in their house for the future without permission from the authority. But it does not appear that this prohibition was regarded either by the church or the rulers.

These scenes transpired during the lives of Elders Hull and Russell. They were the principal leaders of the church through all this perplexing affair, and for that reason we have thought proper to relate it in connection with their history.

Mr. Hull survived Mr. Russell nine years, and how much longer the records of the church do not show; but being aged and feeble and often incapable of ministerial work, they sent over to England, and obtained for their next pastor John Emblen, who arrived here in 1684, and continued in office until 1699, when he died. Nothing farther can be learnt of his character, than that he was well esteemed.

After Mr. Emblen's death, this church wrote again to England for another minister, but could not obtain one. They next applied to Mr. Sereyen, of Charleston, South Carolina, who had been one of their number; but he informed them that he could by no means be spared. "But if," said he, "the Lord do not please to supply you, in the way you expected, your way will be to improve the gifts you have in the church. Brother Ellis Callender and Joseph Russell, I know have gifts that may tend to edification, etc."

Pursuant to this advice, the church called Mr. Callender to the ministry shortly after, and in 1708, he was ordained their pastor, which office he sustained to the edification of his flock a number of years. He had been a member of the church thirty-nine years before he was ordained, and "continued in high esteem among them, till 1726," when he must have been not far from eighty years of age.

His son, **Elisha Callender**, became his successor, and continued in the pastoral office, until his death, which happened in 1788. He appears to have been the first learned pastor of this flock, and was distinguished for a pious and successful ministry. He was educated at Cambridge, and was ordained in

1718, by the assistance of three Pedobaptist ministers, namely Dr. Increase Mather, Dr. Cotton Mather, and Mr. John Webb. This was a singular event in those days, and probably no great good came out of it in the end. Both parties must have strained a point in order to unite on such an important occasion. The sermon was preached by the younger Dr. Mather, which was entitled, Good Men United. In it are some very respectful addresses to the Baptist church, and a number of very severe reflections on their persecutors. Happy, says Backus, is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth.

This temporary expression of catholicism promised more than was afterwards realized. The report of it in England, induced Thomas Hollis, Esq. a wealthy merchant of the Baptist persuasion, to become one of the most liberal benefactors to Cambridge College, that it ever enjoyed. [His benefactions to this Institution were astonishingly great: for besides making large additions to its library, he founded two professorships, one of Theology and one of Mathematics and Experimental Philosophy, with a salary of eighty pounds each. In addition to these, he endowed the College with funds to the amount of a hundred pounds a year, to be distributed among ten scholars of good character, four of them should be Baptists, if any such were there. He also provided ten pounds a year to the College Treasurer for his trouble, and ten pounds a year to supply accidental losses, or to increase the number of students. Thus it appears, that this worthy and munificent Baptist must have bestowed upon this Pedobaptist University, funds to the amount of almost five thousand pounds. A philosophical apparatus which cost 150 sterling was sent over in 1726. These endowments have doubtless been of much use to the college; but the advantage which Mr. Hollis expected the Baptists to derive from his unexampled generosity, have never been realized. What a pity that this generous Baptist had not appropriated these princely endowments exclusively to his own brethren; as they would have founded an institution from which they could have derived peculiar benefit! Mr. Hollis held to open communion, and the account of Dr. Mather the then President at Cambridge, together with two other Pedobaptist minister uniting with a Baptist church in ordaining a pastor, doubtless opened to his imagination a pleasing prospect of an extensive union between the two denominations, and moved upon his benevolent feelings to afford the College the astonishing patronage already mentioned.] Mr. Callender was succeeded by Jeremiah Condry, who was ordained in 1739. He was educated at Cambridge College, where he graduated in 1726. He went over to England not long after, and tarried there until he was called by this church to become its pastor. His doctrinal sentiments were less orthodox than those of his predecessors; and four years after his settlement a number of his members withdrew and founded the Second Church in this town, as will be more particularly related when we come to their history. The church did not flourish under his ministry, but was in a declining state, when the care of it devolved on the renowned Samuel Stillman, D.D. This eminent minister, who afterwards shone as a star of the first magnitude among the American Baptists, became the pastor of this church in 1765, just a hundred years from its beginning. Mr. Condry from that period retired to a private station, and died in 1768, aged 59 years. Dr. Stillman's ministry was long and prosperous, and whatever peculiar events transpired, during its continuance, will be related in his biography.

He was succeeded by Joseph, more commonly called **JUDGE CLAY**. This eminent man, as he said to a friend a little before his death, had in the ministry a rapid and peculiar course. He was born in Savannah, Georgia, August 16, 1764. He graduated at Princeton College, New Jersey, in 1784, and after preparatory studies commenced the practice of law, in which profession he continued until 1795. The year following he was appointed Judge of the District of Georgia, and continued on the bench until 1801. Although he had been instructed in the Holy Scriptures from a child, and had manifested an habitual reverence for the christian religion, it was not until the year 1803, that he made a public profession, and joined the Baptist church at Savannah, under the pastoral care of the Reverend Mr. Holcombe. This church called him to the ministry and in 1804, he was ordained in their fellowship as an assistant pastor with Mr. Holcombe. In September, 1806, Mr. Clay made a visit to the New England States, and preached in most of the principal towns to very general satisfaction. And as this church had, for a considerable time, been contemplating an assistant pastor, (on account of the advanced age, and increasing infirmities of Dr. Stillman, and by his particular desire) they unanimously agreed to invite him to come and take upon him that office, and in the event of the Doctor's death, to become their sole pastor. To this invitation he signified his acceptance the December following, so far as to consent to come and spend one year with them, and then be at liberty to act as duty might appear. While the church was anxiously waiting the period of his arrival, Dr. Stillman was suddenly removed from his pastoral office by death. On the 16th of June following, Mr. Clay arrived in Boston with his family, to the great joy of that afflicted people. The favourable impressions under which he commenced his public labors, seemed to presage his future usefulness and prosperity. Mr. Clay continued his ministrations with this people, until the beginning of November, 1808; when agreeably to his previous

engagement, he left them, and sailed for Savannah, expecting to return to them again in the spring. But soon after, finding his health declining, he wrote to the church, proposing to them to look out for another pastor, and soon after requested a dismissal from his pastoral care. On the 27th of October, 1809, the church addressed an affectionate letter to him, in which they signified their compliance with his request. As part of the family were resident in Boston, Mrs. Clay came with the remainder on a visit in November of that year, having left him much as usual, excepting a depression of spirits occasioned by her coming away. But finding his complaints increasing, and urged by a desire to be with his family, he soon after embarked for Boston, and arrived there, December, 1810. Although in a very feeble, debilitated state, no serious apprehensions were at first entertained respecting his recovery. But it was soon perceived that his complaints became daily more and more alarming, notwithstanding the continued efforts of the best medical aid. Exhausted nature at length gave up the conflict, and on the 11th of January, 1811, he gently fell asleep in Jesus, being in the 47th year of his age. Mr. Clay was above the middling stature; his form elegant, his countenance comely, and his manners, though somewhat reserved, were easy and graceful. As a christian, his deportment was modest, grave, and humble. Though accustomed to move in the higher circles of life, yet, as a christian minister, he cheerfully condescended to men of low estate. As a public speaker he held a respectable rank. His voice was pleasant and harmonious, his gestures natural, and his language generally classical and pure. His system of doctrine was highly Calvinistical, and it is believed he never shunned to declare what he thought to be the whole counsel or God. The divinity of Christ, his obedience and death, together with the work of the Holy Spirit in renewing the heart and in comforting the saints, were sentiments, which he enforced with much interest and ability.

Judge Clay lived but about seven years after he entered the ministry, most of which time he spent in itinerating in different parts of the United States. The novelty of such a distinguished statesman becoming a Baptist minister, collected large assemblies wherever he preached, and many learned characters flocked to hear their professional brother. Some of his discourses were of the most masterly kind, and displayed, in a very attracting manner, the splendid resources of his devout and highly cultivated mind. At other times that nervous affection and depression of spirits, of which he was frequently the unhappy subject, in a measure unfitted him for the labors of the pulpit; "but his most desultory performances were pious and affectionate, and in many instances truly eloquent. His preaching was blessed to the awakening and comforting of numbers in different places. He left behind him a large circle of sincere friends to mourn his early removal."

This honorable preacher possessed an estate in Georgia, which placed him above the need of any reward for his ministerial services, and he had conceived the benevolent design of planting his family in an eligible situation in one of the middle States, and bestowing his labors on destitute churches, which were not well able to support preachers among them. For this employment he was well fitted. But the solicitations of Dr. Stillman and his respectable church, induced him to alter his plan, and settle among them. But in this situation, as has been stated, Providence saw fit that he should not long continue. By the decease of this eminent minister, in the meridian of life, all the flattering expectations of the christian public were cut off. He left behind him an amiable widow, and a number of children. His oldest daughter had, a little before his death, married into the family of the Honorable William Gray, lately Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts.

For about four years past this church has been destitute of a pastor. It has had many candidates, but no one as yet has appeared to meet their united views.

The lot in the possession of this church, is of the following dimensions: On Back Street, 375 feet; on Stillman Street, about 250 feet; 114 feet of this distance it continues the same width as on Back Street. This space forms a handsome court in front of the meeting-house. 40 feet further it is about 70 feet wide, and the remainder of it is 80. This spacious lot has been enlarged at different times to its present convenient size.

The original house built in 1678 was small; but I do not find by any records or tradition that any alteration was made in it until 1771; then it was removed, and a new one built, 53 feet by 57. This house was enlarged in 1791, to its present dimensions, which are 77 feet by 57. It is built of wood, has a porch in front, and a small vestry in the rear. Besides this vestry, there is one almost adjoining the house on the north side, 46 feet by 19, built in 1799.

Second Church in Boston. This Church proceeded from the First in 1743. As it arose after the storm of persecution was over, and has never experienced any vicissitudes except what are common in the progress of such churches, its history will be short compared with the one we have just related.

While Mr. Condry was pastor of the first church, a number of its members became dissatisfied with his doctrinal sentiments, which appear to have been different from those on which that body was founded, or which it has maintained since his time. These brethren sent in a protest to the church, in which they stated many articles of grievance; but the substance of all was, that their pastor was what they called an Arminian; and that if matters remained as they were, they should be under the painful necessity of proceeding to a separation. This was in September, 1742, and as they obtained no satisfaction, in July of the next year, seven brethren, namely James Bound, John Proctor, Ephraim Bosworth, John Dabney, Thomas Boucher, Ephraim Bound, and Thomas Lewis, formed themselves into a new church, and elected Ephraim Bound their pastor. James Bound and Mr. Dabney were from England; Boucher was from Wales; Proctor was of Boston; Bosworth was of Hull near to Boston, and bearing no children, he gave the church a good estate, the remains of which they still enjoy. Of the other brethren we have no particular account. Not long after this church began its progress, one Philip Freeman came over from London and united with them. He sent over an account of their principles and conduct to Dr. Gill, which met the approbation of that illustrious divine, and induced him to make them a generous donation of the following articles, namely one large cup, four smaller ones, two dishes, two plates and a large damask cloth for the communion table; 7 sets of baptismal garments, namely one for the minister, three for men, and three more for women, and books to the amount of about fifty dollars. [These communion vessels have been given away to churches in the country, but the church has supplied their place with an elegant new set consisting of twelve cups, two large flaggons and four plates, which together are reputed to be worth 600 dollars.] At the same time they received a further gift of forty-eight volumes of the sermons of the then late Reverend Mr. Hill, an independent minister of London, successor to Dr. Ridgley. The sermons were sent by the author's father, to be given away at the direction of the church.

Mr. Bound's ordination was a matter of some difficulty, as no ministers could be found near to assist on the occasion. The church applied to the aged Mr. Wightman, of Groton, Connecticut, but he was too old and infirm to undertake such a journey. Finally, Mr. Bound went to Warwick, Rhode Island, where he met the venerable Elder from Groton, and was ordained by him, Dr. Green of Leicester, and an Elder Whipple. "Mr. Bound was a plain, unlettered man, but an able minister of the New Testament: Like Apollos he was mighty in the Scriptures, and the want of human learning was abundantly made up by that gracious unction, with which God was pleased to favor him. Numbers came from considerable distance to hear the word, and additions were made to the church, not only of the inhabitants of Boston, but also from Hull, Newton, Needham, Medfield, Chelmsford, Lynn, and other places" [Dr. Baldwin's Sermon at the opening of the New Meeting House, in 1811, p. 25, 26]. Under his ministry the church increased from seven to a hundred and twenty, and many were awakened by his means who joined to Pedobaptist churches. But in the midst of prosperity and usefulness, in the 20th year of his ministry, he was seized by a paralytic shock, from the effects of which he never fully recovered. He died 1765, much lamented by his flock and friends, but with a comfortable assurance of a blessed immortality. During his feeble state, the church obtained occasional assistance from others, particularly from the late Dr. Stillman, who, at their invitation, removed from Bordentown, New Jersey, and served them as all assistant to Mr. Bound, for the space of one year.

The second pastor of this church was **Mr. John Davis**, a native of the State of Delaware, and a son of David Davis, one of the pastors of the Welsh Tract church, in that State. He was educated in the University of Pennsylvania, and commenced his labors herein the spring of 1770. His ministry in Boston was short, but highly respectable. He, in company with Mr. Backus, took an active part against the oppressive measures of the ruling party, and in 1771, he was chosen by the Warren Association, as their agent, to use his influence both in Massachusetts and in London, to obtain the establishment of equal religious liberty in the land. In the prosecution of this agency, the nature of which will be explained in Mr. Backus' biography, he met with the cordial approbation of his friends, but with much abusive treatment from the opposite party. Everything in Mr. Davis presaged a course of distinguished usefulness. His learning, abilities, and zeal, were adequate to any services to which his brethren might call him. Mr. Backus had now begun his history, and had the promise of assistance from this literary companion; but a mysterious Providence saw fit to cut him down almost in the beginning of his course, in about two years after his settlement in Boston, he went into a decline. By the advice of his friends he returned to his native state, hoping that a softer atmosphere might remove his complaints. And having in some measure

recovered his health, with a view of confirming it, he set out on a journey into the western country, in company with Dr. David Jones, of Pennsylvania, and near the Ohio River, December 13th, 1773, after an illness of three weeks, finished his earthly course, in the 36th year of his age. His last words, according to Mr. Jones_ account, were, "in a little time I expect to be with Christ, to see and know him as he is known, and as he is not known. My faith in my Savior is unshaken." Mr. Davis was a member of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia; and was also one of the Fellows of the Baptist College at Providence.

The third pastor of this church was **Isaac Skillman**, D. D. a native of New Jersey, and a graduate of Princeton College. Mr. Skillman was sent out into the ministry by the first church in New York, and having been ordained there, it was mutually agreed that he should discharge the pastoral duties here, without a formal installation. [This installation will need some explanation to our brethren abroad, as we read nothing of it in the New Testament, nor in the history of the Baptists in other countries. It is nothing more nor less than going over the same ceremonies with an ordained minister, when he takes the pastoral care of a church, as were practiced when he was first set apart for the ministry. If a minister has not been a subject for the ordaining ceremony, he is ordained into office; if he has, he is installed into it. Both is the same thing in form, although called by different names. This sacred installing is practiced uniformly by the New England Pedobaptists, and from them the Baptists seem to have borrowed it. It was, however, never practiced but by a comparatively few churches; among some of them it is going into disuse, and by all it is hoped it will soon be laid aside. If those, who practise installation, are not Re-baptizers, they are constantly Re-ordainers.] He commenced his labors in 1773, and continued them until 1787, a period of fourteen years. At his own request, he was then dismissed, and returned to New Jersey. He afterwards took the charge of the Salem church in that State, where he closed his life and ministry together a few years since. Dr. Skillman was a man of learning and abilities, but never very popular as a preacher. The fourth in office here, was **Thomas Gait**, a native of the town, and a graduate of Providence College. Mr. Gait was awakened under the ministry of Dr. Skillman, when about sixteen years of age, and soon after joined the church of which he was pastor. Not long after he had finished his education, in which he was assisted by his friends, he was settled in Medfield, where he continued about ten years. Peculiar circumstances then making it necessary for him to leave that people, he, upon the removal of Dr. Skillman, began to labor here, and in a few months after was publicly installed in the pastoral office. "To undissembled piety and respectable talents, Mr. Gait added a dignified deportment, and a gentleness of manners, which rendered him highly acceptable to all classes of people." But while rising into eminence and usefulness, he was suddenly arrested with a nervous, putrid fever, of which he died, April 27th, 1790, in the 36th year of his age.

Thomas Baldwin, D.D. the present pastor of this body, was the immediate successor of Mr. Gait, and was invested with the pastoral office, November, 1790. He was born at Norwich in Connecticut, the birth place of Mr. Backus, December 23, 1753. He was ordained in Canaan, New Hampshire, in 1783, and labored in that town, and adjoining ones, until he removed to his present situation. He has been the pastor of this flock over twenty years, which has increased under his successful ministry, from ninety to upwards of four hundred, besides suffering large diminutions in different ways. By Dr. Baldwin have been baptized 478 persons who have united with this church. About the time he commenced his pastoral labors, a revival began, in which not far from seventy were added to this church, and about the same number to the old one. In 1803, another revival commenced, which became more extensive in its prevalence; it continued for more than two years, in which time about two hundred were added to this church, and nearly the same number to the First.

The lot in the possession of this church was, in its original form, the gift of Mr. Bosworth: additions have been made to it at different times, so that it is now of the following size. On Back Street (not far from the old church) 90 feet, and continues the same width 270 feet to within 12 feet at one corner and upwards of 30 at the other of Margin Street, which was lately made by filling up a Mill Pond. This lot would be one of the handsomest in town were it not for the incumbrance of one of considerable size near its middle, on which are a cluster of old unsightly buildings, which they hope soon to purchase and move off; Adjoining Back Street is the parsonage house which is reputed in common times worth about 200 dollars a year. This house was built with the avails of Mr. Bosworth_s estate. The meeting house stands back almost 200 feet, and has an alley leading to it 12 feet wide.

The first house of worship erected by this church was small, and was finished in 1746. This was enlarged during the ministry of Mr. Gair, in 1789. Another addition was made to it in 1797, which made it 69 feet by 53; but this large building was generally well filled, and often crowded to an uncomfortable degree. The Congregation continuing to increase, and the house, which was built of wood, needing considerable repairs, it was, in 1810, removed to make room for their present spacious edifice, of brick, covered with slate, and is eighty feet by seventy-five, exclusive of the tower, which is thirty eight feet by eighteen. This house, exclusive of some costly appendages, was built at the expense of more than 22,000 dollars. Third Church in Boston. This body was formed in 1807, of 24 members, 19 of whom were from the Second Church, and 5 from the First. Nothing very special has occurred during its progress. The motives which led to its formation were, that the great revival in this town in 1803, and onward, increased the two churches so much, that many were unable to get seats in their houses, and they conceived, that the state of religion in the town rendered it peculiarly desirable, that another place should be erected, where the name of Jesus, and the discriminating truths of the gospel might be proclaimed.

In 1806, a house for worship was begun, which was opened August 5th, 1807, the same day the church was formed. This house is situated on Charles Street, in the west part of the town; it is built of brick, 75 feet square, exclusive of the tower. It is an elegant edifice, adorned with a cupola and bell, and cost 27,000 dollars. The lot is but a little larger than the house, most of which was given by the Mount Vernon Company. The same year this church was formed, Mr. Caleb Blood, of Shaftsbury, Vermont, became its pastor, which office he sustained about three years, when he removed to his present situation at Portland, Maine.

Successor to him was Mr. Daniel Sharp, who was born at Huddersfield, in Yorkshire, England, in 1783; his father is pastor of the Baptist church at Forsley, near Leeds, in the same county. Mr. Sharp came to America in 1805, and was sent into the ministry by the Fayette Street Church, New York, the year following. After studying about two years with Dr. Staughton, of Philadelphia, he became pastor of the church in Newark, New Jersey, where he continued until the autumn of 1811, when he came on to Boston; and the ensuing spring was invested with the pastoral care of this body.

African Church. This community of sable brethren arose in 1805; their number at first was twenty, most of whom were the fruits of the ministry of **Mr. Thomas Paul**, a man of their own color, who is their present pastor. The year after this church was formed, they began to make exertions towards building them a place of worship. They chose a committee to make collections; among whom was Cato Gardiner, a native of Africa, who had long been one of Dr. Stillman's respectable members. Cato was all alive in the business; by his importunity Dr. Stillman drew a subscription paper, which he circulated in different places, and obtained about fifteen hundred dollars. Cato, notwithstanding his age, had faith to believe that his brethren would have a house for their use, and that he should live to see it finished, which he did, and soon after died. Others of the church made collections to a considerable amount, and having received encouragement to go forward in their design, they chose a committee of white men to superintend their building, which was finished in 1806. This committee consisted of Messrs. Daniel Wild, John Wait, William Bentley, Mitchell Lincoln, Ward Jackson, and Edward Stevens. Some of these gentlemen made large advances towards the house, which with the lot they hold in trust for the church, until the debts are discharged, then they are to give a deed of it to the body for whom it was built. This house is built of brick 40 feet by 48, three stories high. The lower story is fitted up for a school room, for coloured children, and has been occupied for that purpose from the time it was finished. The instructor is Prince Saunders, a man of color of education; his school generally consists of about 40 scholars. The two upper stories are well finished with pews, pulpit, galleries, etc., the lot is small, and that with the house cost 8,000 dollars. Debts of considerable amount have been upon this establishment till lately, but by Mr. Paul's collections they are now nearly all discharged.

Mr. Paul, the pastor of this flock, was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1773; he was sent into the ministry by the church in Limerick, Maine, at the age of 28; he has preached successfully in various places both before and after he was settled in Boston.

Notwithstanding our brethren in Boston were so severely persecuted at first yet the storm was soon over, and they lived in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights, while their brethren, in different parts of the country, were fleeced, imprisoned, and distressed in various ways. The reason that this difference was, that

in this town all monies for religious purposes are collected by a tax on the pews, and not on the estates of the worshippers. This custom has prevailed from early times, and Mr. Backus assures us, that no one of the Baptist persuasion has been obliged to pay any money to the Congregationalists since about 1690.

From the First Church in Boston have originated, First, The church at Kittery, in the District of Maine, in 1682, as has been related in the account of that District. Second, The Second Church in this town. Third, Most of the church in Charlestown, which was formed in 1801. Other churches around have probably received a part of their members from this, but I have not received sufficient information on this point to make any authentic statements.

Charlestown Church was embodied in 1801 of twenty members, most of whom were dismissed from the church then under the care of Dr. Stillman. The same day the church was organized, a very commodious house which had just been finished was opened for public worship. Dr. Stillman preached on the occasion from, Behold, holy good and pleasant it is, For brethren to dwell together in unity. At the close of his discourse, he made the following interesting address to the new formed church: "Dearly Beloved In Our Lord Jesus Christ

In the year 1665, the First Baptist Church in Boston, from which most of you have been dismissed, originated in this town. Today she sends you back at your own desire, in conjunction with our friends from the Second Baptist Church in Boston, to form a church where she began. But how great the difference between that period and this! Then the right of private judgment was denied; now all is candour, love and friendship. This event is surely providential: to human agency alone it cannot be ascribed. The churches you have left have dismissed you with all that christian affection, which has arisen from a long and pleasing acquaintance with you, and from your constant endeavor to behave as becomes the gospel: believing, at the same time, that this event will terminate in the better accommodation of yourselves and families, and the advancement of the interests of religion and morality. Go and prosper, and the Lord be with you."

The first pastor here was Mr. Thomas Waterman from England, now at Woburn, who tarried with them but a short time. In 1804 they obtained for their pastor Mr. William Collier, who still continues with them. Mr. Collier was born at Scituate a little below Boston in 1771; was educated at Brown University; sent into the ministry by the Second Church in Boston, and was for about four years pastor of the First Church in New York. The church under consideration moved on in harmony from the commencement of Mr. Collier's ministry until 1809, when a series of difficulties began respecting church order, etc. which issued in the division of the church and the founding a new one, of which we shall give some account when we come to speak of the churches which hold to Weekly Communion. [The reason assigned by the seceding party for their separation, was, that the church retained in her bosom a number of members who held doctrinal errors of different kinds. The leaders of the church acknowledge that they were then infested with errors, but they also contend that they had previously commenced a course of discipline, which after some interruptions was carried through, and those erroneous members who could not be reclaimed were excluded, so that they are now united in the faith and fellowship of the gospel.]

At the time of this division a question arose respecting the meeting house. This had been built by an association of gentlemen of the Baptist persuasion previous to the founding of the church. It is fifty feet by seventy-five, with a tower, cupola, bell, etc. and cost upwards of 11,000 dollars. It was expected the pews would pay the expense of it. The fee of it was in Mr. Oliver Holden, who gave the lot, was treasurer to the association, by whom it was built, and had made large advances towards its erection. No deed had been conveyed either to the original undertakers or the church, and matters were left in a loose way, until the division took place. The church, desirous of retaining the house for their use, inquired of Mr. Holden the lowest terms on which he would give them a deed which were not such as they saw fit to comply with. They next proposed to relinquish all their right in the house, provided he would exonerate them from all debts upon it, which proposal he accepted, it being then expected that a minister would come on from the southward to occupy it. The church was thus rendered destitute of a house for worship. By Mr. Holden's permission they occupied his, until, by their own exertions, and the assistance of others, they erected the one which they now occupy, which is a commodious brick building, one story high, 70 feet by 47 1/2. The fee of it is in the church, where it ever ought to be. Mr. Holden and his associates meet in a school house, and thus, by their going out, one after another, the great house is left alone.

Respecting the branches of the Second Church in Boston, we have already observed, that during the ministry of Mr. Bound additions were made to it from Hull, Newton, Needham, Medfield, Chelmsford, Lynn, etc. In most of these places churches afterwards arose, and these members doubtless laid the foundations for them. In Chelmsford a church was formed in 1771, and Elisha Rich, who afterwards went to Vermont, was its first pastor. After him was Samuel Fletcher and Abishai Crossman, who were only sojourners, and soon went to other places. In 1792, John Peckens was settled among them, and yet remains in the pastoral office. The church in Medfield was formed in 1776, and Thomas Gait was its pastor ten years. After him they were a long time destitute, but have lately settled among them, much to their satisfaction, a young man by the name of William Gammell, from the First Church in Boston. The church in Newton, only nine miles from Boston, was formed in 1780, partly of members from the Second Church, and partly from the remains of two Separate churches, one of Newton and the other of Brookline. Mr. Caleb Blood, now of Portland, Maine, became its pastor the year after it was formed, and continued in that office about seven years, when he went to Shaftsbury, in Vermont. In 1788, Joseph Grafton was settled among them, and still continues their worthy and much respected pastor. Mr. Grafton was born in Newport, Rhode Island, June 9, 1757. Under his ministry in this place a number of precious revivals have been experienced, and the church has been built up to a large and respectable body.

In Cambridge, adjoining Boston, there was a Baptist church as early as 1751, but it seems never to have flourished much, and after experiencing a number of painful vicissitudes, it was broken up, and the members scattered in different ways. In 1781, a new church arose of members in Cambridge, and the adjoining towns of Woburn and Lexington. The seat of the church has since been transferred to Woburn, and it is now supplied by the labours of Mr. Thomas Waterman, from England.

Haverhill. -- This town is on the Merrimack River, thirty miles north of Boston. The Baptist church here was founded in troublesome times, under the ministry of its late renowned pastor, Hezekiah Smith, D. D.

In the New Light Stir in Whitefield's time, a small society of Separates was formed in Haverhill, which, however, did not continue long; but the savour of this New Light spirit probably remained after the society was broken up. Sometime after this, one of the parish ministers of the town became obnoxious to his people; controversies and councils ensued, and in the end he was shut out of his meeting house, and dismissed from his office, and the parish remained destitute of a preacher, until **MR. SMITH**, who was then travelling as an itinerant through New England, paid them a visit, and preached among them so much to their acceptance, that they invited him to tarry and supply them awhile. This was in the summer of 1764. He had calculated on returning to New Jersey the ensuing autumn; but finding his labors blessed, he consented to remain and labor for the present in this vacant parish. He had been treated with respect by the Pedobaptist ministers around, and some of them had invited him to preach in their pulpits; but as soon as he was stationed in one of their folds, which their quarrels had made vacant, they dismissed their civilities, and exerted all their influence against him. They doubtless feared the prevalence of Baptist principles in this Pedobaptist flock, and that not without just grounds; for in May, 1765, a Baptist Church was founded in the center of the town, Mr. Smith became its pastor, and continued in the successful and dignified discharge of that office forty years. A number of the first members of this church and congregation were, for a while, harassed with sheriffs and parish rates; but their oppressors, finding them not easy of management, were induced soon to let them alone. As no very remarkable occurrences appear to have transpired in the progress of this church, we shall confine our attention principally to the history of its founder and late distinguished pastor.

Mr. Smith was born on Long Island, in the State of New York, April 21, 1737. He was a happy instance of early piety, as appears by his making a public profession of religion before he was nineteen years of age. He was educated at Princeton College, New Jersey, that distinguished seminary of illustrious men, where he graduated in 1762. He was a companion of Dr. Manning from early years, and during the President's life, though stationed seventy miles apart, they were generally called together on all important occasions, which regarded the Baptist interest. They were both taught the rudiments of science at Mr. Eaton's Academy at Hopewell, and they were also classmates in College. Mr. Smith, soon after he began to preach, took a journey to the southward, in which he was gone over a year; he went as far as Georgia, preached much in South Carolina, was ordained, and harboured a while at a place then called Cashaway, now Mount Pleasant, on the Pedee River, in that State, and in different places made collections of considerable amount for the College, which his friend Manning was about establishing in Rhode Island. His beginning at

Haverhill has already been mentioned. At first he was treated here with much abuse by a set of outrageous zealots, who equalled the rude Virginians in their mode of defending their established worship. **The most scandalous reports were circulated against his character; and in addition to these, he was personally insulted, and his life endangered.** A beetle was cast at him one evening as he was walking the street, which he took up and carried to his lodging. After he was in bed, a stone was thrown through his window, and struck near his head, of sufficient size to have proved fatal had it hit him. His horse was disfigured in the same way that many other Baptist ministers' horses have been, and a paper put on the door of the house where he lodged, which threatened him with worse treatment if he did not depart. He was once assaulted at a private house in Bradford, where he had appointed to preach, by a sheriff and his gang. As he got up to speak, the chair on which he leaned was snatched away, and much tumult ensued; but the rioters shortly withdrew, and he proceeded in his discourse. Some of them, however, laid wait for him on his return home; but he, without knowing their cruel design, providentially tarried till the coldness of the air forced them from their stand. These were some of the opposing measures which at first attended this intruder upon parish lines. But such was his undaunted courage, his patient forbearance, and powerful eloquence, that his impotent adversaries were soon put to shame, and he arose to pre-eminent esteem among all around him. He made frequent excursions in the neighboring towns, and a number of churches arose mostly by his means. He also often journeyed in his active days considerable distances around in New Hampshire, Maine, and other places, and a large circle of his most cordial friends, and many of the seals of his ministry, are to be found in almost every part of the surrounding country. As he advanced in years, his labors were mostly confined to his own congregation. During most of the revolutionary war he served as a chaplain in the American army, where his dignified and exemplary deportment gained him the confidence and esteem of both officers and soldiers. Like Mr. Gano, often did he expose his own life to danger in the field of battle, while animating the soldiers and soothing the sorrows of the wounded and dying.

The preceding sketches of the life of Dr. Smith have been selected mostly from Backus' History, and from a brief memoir in the *Baptist Magazine*. The following description, etc. was drawn by Dr. Baldwin, to whom we are also indebted for what has been selected from the Magazine. "As a preacher Dr. Smith was equalled by few. His subjects were well chosen, and always evangelical. His voice was strong and commanding, and his manner solemn and impressive. He was often led to pour the balm of consolation into the wounded conscience but the general tenor of his preaching was calculated to arouse the careless and secure. In stature, Dr. Smith was considerably above the middling size, being about six feet in height, and well proportioned. His countenance, though open and pleasant, was peculiarly solemn and majestic. In his deportment, he was mild, dignified and grave, equally distant from priestly hauteur, and superstitious reserve. He never thought religion incompatible with real politeness; hence the gentleman, the scholar and the christian were happily blended in his character. And such was the urbanity of his manners, that many who differed from him in his religious opinions, honored and respected him as a gentleman and companion. While the wicked were awed by his presence, it was impossible for a good man to be in his company, without being pleased and edified. In a word, he lived beloved and respected, and died greatly lamented."

Dr. Smith was one of the fellows of Brown University, and was, through life, a zealous promoter of that institution. Dr. Messer, who now presides over it, was brought up under his ministry.

Successor to Dr. Smith is Mr. William Batchelder, who was born in Boston, 1769; commenced his ministry in Deerfield, New Hampshire, but removed hither from Berwick, in the District of Maine. Under his ministry the church has had large additions, and now contains about three hundred members.

As we proceed eastward from Boston, we find the churches of Malden, Reading, Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, Danvers, Ipswich, Newburyport, etc. of only a part of which some brief sketches can be given.

Salem. -- This town lies about thirteen miles eastward of Boston. In it Roger Williams began his Anabaptistical career about 1635; but very few of his sentiments have been found here from the time of his banishment until within a few years past. The Salem church is yet in its infancy, but it has arisen to a distinguished rank among her sister communities, and originated in the following manner: In the winter of 1803-4, a Baptist meeting was set up in a small private house by eight or ten professors of the denomination who belonged to a number of the neighbouring churches. They conducted the meeting mostly in a social manner, but procured preachers to come among them as often as convenient. Perceiving a disposition in many to attend their worship, they often lamented that their meeting place was not more

commodious. The matter lay so heavily upon their minds, that they soon held a special prayer meeting, to make known their wants unto God. And their fervent supplications were answered in a most remarkable manner; in two weeks from this time, the following gentlemen, namely Captain Edward Russel, and Michael Webb, Esq. came forward and offered to erect for them a place of worship. This proposition was as grateful as it was unexpected. By these gentlemen a one-story wooden building, fifty-five feet by thirty-six, was set forward, and was so far finished, that by the last of April, 1804, the first sermon was preached in it by Mr. Lucius Bolles, who was at that time studying with Dr. Stillman of Boston, and laboring with him as an assistant. Spiritual as well as temporal blessings were poured upon this little band, and the number of baptized believers increased so much, that on the 9th of January, 1805, they were embodied into a church, and the same day Mr. Bolles was ordained their pastor. Since that time they have enjoyed many refreshing seasons, and have advanced rapidly to a large and flourishing community. Their congregation increased so fast, that the house, with which Providence had so remarkably furnished them, soon became too small for their convenience. They therefore soon began a more spacious one, which was opened for worship, January, 1806. This is a very neat, commodious brick building, seventy-two feet by sixty-two. It is built on a lot of 100 feet by 250, and cost 16,000 dollars. [This lot extends to the tide water, which furnishes a delightful place for baptizing, immediately back of the meeting house. The lot is 250 feet to high water mark, probably 500 or 600 to low water.] Their former house is converted into a vestry. This latter spacious building is well filled with worshippers, and the church has increased to upwards of 500. One hundred and thirty were added to them in about eight months, in the year 1809.

This infant church and congregation have often excited the astonishment and gratitude of surrounding older communities, by their spirited exertions and surprising acts of munificence in promoting the cause of Zion. They, from their beginning, began to display a liberality worthy of imitation, and in one year, very lately, they contributed for charitable and missionary purposes about twelve hundred dollars.

Mr. Bolles was born in Ashford, Connecticut, in 1779. He was educated at Brown University, and was, for about three years previous to his settlement here, a pupil and assistant to Dr. Stillman.

Most of the members of the Marblehead church were dismissed from Salem. This body is only four miles distant; its pastor, Mr. Ferdinand Ellis, is a graduate of Brown University; was formerly a tutor in that institution, and a minister of the Pedobaptist persuasion.

Beverly. -- This town is connected to Salem by a bridge fifteen hundred feet in length. The church in it is of recent origin, and was formed in 1801, of nineteen members. Joshua Young was its pastor about two years. After him was Elisha Williams, under whose ministry they have enjoyed two very considerable revivals. In the first about sixty were added to their number; in the second between forty and fifty. Upwards of a hundred and sixty were added to the church while under his care. But notwithstanding these successes of this worthy pastor, some members raised a difficulty against him, and he has been dismissed from office, but still resides in the town.

Mr. Williams is a son of the late Dr. Williams, a Pedobaptist minister of East Hartford, Connecticut; he was educated at Yale College, New Haven, began to preach at Livermore, in the District of Maine, was for some years pastor of the church in Brunswick, in that District; and removed from that place to Beverly, in 1805.

Danvers. -- This town also joins to Salem. The church here was formed in 1793; Morgan Edwards would call it a grand-daughter of Haverhill, as it came out of the church at Rowley, which was a branch of that body. Danvers is distinguished for giving birth to James Froster, D. D. who died pastor of the first church in New York. Mr. Jeremiah Chaplin, who now officiates here, is a native of the place, and was for a short time pastor of the same church in New York.

Newburyport. -- In 1805, a church was formed in this town, (which lies upwards of thirty miles northeast of Boston) of only nineteen members. Mr. Joshua Chase, one of their number, was called to the ministry, and preached among them a short time, when he removed to the District of Maine. Not long after his removal, the church obtained for its pastor, Mr. John Peak, who had preached in divers places in New England, but who removed hither from Barnstable on Cape Cod. Soon after his settlement, this little body, mostly by the assistance of others, erected a large brick building, 70 feet by 60, which cost upwards of

sixteen thousand dollars. Thus they were put in possession of a costly commodious building, which, however, they occupied under some peculiar embarrassments. The pewholders were to govern the house and elect their teacher; and at a certain time, the Baptists came within one vote of being turned out of it, and having it applied to another denomination. But all their prospects and embarrassments, all the benevolent designs of their friends abroad, and of spectators at home, were suddenly closed by a destructive fire in 1811, in which this stately edifice was consumed. As it was detached from other buildings, it was, at the commencement of the fire, made a place of deposit for furniture, goods, etc. But the flames spread so rapidly, and soon became so vehement, that it was enveloped by them, and every combustible part of it was reduced to ashes. After this, Mr. Peak traveled as far as Philadelphia and Baltimore, and in various places collected sufficient sums to erect for them a neat, commodious, brick house, which, if not so splendid as their former one, is held by a more substantial and consistent tenure, and occupied without the fear of molestation.

BOSTON ASSOCIATION

This Association was formed in 1812 by a division of the Warren. That body had become so numerous and extensive, that but few churches could conveniently provide for the large assemblies which convened on its interesting anniversaries. A division was therefore thought necessary, and was amicably agreed upon in 1811. The line was to run from Boston westward as far as the Association extended; those churches, which were near this line on either side, were considered at their option to fall in with either the new or old Association, as best suited their convenience. The general table will exhibit a view of the churches in each body.

As this Association has been formed so lately, its movements do not furnish articles for an historical narrative; but it ought to be observed, that a considerable number of its churches and ministers have long been among the main pillars and active promoters of the respectable body from which it proceeded.

We shall now turn our attention to the southern part of this First Division, in which it will be perceived most of the churches south of Boston are included.

First Church in Swansea. -- This is the oldest church in Massachusetts, and was the fourth which was formed in America. **It is dated in 1663; but it was begun about 13 years before by Obadiah Holmes and others.** The account of Mr. Holmes' persecution at Boston has already been related; some further information of his character will be given, when we come to Newport, in Rhode Island. He was for some years after he came to this country in the Pedobaptist connection, first at Salem, and then at Rehoboth, where one Samuel Newman was pastor. This Newman undertook a domineering course of discipline, different from what had been taught in the old Puritan school, and Holmes and some others withdrew from his church, and set up a meeting by themselves, about 1649. Soon after this they fell in with Baptist principles, and were baptized, it is supposed, by Mr. Clark of Newport, as they joined his church. Mr. Holmes became the leader of this little company, against whom Mr. Newman pronounced the sentence of excommunication, and stirred up the civil power to take them in hand. They were in the Plymouth colony, and before the court in that town Mr. Holmes and two of his associates were cited to appear, where they found four petitions had been lodged against them. One from Rehoboth signed by fifty-five persons; one from the church at Taunton, the adjoining town eastward; one from all the clergymen but two in the Plymouth colony; and a fourth from the meddling court at Boston, under their Secretary's hand, urging the Plymouth rulers speedily to suppress this growing schism. But the rulers of this colony appear to have been more mild and tolerant than those of Massachusetts, and probably did no more than they found absolutely necessary to keep the teasing clergy in humor. With all these stimulations to severity, they only charged them to desist from their practice, which was offensive to others, and Obadiah Holmes and Joseph Tory were bound the one for the other, in the sum of ten pounds, for their appearance at court. No imprisonment was inflicted and no other bonds or sureties were required. One of the company it seems promised to comply with their requisition, and was dismissed. This was in June, 1650. At the next October court the Grand Jury found a bill against them, and by their presentment we learn that the company consisted of John Hazel, Edward Smith and wife, Obadiah Holmes, Joseph Tory and wife, the wife of James Mann, and William Buell and wife. They were charged with the crime of continuing a meeting from house to house on the Lord's day, contrary to the order of court, etc. but no sentence appears on record against them. Not long after this Mr. Holmes removed to Newport, and became pastor of the old church

there, and a part of his company removed with him. But before his removal, that scene of suffering at Boston, which has already been related, was experienced.

In 1665, John Miles came over from Wales and began the church, which has continued to the present time. He had founded a Baptist church in Swansea, in his native country, in 1649, and was one of about two thousand ministers who were ejected from their places by the cruel Act of Uniformity in 1662. He brought to this country the records of the Swansea church in Wales, which, being in the Welsh language, can be of no use to the present generation; but large extracts were made from them by Mr. Backus, and sent over to Mr. Tommas of Leominster, England, the historian of the Welsh Baptists.

Some of Mr. Miles' company in Wales came over with him, and at the house of John Butterworth in Rehoboth, they, to the number of seven, united in a solemn covenant together. Their names were John Miles, elder, James Brown, Nicholas Tanner, Joseph Carpenter, John Butterworth, Eldad Kingsley, and Benjamin Alby.

This measure became offensive to the orthodox churches of the colony; the court was solicited to interpose its influence; and the members of this little church were fined five pounds each, for setting up a public meeting without the knowledge and approbation of the court, to the disturbance of the peace of the place; ordered to desist from their meeting for the space of a month, and advised to remove their meeting to some other place, where they might not prejudice any other church, etc. Rehoboth, at this time, included nearly all the present county of Bristol. In what part of this large township this church was formed, I do not find; but not long after, its seat was removed to near Kelly's bridge, at the upper end of Warren, on a neck of land, which is now in the township of Barrington, where their first meeting house was built. Afterwards its seat was removed to the place where its present meeting house stands, which is only three miles from Warren, and about ten from Providence. In 1667, the Plymouth court, instead of passing the sentence of banishment against this little company of Baptists, as the men of Boston had done against Thomas Gould and his associates, made them an ample grant of Wannamoisett, which they called Swansea. It then included the extensive territory, which has since been divided into the towns of Swansea, Warren, and Barrington. Barrington and Warren, now in Rhode Island, were then claimed by the Plymouth colony, and afterwards by the Massachusetts government until 1741. What is now the town of Swansea became the residence of the Baptists; a second church arose in it in 1693, and no church of the Pedobaptists has ever been established here to perplex and fleece them. Some of their members, who resided in other towns around, were at times harassed with ministerial taxes; but their sufferings of this kind were trifling, compared with what their brethren in other places endured. Besides the constituent members of this church, there were families by the name of Luther, Cole, Bowen, Wheaton, Martin, Barnes, Thurber, Bosworth, Mason, Child, etc. among the early planters of Swansea, whose posterity are still numerous in the surrounding country.

Mr. Miles continued pastor of this church until his death, which happened in 1683. What few sketches have been preserved of his life go to show that he bore an excellent character, and was eminently useful in his day. He lived near a bridge, which still bears his name, but a small distance from the present meeting house. He labored frequently with his brethren in Boston, in the time of their sufferings, and at one time there was a proposition for his becoming their pastor, which was not, however, carried into effect. We are told that being once brought before the magistrates for preaching, he requested a Bible, and opened to these words in Job, But ye should say, Why persecute him? seeing the root of the matter is found in me; which, having read, he sat down; and such an effect had the sword of the Spirit, that he was afterwards treated with moderation, if not with kindness. All I can learn of his posterity is, that a son went back to England, and a grandson of his was an Episcopal minister in Boston, (Massachusetts) in 1724.

Next to Mr. Miles was Samuel Luther, who was ordained here in 1685, by the assistance of Elders Hull and Emblen of Boston. He was much esteemed, both at home and abroad, until his death in 1717. His posterity are numerous in these parts, and many of them are of this and the neighboring churches.

After him was Ephraim Wheaton, who had been his colleague thirteen years. He lived in the bounds of Rehoboth, and faithfully discharged the pastoral duties of this church until he died in 1734, aged 75. His posterity are numerous in these parts, in Providence and other places. His ministry in Swansea was attended with good success; in five years from 1718, he baptized and received into his church fifty

members. That was, in those days, a remarkable circumstance, of which he wrote an account to Mr. Hollis of London, who sent him a letter of gratulation on his ministerial success, with a present of books.

Samuel Maxwell was ordained a colleague pastor with Mr. Wheaton in 1733; but five years after he became a Sabbatarian, and was dismissed from his office. He was esteemed a pious man, and lived to a good old age, but does not appear to have had much success in the ministry.

After him was Benjamin Herrington from the Narraganset country. He had a crowded audience for a few years; but being accused of the sin of uncleanness, which charge he never cleared up, he went off to Canterbury, in Connecticut, where he preached to a few people, and lived in obscurity to old age.

In 1751, Jabez Wood of Middleborough became the pastor of this church, in which office he continued without much success about thirty years, when he was dismissed and removed to Vermont, where he died in 1794. He was a grandson of Thomas Nelson, who then belonged to this church, whose history will be related when we come to Middleborough.

Next to Mr. Wood was Charles Thompson, one of the first graduates of the Institution, which has since taken the name of Brown University. As the necessary materials for the history of this valuable man are not now at hand, we shall defer his biography till we come to Warren, Rhode Island, where he began his pastoral labors.

After he removed from Swansea, the church was, for some years, under the care of Mr. Samuel Northup, a native of North Kingston, Rhode Island, who died lately in the care of a church in Rehoboth.

The present pastor of this body is the aged and respectable Mr. Abner Lewis, who has preached in different places, but removed hither from Harwich in Cape Cod.

Second Church in Swansea. -- This church was begun by some members from Providence and other places, who settled to the eastward of the old church, and set up a meeting by themselves, which their gifted brethren carried on until the church was formed, and Thomas Barnes, one of their number, was ordained their pastor in 1693. This office he filled with respect till his death, which happened in 1706. One of the leaders of this church was Samuel Mason, who was a soldier in Cromwell's army, but came over to America on the restoration of Charles II. He settled in Rehoboth, where, and in the adjoining towns, and also in remoter places, his posterity is very numerous. His sons were Noah, Samson, James, John, Samuel, Joseph, Isaac, Peletiah, and Benjamin. James and John went to Boston, but the remaining six lived in Rehoboth and Swansea, until the youngest of them was seventy years of age. Isaac was ordained a Deacon in the church at the same time that Mr. Barnes became its pastor, and continued in the faithful discharge of that office until his death in 1742. Joseph, another of the brothers, was ordained a pastor of this body in 1709, and six years after John Pierce was ordained his colleague. These two elders ministered to this church, as long as they were capable of ministerial service, and both of them lived to about the age of ninety. Mr. Pierce was the grandfather of Mr. Joseph Cornell, late pastor of the second church in Providence. He began preaching among a few Baptists in Scituate, where President Dunster spent his last days; but being persecuted for worshipping God in his own house, he with others of the company removed to Swansea about 1711.

Next to these venerable elders were in succession three by the name of Mason, grandchildren on the father's side of the famous Samson Mason, and on the mother's, of John Russell once pastor of the old church in Boston. Job was ordained in 1738, Russell in 1752, and John in 1788. The last of them died but a short time since. They were all highly esteemed for their piety and usefulness. Next to them was Elder Benjamin Mason; but whether he was a brother of his predecessors, I have not learnt. The church is now under the care of Mr. Philip Slade; it abounds with members; but in point of doctrine and discipline, it has probably seen better days. From this church have proceeded a considerable number of ministers, who have removed to other parts, among whom are Nathan Masons, who went to Nova-Scotia, as is related in the history of that Province; Joseph Cornell, whose name has just been mentioned; Nathaniel Cole, now of Plainfield, Connecticut; and a number of others, whose names and station cannot be accurately ascertained.

This church was founded on what some of the Rhode Island brethren call the Six Principle plan, as stated in Hebrews 6:1,2, and made the laying-on-of hands on every baptized member a term of communion; they also opposed the practice of singing in public worship, which was not introduced until after the year 1780, almost a hundred years from their beginning. The laying-on-of-hands they still strenuously hold, and belong to the Rhode Island Yearly Meeting. They have a commodious place of worship a few miles from the old church.

Rehoboth. This township, before its late division, was not far from twelve miles square. [A short time since, this township was divided into two, and the new one was called Seekhonk, after the name of a very large singular plain, which is within three or four miles of Providence, and on which, it appears by ancient records, Obadiah Holmes and his little company of Baptists, set up their meeting in 1649. This was but about four miles from the village of Pawtucket, a part of which was formerly in Rehoboth, but is now in Seekhonk.] For a number of miles on its western side, it joins the State of Rhode Island, and is separated from Providence only by the Pawtucket River. It is probable there have been Baptists in this town from about 1650, when Obadiah Holmes separated from the parish worship, but no church was gathered in it until 1732, when one arose near its southeast corner under the ministry of Mr. John Comer, of whom more will be said when we come to Newport. By the year 1794, no less than seven Baptist churches had been formed in Rehoboth, most of them were small, and hardly any two of them were united in their views of doctrine and discipline. Elhanan Winchester, who afterwards distinguished himself by the propagation of the doctrine of Universal Restoration, was, for a few years, pastor of one of them. The youngest of these churches is that at the lower end of the great Seekhonk plain, within about three miles of Providence, which is supplied by Mr. John Pitman of that town.

Rehoboth has been a fruitful nursery of Baptists for many years, and from it multitudes have emigrated to almost every part of New England.

Middleborough. -- The first church in this town was formed in 1756; some account of its origin and progress may be found in the biography of Mr. Backus, who was, for about fifty years, its worthy pastor. After his death Mr. Ezra Kendall had the care of it a few years, and next to him was Mr. Samuel Abbot, a native of New Hampshire, who is its present pastor. Second church in Middleborough. -- This church arose in the following manner: Thomas Nelson, formerly a member of the first church in Swansea, removed in 1717 to the south part of Middleborough, to a place called Assawamset, his being the first English family which settled there. He set up a meeting at his house, and procured preachers to visit him as often as he could. One of whom was the late Ebenezer Hinds, who began to preach there statedly in 1753. By these means a little company of baptized believers was collected. The remains of a Pedobaptist church of the Separate order, at a place called the Beech Woods, embraced the Baptist principles after the death of their pastor, Mr. James Mead, and in 1757, the church under consideration was formed, and Mr. Hinds soon after became its pastor. Thomas Nelson, who must be considered the father of this church, died at the age of eighty, a short time before it was founded. His widow lived to the age of a hundred and five years and seven months, and died in 1780. She had living of her posterity at her death, as near as could be ascertained, three hundred, thirty and seven. Of her grandsons, William, Samuel, and Ebenezer Nelson, became Baptist ministers. Two of them are yet living; one in this town, and the other at Reading near Boston. Among her great-grandchildren are Stephen S. Nelson, of Mount Pleasant, New York, and Dr. Thomas Nelson, of Bristol, Rhode Island.

Mr. Hinds continued in office here not far from forty years, when he removed from them, and died, a short time since, on Cape Cod, at the age of about ninety. He retained his mental and bodily powers to a very singular degree. But two or three years previous to his death, he could mount his horse with the greatest ease, and ride off journies of a number of weeks, to preach among his old acquaintances, or rather in places where his old acquaintances had lived. Beside these churches two others have been formed in this town, which is very large in its boundaries, and from it great numbers of Baptists have emigrated to the District of Maine and other places. The four churches in it are all of respectable standing, and contain together upwards of four hundred members. Middleborough is in Plymouth county, and but a few miles from the place where the fathers of the Plymouth Colony landed in 1620. Around it a number of churches have been established, most of whom have, at different times, been distressed for religious or rather irreligious taxes for the support of the established clergy.

Kingston Church, only 4 miles from Plymouth, has suffered most severely by these vexatious things, while their sister communities all around have enjoyed an exemption from their tormenting and ruinous effects. This church was formed in 1805, under the ministry of Ezra Kendall, who was then pastor of the old church in Middleborough. **For about six years its members, together with those of the congregation, were annually harassed for the support of the parish preacher. A considerable number of them have had their property attached and sold at auction, to satisfy the outrageous and unrighteous demands of the Congregational party.** As late as 1810, one of their number was dragged from his house, bound fast, carried and lodged in Plymouth gaol, because he refused to pay his money for the support of a minister, which he did not wish to bear. The most grievous and wanton havoc was made of the property of the Kingston Baptists down to the year 1811, and from that period they have been spared, not for the want of a disposition in the Pedobaptist oppressors, but in consequence of a late law of the Massachusetts Legislature, which will be noticed at the close of this chapter. Such coercions have been practiced in the nineteenth century in a State whose Constitution declares, that no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping GOD, in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, etc. Samuel Glover is the present pastor of this body. He was sent into the ministry by the first church in Boston, and was educated at Brown University.

In **Harwich and Barnstable**, on Cape Cod, are two large respectable churches of considerable age, both of which have, in former times, been distressed in consequence of imposts for religious purposes. Both of these churches arose out of Pedobaptist ones of the Separate order. The one at Harwich was formed in 1757; that at Barnstable in 1771; they have had different preachers to labor among them, some of whom are dead and others are now settled in other places. The Harwich church is under the care of Mr. James Barnaby, a graduate of Brown University; the one at Barnstable has for its pastor Barnabas Bates, a native of England, who was educated a Roman Catholic; came to this country when fifteen years of age, and was sent into the ministry by the first church in Boston. There are yet remaining in the region under consideration a considerable number of churches, of which our limits will not permit us to give any particular account. Most of them belong to the Warren Association, where their names, numbers, and pastors will be exhibited.

SECOND DIVISION

This division comprehends a considerable part of this State, and extends from a line drawn north and south, between twenty and thirty miles west of Boston to its western side. It is bounded south by Rhode Island and Connecticut, west by New York, and north by Vermont and New Hampshire. In it are about sixty churches, which belong to the Boston, Warren, Sturbridge, Leyden, Westfield, Danbury and Shaftsbury Associations. Of these seven Associations, three only, namely Sturbridge, Leyden, and Westfield, are considered as having their seat in the region now under consideration; and of these we shall, in the first place, give some brief, account.

STURBRIDGE ASSOCIATION

This body was formed at the place from which it took its name in 1802, of churches which had belonged to the Warren Association. Nothing remarkable has occurred in its progress. Of a few of its most ancient churches we shall relate a few particulars.

Sturbridge. -- This church arose in the following manner: In 1747, a Separate church was formed in this town, and Mr. John Blunt was ordained its pastor. In about two years after, Baptist principles began to prevail amongst them, and Elder Moulton of Brimfield baptized 13 of their number, among whom was Daniel Fisk, one of their deacons. John Newell was their other deacon, and Henry Fisk and David Morse were their ruling elders. It was not long before these officers, with Mr. Blunt their pastor, and others to the number of upwards of sixty, were baptized, and in 1749 they began to travel in a Baptist church. For three years from that period, they were oppressed for parish taxes in a most grievous manner; five of them were imprisoned in Worcester gaol, and property of different kinds was taken from them to a large amount. **[Mr. Moulton, for preaching here, was seized by the constable, dragged out of the town and thrust into prison, as a stroller and vagabond.** In 1750 and 1751 the assessors took from Abraham Bloyce a spinning wheel; from deacon Fisk, five pewter plates and a cow; from John Pike, a cow; from Jonathan Perry, a saddle and steer; from Mr. Blunt, the pastor, a trammel, andirons, shovel, tongs, etc. and a heifer;

from John Streeter, a kettle, pothooks, etc. from Benjamin Robbins, a warming-pan, quart pot, broad-axe, saw, and other tools; from Henry Fisk, ruling elder, five pewter plates and a cow; from John Perry, a cow; from David Morse, ruling elder, a cow, in 1750 for a tax of 11 pounds. 4d, and in 1751 a yoke of oxen valued at not less than thirty-six dollars, for a tax of less than five dollars; from Phineas Collier, a kettle, two pewter plates, a tankard, and a young cow; from John Newel, deacon, all his pewter plates, a cow, and a flock of geese; John Draper's goods were distrained, but the kind is not mentioned. And besides this despoiling of goods, deacon Fisk, John Cory, Jeremiah Barstow; Josiah Perry, and John Draper, were imprisoned in Worcester gaol, twenty miles from their homes. This havock of property was made for the support of Reverend Caleb Rice, the minister of the town; and if that greedy divine received all these spoils of his neighbors, his house must have been well furnished, his nest well feathered; and his flocks and herds considerably increased. Edwards_ MS. Materials for a History of the church in Sturbridge.] Some of the principal brethren in Boston endeavored in vain to allay the vengeance of their oppressors; but the crime of dissenting was not to be forgiven, and the havock which followed, may be seen in the note below. The storm of persecution was furious, but not of long continuance. The Baptists soon arose to respect, and were let alone by the established party; and deacon Fisk, who was so cruelly treated at first, became afterwards a representative of the town, and died a member of the House of Assembly, in 1778. This church has had a number of teachers, but for some time past it has been under the care of Zenas L. Leonard, who was educated at Brown University, and who has, for a number of years, been a member of the State Legislature. Before the church at Sturbridge was formed, there had arisen three of our denomination in Sutton, Brimfield, and Leicester. The Sutton church was formed in 1735; the first promoters of it removed hither from Danvers, near Salem, in which town it was then included. One Peter Clarke, being minister of that place, preached so much upon infant baptism, that a number of his people adopted the opposite opinion, and because they did not relish the continual brow-beating of their minister, removed from the sound of his declamations, and began a settlement in this place. But no sooner were they settled here, than the Sutton minister began in Mr. Clarke's strain, and by this means a number of his people became convinced of Baptist sentiments; then the emigrants from Danvers and the converts in Sutton united in forming the church at the time above mentioned, and two years after, Benjamin Marsh and Thomas Green were ordained its pastors. This church was long since dissolved. Mr. Marsh continued its pastor about forty years, and died in 1775, at the age of ninety. He was a native of Salem, and was esteemed a godly and exemplary man, but his gifts were not great. There are, at present, three churches in this town, one belonging to the Warren Association, one to the Groton Conference, and the other to the Association whose history we now have in view. This last church was formed in 1768, partly out of the remains of a Congregational, Separate one, which was gathered in 1751, which had been previously broken up and scattered. Its present pastor is Samuel Waters who is a native of the place.

In 1788, the old church in Sutton was divided by mutual agreement, and the one at Leicester was formed, of which Thomas Green became pastor. He was a native of Malden near Boston, but was an early settler in Leicester. He was not only a useful minister, but a skilled physician; and being often called abroad both to preach and practice in his medical profession, he disseminated his principles throughout a wide circle around, and his church became very extensive. After spending a life of eminent usefulness, he finished his course in 1773, aged 75. The late John Green, M.D. of Worcester, was a son of this eminent minister, whose son, Dr. Thomas Green, was many years pastor of the church in North Yarmouth, Maine. His successor was Benjamin Foster, afterwards pastor of the first church in New York. Next to him was Isaac Beals, who is now in Vermont. Since his removal they have had Nathan Dana and Peter Rogers, but now are destitute of a pastor.

The Brimfield church was gathered in 1736, and a few years after, Ebenezer Moulton was ordained its pastor, in which office he continued until 1763. He then went to Nova-Scotia, where he continued about fifteen years, and then came back and died among his old people in 1785. After him this church had two pastors from Middleborough; the first was James Mellen, who died in 1769 the second was Elijah Codding, who is still with them.

In the shire town of Worcester, the Baptists have never made much progress until within a short time past. But now they have a flourishing church there which was raised amidst much opposition in 1812. It belongs to the Warren Association, and is under the care of Mr. William Bentley, a native of Boston, who came out from the first church in that town. A number of churches belonging to the Sturbridge Association are in the northeast corner of Connecticut; some account of them will be given, when we come to that State.

LEYDEN ASSOCIATION

This body was formed in Leyden, in 1763, of thirteen churches, which are situated at no great distance from the Connecticut River, in the three States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Leyden is about thirty miles above North Hampton, and upwards of a hundred northwest of Boston. The church here was formed in 1780, and Joseph Green, from Norwich, Connecticut, became its pastor. Most of the settlers of the town and the constituents of this church came from Rhode Island and the adjoining parts of Connecticut. As there was no church of the established order in the place, they were not troubled with ministerial taxes; but a considerable number of churches throughout this region, in the counties of Hampshire and Berkshire, were, for a time, unmercifully harassed with those scourges to dissenters.

The Ashfield church formerly belonged to the Warren Association, but for some reason it does not now associate with any connection. It was formed in 1761, and Ebenezer Smith became its pastor. **For a number of years this church and its adherents were persecuted with great severity by the predominant party.** In 1770, about four hundred acres of their land were disposed of at public sale by the furious parish tax-gatherers. For a demand of less than four dollars, Mr. Smith was dispossessed of ten acres of his home lot. From his father was taken twenty acres, containing his orchard and burying ground, which was struck off to one Wells for less than seven dollars. This coveting of fields, and taking them by force, goes beyond any thing we read of in England. There is an account of the pope taking land in a similar way from the Waldenses in France; but in Protestant countries no example of the kind appears. In these distressing circumstances the Baptists petitioned the Boston Assembly for relief; a number of fair promises were made, but no assistance was afforded them, until they, by the assistance of Governor Hutchinson, addressed the king and council, by whom the law, which sanctioned their oppressions, was disannulled, and their lands were ordered to be restored. The business was not finally settled until 1774, by which time the minister, who had been the occasion of all this oppression, became obnoxious to his own people, and went off with the avails of the estate which had been settled upon him. [Backus, vol. i. p. 248, 261.]

The church in Montague and Leverett was formed in 1765. They gave in certificates to the parish assessors according to law; but these certificates were no better than American protections; and they were, notwithstanding, taxed and distressed. In a short time Samuel Harvey had a cow and calf and yoke of oxen taken from him for the support of the parish minister; and for the same purpose a cow was taken from a Mr. Sawyer. Major Richard Montague was carried six miles towards the prison, and kept all night; in the morning the officer released him, and went back and took out of his pen a large valuable animal of that species into which the devil once entered, in the country of the Gergesenes. Major Montague was a principal leader in this church, and his son Elijah has for many years been its pastor.

In a similar way have many other churches in this vicinity been robbed of their property, for the support of an act of clergy, who were well contented to fatten on the spoils of their neighbors. There is, however, one honourable exception to this general remark. A Mr. Cook of Bernardston was settled with a salary of 75 pounds a year; at the time of his settlement he gave a written instrument, which was registered in the town book, binding himself to deduct that part of his salary, which fell to the share of the Baptists, which was annually about sixteen pounds.

WESTFIELD ASSOCIATION

This is a small body, which was formed of only six churches in 1811. In the town from which it received its name, which is about a hundred miles west of Boston, a church was formed in 1784. Adam Hamilton, a native of England, was for a time its pastor, and was highly esteemed in the Baptist connection wherever he preached; but on account of his misconduct he sometime since was rejected from their fellowship, and sank into disrepute. The church is now destitute of a pastor.

West Springfield. -- As early as 1727, some persons were baptized in this town by Mr. Elisha Callender, then pastor of the first church in Boston. Their names were John Leonard, Ebenezer Leonard, William Scott, Abel Leonard, and Thomas Lamb. These people set up a meeting, and, as often as they could, obtained Baptist ministers to come among them; and in 1740, they, with others who had joined them, were formed into a church, and Edward Upham became their pastor. He was born at Malden in 1709, and educated at Cambridge College, where he graduated in 1754. After ministering at Springfield about nine

years, he removed to Newport and became the successor of John Callender, the author of the Century Sermon. Here he remained about twenty years, when he went back to his old flock at Springfield, and continued his labors among them till he was turned of eighty, when a violent disorder confined him to his bed. After remaining in this condition about five years, he died in 1795, at the good old age of eighty-seven. Mr. Upham was one of the earliest and most zealous friends of Rhode Island College, of which he was an original Trustee and Fellow.

This church appears to have been once dissolved and formed anew, as it is now dated in 1789. Its present pastor is Jesse Wightman, a grandson of the founder of the Groton church in Connecticut. A second church has arisen in this town, whose pastor is Thomas Rand, who was educated at Brown University.

West Springfield is on the west side of Connecticut River, twenty-eight miles above Hartford. Opposite is Springfield, in which a small church was formed in 1811.

Chesterfield is the largest church in this association; it, was formed in 1780 of only ten members, which have now increased to about two hundred. This body, by giving annual certificates, has from its beginning escaped the rapacious hands of the sacred constables. Its first pastor was Ebenezer Vining; its present is Asa Todd, an elder of good repute, who was born in North Haven, Connecticut in 1756.

The Hinsdale church in this body has been much distressed even within the present century for taxes towards building a meeting house for the Congregational society.

On west of these churches, in the county of Berkshire, are eight belonging to the Shaftsbury Association. South of them are some connected with the Danbury Association in Connecticut. And interspersed among all of these are a considerable number of good repute, which for different reasons do not belong to any associate connection. As correct a view of them as can be obtained will be exhibited in the General Table.

A few sketches of the churches in Cheshire must close the history of this State. This town has been a distinguished nursery of Baptists for many years. Great numbers have been baptized in it, who have removed to other places; but there yet remain two churches, which, together, contain upwards of two hundred and fifty members.

In 1766, some men of Providence and Coventry in Rhode Island, purchased a large tract of land, near the head of Hoosack River, which was afterwards settled by people from that State, from Swansea, and other places near; the settlement was at first called New Providence. Afterwards a part of it was incorporated with the town of Adams, and probably some of it fell into other towns. In 1793, the town of Cheshire was incorporated out of part of Adams, Lanesborough, and a number of surrounding towns. These frequent subdivisions of townships has led to some confusion in this part of our narrative, as there is no one at hand to give explanations on the matter; but it is sufficient to observe that in this region have arisen a number of churches, which were begun by people mostly from Rhode Island, Swansea, and Rehoboth; the oldest of them are now called the first and second in Cheshire, and belong to the Shaftsbury Association. The first of these was, in its beginning, called Adams, and was begun by Peter Werden from Rhode Island, of whom a farther account will be given in the biographical department. The second was planted by **Nathan Mason** of Swansea, who previously founded a church in Nova Scotia, as has been stated in the history of that Province.

These two churches have passed through various changes, and have been favored with refreshing seasons of a remarkable kind. The first is, by the emigrations of its members to other parts, reduced to a small number, and is under the care of a young man by the name of Bartemus Braman. The other is still large, and has for its minister Mr. **John Leland**, whose name is well known throughout the United States. Mr. Mason was born in Swansea, 1726, and was baptized in the 24th year of his age, by Job Mason, then pastor of the second church in that town. In 1763 he, with a company of his brethren, went to Nova Scotia, where they tarried about eight years, when he came back and settled in this place, where he spent the remainder of his useful life. The company, which came back from Nova Scotia, consisted of twelve; they found here six more of their Swansea brethren, and these eighteen were formed into a church in 1771, and united with the Rhode Island Yearly Meeting. In ten years from that time they increased to about two

hundred members, which were scattered in many of the surrounding towns, and laid the foundations for some of the neighboring churches. Among the number added in this period was Mr. Joseph Cornell, late pastor of the second church in Providence, Rhode-Island. This church was founded on the Six Principle Plan, which lays peculiar stress upon the Laying-on-of-hands. But disputes upon this doctrine at length crept in among them, and finally arose so high, that in 1788 the church was divided. The greater part, among whom was Elder Mason, held that the Laying-on-of-hands ought not to be a bar of communion. Those, who held this doctrine, maintained a church a number of years, but it appears now to have become extinct.

Mr. Mason died a short time since in a good old age, and left behind a character fair and irreproachable. "He was," says Mr. Leland, "a man of peace and godliness, preaching seven days in a week by his life and conversation." Sometime previous to his death, Mr. Leland returned from Virginia, settled in Cheshire, and took a part with him in the ministry. Under his labors a revival commenced in 1799, which prevailed in such an astonishing manner, that from the first of September, 1799, to the first of April, 1800, two hundred and twenty were added to the church, which increased its number to three hundred and ninety-six. Since that time some have been added, but great numbers have removed from them to the western country.

Mr. Leland was born in Grafton, Worcester county, Massachusetts, 1754; at the age of twenty he was baptized by Mr. Noah Alden, joined the church in Bellingham, and not long after began to preach. In 1776, he went into Virginia, where he remained about fourteen years. Some account of his labors in that state will be given when we come to its history. In 1791, he returned to New England and settled in Cheshire, as has been related. Mr. Leland has made great and successful exertions for liberty of conscience, both in Virginia and New England. For the vindication of this important subject he published his *Virginia Chronicle*, *Jack Nips*, *Blow at the Root*, *Stroke at the Branches*, *Yankee Spy*, etc. His speech in the Massachusetts Assembly will be given in the Appendix.

Cheshire is famous for its excellent cheese, and in 1801, a number of farmers united their efforts, and made one of the astonishing weight of thirteen hundred pounds! [The author saw one in this town a few years after, which weighed fifteen hundred pounds. It was, if I am rightly informed, sold for a large sum, to be put into a Museum.] This was called the Mammoth Cheese; it was designed as a present to Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, and Mr. Leland was commissioned to conduct it to Washington. In the journey he was gone four months, in which time he preached seventy-four times, and multitudes everywhere flocked to hear the Mammoth priest. Mr. Leland is remarkable for his singularities, and also for his success in the ministry. In 1810, he had baptized eleven hundred and sixty-three persons, about seven hundred of them in Virginia. From this Cheshire church have proceeded, besides Mr. Cornell, Josiah Goddard, now of Conway, the compiler of a Hymn Book, which is well esteemed; Aaron Seamans, now of North Hampton, New York, and a number of other ministers. It was with this church that the late worthy Lemuel Covel was settled as an assistant to Mr. Leland a little before his death.

We have thus given a general view of the progress of our brethren in Massachusetts, and from the foregoing sketches it appears that their sufferings and successes have both been great.

We shall now give a brief account of the laws, which have operated against them, and also those by which they have been exempted from time to time.

In the writings of Dr. Cotton Mather we find the following correct statement: "**The reforming churches, flying from Rome, carried, some of them more and some of them less, all of them something of Rome with them, especially in that spirit of imposition and persecution, which too much cleaved to them all**" [Backus, vol. i. p. 63]. **This remarkable concession explains the whole subsequent conduct of the Massachusetts rulers.** They legislated by the advice and with the assistance of their ministers, who desired that their government might be considered a theocracy, and that the Lord would lead his people by the hand of Moses and Aaron. At first, none but church members were allowed to vote in the election of rulers, and as none could be admitted into their churches but by the ministers, they had, in effect, the keys of the state as well as the church in their hands. [Hannah Adams_ *History of New England*, p. 34, 35.] Thus, in the beginning of their government, church and state were united by the strongest ties; the ministers assisted in legislation, and the magistrate, in return, lent his aid in ecclesiastical affairs.

The Massachusetts people seem to have been ambitious from the first of erecting a peculiar government for themselves, in which no dissenter should be permitted to remain. They compared their Colony to the land of Canaan, the Congregational party were the chosen people of God, and all, who differed from them in opinion and practice, were like the seven nations of the Canaanites, who were to be driven out of the land which the Lord their God had given them. [According to Captain Johnson the seven nations or secretaries were Gortonists, Papists, Familists, Seekers, Antinomians, Anabaptists, and the Prelacy. Backus, vol. iii. p. 238.] At first their ministers were supported by the voluntary contributions of their flocks; but in 1638, a law was made, empowering the parish officers to distrain the due proportion from those who would not contribute in a voluntary way. This law was much opposed by some of their own party, and one Nathaniel Briscoe, of Watertown, wrote a book against it, for which he was fined ten pounds; and one John Stowers, for reading some of it before a company of his friends, was fined forty shillings. [Backus, vol. i. p. 100.] But notwithstanding the murmurs of some, this law prevailed, and has been the source of unspeakable trouble and damage to the Baptists and other dissenters in this commonwealth. We are informed, in 1657, the people of Ipswich settled a minister, and voted to give him a hundred pounds to build him a house, and taxed all the inhabitants to pay it. "This being a new thing, several persons would not comply with the scheme," and one, who had his pewter seized for the tax, prosecuted the collector, and recovered his furniture with cost and damages. The reason rendered by the judge for this decision, was just such as every advocate for liberty would give. [Backus, vol. i. p. 310, 311.] In these squabbles none but Pedobaptists were concerned; but the opposing efforts of a few soon gave way to the prevalence of an iniquitous and tyrannical custom, and for more than a hundred and fifty years past, all the towns and parishes throughout this commonwealth, with the exception of Boston and a few other places, have raised all monies for supporting their ministers, building their meeting houses, and for other religious purposes, by a general assessment upon all rateable poles of every description, and upon all taxable property, which happened to lie within the parish bounds. The taxing laws go upon the supposition that all are of the predominant party, and if any are exempted, it is not because it is their right, but in consequence of a special act of favor from the government. According to Mr. Backus, the first law of the Massachusetts Assembly to exempt any denomination from sacred taxes, was passed immediately after the great earthquake in 1727. [Backus, vol. ii. p. 85.] This was in favor of the Episcopalians. The next year a law was passed to exempt Anabaptists and Quakers, provided, that they usually attended the meetings of their respective societies, and lived within five miles of the place of meeting; otherwise their taxes must be paid. This law was to continue in force no longer than till May, 1733. And between the time of its passing and expiration, twenty-eight Baptists, two Quakers, and two Episcopalians, were imprisoned at Bristol by the constables of Rehoboth, for ministerial taxes. The pretext for this oppression was, that the law of 1727 was not to go into operation until the next year. But the Governor and Council decided the contrary. [Backus, vol. ii. p. 88.] As soon as this law expired, taxes were again imposed upon our brethren, and some were imprisoned; but by applying to the Legislature they were again exempted until 1740. Fresh troubles breaking out at the expiration of that term of grace, they were again obliged to beg for mercy, and obtained a respite of seven years more. After that an exempting law was passed for ten years, which brings us down to 1757. Then another one was passed, which lasted thirteen years, that is, until 1770; but so was it framed, that no tongue nor pen, says Mr. Backus, can fully describe all the evils that were practiced under it. Such was the precarious and ever failing tenure, by which the Baptists, Quakers, and others, held their liberty and preserved their horses, cows, swine, poultry, furniture, etc. from the destructive hands of ministerial collectors. The rulers in this government, instead of enacting a perpetual law for the exemption of dissenters in case they would give certificates as they did in Connecticut, chose rather to hold the rod continually over their heads, and keep them forever in uncertainty and fear.

In 1770, another act was passed, which appears to have continued until the State Constitution was formed. Soon after this period, the disputes came on which terminated in the American war, and until its close all parties were so much engaged in its struggles, that the business of parish taxes does not appear to have been prosecuted in a very rigorous manner. The exertions, which our brethren of this Commonwealth made to secure to themselves and descendants the enjoyment of religious freedom, under the new form of government, have already been in part related, and will be more fully brought to view in the biography of Mr. Backus.

All the exempting acts, which we have referred to, were qualified with requisitions of an humiliating nature, which some refused to comply with; most, however, to avoid greater evils, consented to make, what Mr. Leland calls, the Certificate Bow.

We have seen that the law of 1728 exempted only those who lived within five miles of the place of meeting. This limitation was afterwards left out, but it was still necessary that a long perplexing certificate should, upon oath or solemn affirmation, be annually presented to the county clerk, who must give it to the parish assessors, before any one could be excused from paying the sacred rates. This certificate was to be signed by "Meet persons in each respective society," and was to contain a list of all who professed themselves Anabaptists, etc. and usually attended their meetings. [Backus, vol. ii. p. 87.]

The law of 1752 [at this time they broke over their own law with particular reference to the Church in Sturbridge. Backus] enacted that certificates in future should be signed by the Baptist minister, and two principal members of the church; but it was, at the same time, furthermore enacted, that no minister or church should have power to give lawful certificates, until they should have obtained "From three other churches, in this or the neighboring provinces, a certificate from each respectively, that they esteemed such church to be of their denomination, and that they conscientiously believed them to be Anabaptists" [Backus, vol. ii. p. 193]. This was truly adding insult to injury, since it was well known that our brethren had never acknowledged the term Anabaptists as descriptive of their sentiments, but had always understood it as the language of either ignorance or malice. But now they were obliged to heap certificate upon certificate, and in the end to testify a conscientious belief of a point which they had ever contended was erroneous and false. It is difficult to conceive how any could obtain certificates under these detestable regulations: it is probable, however, they qualified the matter by saying, commonly called Anabaptists, etc.

The next law modified matters a little by requiring the certificates to say they conscientiously believed the persons in question to be of their persuasion, etc.

The law of 1770 enacted that certificates should be signed by three or more principal members of the church, and minister, if any there were. The word conscientious was retained, but the term church was exchanged for congregation, and Anabaptist for Antipedobaptist. By this law, and all former ones, certificates were to be annually procured. At the same time this law was passed, it was further enacted, that parishes might, if they pleased, vote the Baptists clear without any certificates. But it does not appear that any vote of this kind was ever passed.

These statements will give the Baptists in other parts, a view of the vexatious entanglements in which their brethren in this boasted asylum of liberty are continually involved.

When the State Constitution was adopted, the Baptists, and other dissenters, hoped for a full relief from their long scene of affliction on account of religious imposts. The Bill of Rights apparently secured to them the peaceable enjoyment of that religious freedom, which they had so long and ardently desired, and to the attainment of which, they had made every exertion, which prudence could dictate and diligence perform. This Bill declares that in this Commonwealth, "no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law." And that "no subject shall be hurt, molested or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience," etc. What more could any subject ask of his government? and we may further inquire, by what unaccountable process has this Bill of Rights been so often contradicted and violated? The only solution of this mysterious affair is, that the same Bill, (Article III.) declares that, "As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government essentially depend on piety, religion, morality, etc., the Legislature shall, from time to time, authorise and require the several towns, parishes, and precincts, etc. to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public protestant teachers of piety, religion, morality, etc." The way in which this provision was to be made was prescribed in an act of 1786, which empowers "The qualified voters of any parish or precinct, at every annual meeting, to grant such sum or sums of money as they shall judge necessary, for ministers meeting houses or other parish charges, to be assessed on the poles and property, within the same, as by law provided" [Laws of Massachusetts. vol. i. p. 327]. The Congregational denomination, it is true, is not named in this act, nor any other which regards the support of religious teachers, etc. The power was given to the majority of every parish, precinct, etc. and it was well known to the lawmakers, that the Congregationalists, with a very few exceptions, composed this majority, so that they without being named as such, became, in fact, the established party, and had without appearing to ask the favor, a control of all other sects put into their hands. If it should so happen that in any town, parish, etc. the Baptists should be a majority, they also had the power of

assessing taxes and collecting them by law. But this power they rather deprecate than desire; they do not thank any government to sanction among them a mode of procedure so contrary to all their notions of regulating religious affairs.

Thus we see that the Bill of Rights with all its strong assurances of impartiality, with all its expressions of paternal care, was counteracted by subsequent acts of the Legislature. The major party was put in possession of a religious establishment; the Congregationalists composed this majority, and of course conducted the business of parish taxes as they pleased; and all minorities were obliged to submit to their regulations. But there was still one avenue left for the escape of dissenters. The Bill of Rights declares, that "all monies paid by the subject, to the support of public worship, etc. shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of a public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends;" otherwise his money is forfeited to the use of the parish. The construction put upon this article was, that the money must be paid into the treasury, and then be drawn out by an order on the treasurer, etc. And in this way the business was conducted from the adoption of the State Constitution, until 1811, that is, about thirty years. The Baptists and all others, excepting the Quakers, must pay their proportion towards the support of religion, and then they might draw their money back again, if they could, for their own ministers. Those communities of the established order, _who were condescending upon the matter, paid over these monies without hesitation; but in many cases difficulties ensued, and the money, once deposited in the treasury, could not be drawn back without a legal process, and not always then. It would be tedious to go over the whole history of this perplexing economy; **it is sufficient to observe, that in a multitude of cases, the Baptists as well as others, were treated in a churlish, fraudulent, and abusive manner.** After all their precautions and attempts for justice, they were shuffled out of their rights, and obliged to sit down and console themselves for their losses as well as they could. Assessors, collectors, treasurers, judges, and jurors, were generally against them, and of course their attempts at redress were easily defeated.

In this posture the business of taxes for religious purposes remained, until the beginning of 1811, when an event took place, which awakened the fears and called forth the energies of the united body of dissenters. At the time referred to, the late Judge Parsons, then the Chief Justice of the State, in a trial of one of these cases respecting drawing back money, etc., decided, that no society, except those which were incorporated by law, could be entitled to the privilege. Immediately upon the news of this decision, a Circular Address, signed in behalf of others, by Dr. Baldwin of Boston, Mr. Williams of Beverly, and Mr. Bolles of Salem, was distributed through the State; accompanying it was the following petition to the Legislature:

"To the Honorable Senate, and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled, the Petition of the Subscribers, being of the religious denomination of Christians, called (Baptists, or as the case may be.) Humbly Sheweth

"THAT whereas it appears to have been the wise and equitable intention of the framers of the Constitution of this state, to secure to the citizens individually, the equal enjoyment of their religious rights and privileges; and to bar in the most effectual manner every attempt to introduce, or maintain a _subordination of any one sect or denomination of Christians to another._ And whereas it is also expressly declared in the third article of the Bill of Rights, which makes a part of the said Constitution, that _all monies paid by the subject to the support of the public worship and of the public teachers, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher, or teachers of his own religious sect, or denomination, provided there be any one whose religious instructions he attends._

"In conformity to the construction which has heretofore been given to this Article, many when taxed to the support of religious teachers of a different denomination, have applied to the monies thus collected, and required, that they should be paid over to the religious teacher of their own denomination, on whose ministrations they attended. In some instances, the money thus required, has been paid over to the religions teacher of their choice; but more frequently it has been detained, until recovered by a legal process, notwithstanding the plain provisions of the above article Your Honors_ petitioners beg leave further to state, that by the late decisions of the Supreme Bench, a new construction, as we conceive, has been given to the above article; limiting it wholly to incorporated religious Societies; so that no money can be claimed by the subject for the use of the religious teacher on whose instructions he attends, unless he be the teacher of an incorporated society. By the above construction, a great proportion of persons who regularly

worship in unincorporated societies, will be obliged to pay to the support of teachers with whom they disagree in principle, and from whose instructions they conscientiously dissent; and without any legal remedy whatever.

"In consequence of the foregoing construction, which we believe to be contrary to the intentions of the framers of the constitution, many worthy conscientious Christians will be subjected to a double proportion of ministerial taxes. Duty, honor, and gratitude, will oblige them to pay to the teacher on whose instructions they attend; and by the above construction of the laws, they will also be obliged to pay to the support of such as they do not, and cannot conscientiously hear.

"Your Honors_ petitioners beg leave further to observe, that to the unequal operation of the laws, or more especially to the above-mentioned construction of them, may (as we humbly conceive) be attributed, the unusual and increasing number of petitions to the General Court for acts of incorporation. To this mode of procedure, however, many have conscientious scruples; but even if they had not, it must be acknowledged as but a partial remedy for the evil of which we complain: while the state is subjected to a needless expense in granting acts of incorporation.

"IN ORDER, THEREFORE, more effectually to remedy the foregoing evils, and place your petitioners upon an equal footing of privileges with their fellow citizens, we pray your Honors to take this subject into your serious and wise consideration and cause the several existing laws respecting the worship of God, to be so revised and amended, that all denominations of christians may be exempt from being taxed to the support of religious teachers, excepting those on whose ministrations they voluntarily attend. Or otherways to grant such relief in the premises, as your Honors may deem proper; and your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray."

This petition was signed by many thousands of citizens of almost every denomination, for many of the Congregationalists went heartily into this measure. When the business came before the Assembly, it underwent a long and animated discussion; the Speech of Mr. John Leland, who accepted a seat in the Legislature for the purpose of aiding this measure, will be given in the Appendix. Other able speeches were made by different gentlemen, and particularly by Reverend Mr. Cannon, a Methodist minister from Nantucket. [See *A Blow at the Root of Aristocracy*, vol. i. p. 14, etc.]

In the end, a law was passed of the following import. That whenever any person shall become a member of any religious society, corporate or unincorporate, and shall produce a certificate of such membership to the clerk of the town where he dwells, signed by a committee of the society chosen for the purpose, such person shalt ever afterwards, so long as he collects such membership, be exempted from taxation for the support of public worship and public teachers of religion, in every other religious corporation whatsoever. This law was passed June, 1811. It afforded peculiar relief to the Baptists and other dissenters, but still neither party is altogether satisfied with it. The Congregationalists are afraid that they have given up too much, but the dissenters suppose they have not yet obtained what they claim as their just and indisputable right, namely a free exemption from all taxes and all certificates. They think it best, however, for the present, to shift along with what they have got, and obtain the rest when Providence shall open a door. The Connecticut rulers, notwithstanding all the approaches cast upon them for their ancient Blue Laws, have, long ago, done better for dissenters than Massachusetts has at this late period. There a dissenter may write his own certificate; here we see he must procure one from others.

A few remarks on civil incorporations, and a brief recapitulation shall close this long, perplexing narrative of law affairs. In Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and all the middle, southern and western States, churches and religious societies obtain acts of incorporation, merely for the purpose of managing and defending their property. No religious duties are imposed upon them in consequence of these acts, nor is there the least danger of any inconvenience arising from their being known in law as bodies politic and corporate. For these reasons they wonder why our brethren in this State should have any scruples about the business of incorporation. They ought to be informed that as the law of this Commonwealth now stands, every religious society, which becomes incorporated by civil law, is authorized, in case a major vote can be obtained, to assess whatever sums they please on the corporate body, and collect it by a course of law. This is one evil, which many fear from incorporations.

In the second place, every incorporated society, of whatever denomination, is bound by law, to be constantly provided with a preacher, (whether the Lord send them one or not) and in case they are without for the term of three months in any six, they are liable, for the first offense, to a fine of not more than sixty dollars, nor less than thirty; and for every after offense, their fine cannot be over a hundred dollars, nor less than sixty. The costs of prosecution they must also pay. The imposing of these fines is left at the discretion of the county court, and the avails of them are to be disposed of to the support of the public worship of God, etc. [Laws of Massachusetts, vol. ii. p. 931.] This is the second evil feared from incorporations. But it ought to be observed, that though these evils may arise to incorporate societies, yet there is, at present, no great danger of them.

But a still greater objection to incorporations in the minds of many of our brethren is, that they cannot persuade themselves but that it is blending law and gospel together. They have been so long harassed with this policy, that the very sound of law, in connection with the gospel, has become offensive to their ears, and awakens their strong suspicions and disgust. And much to their comfort, the law of 1811 has provided that all unincorporate religious societies shall have the power to manage and defend their property, to prosecute and sue for any right, etc. [Laws of Massachusetts, vol. i. New Series, p. 227.]

To recapitulate the foregoing sketches: We thus see, that our brethren have had a long scene of adversity and distress in this renowned land of freedom. All taxes for the support of government they have ever cheerfully paid, but those for religious purposes have been as obnoxious to them as the vapours of Babylon, and as ruinous as the locusts of Egypt. They have ever protested against them as unequal and unjust, as not authorized either by the original charter of the colony, by the tenure of their lands, by the State Constitution, or upon any other consideration. Their oppressions have been grievous, but the principle, from which they have proceeded, has ground them to the quick. Their oppressors have, however, held the reins, and led them as they chose. Laws made in their favor were often administered against them; the course of justice was prevented by the quibbles of lawyers and the connivance of courts; the interested clergy were always canting against them; and the petty parish officers always acted upon the principle that the priests must have their salaries, and they must collect them according to law; and finally, the important Bill of Rights, as construed by renowned statesmen, became a vague, evasive thing, which, like the Oracle of Delphi, gave answers susceptible of many different meanings.

We have happily arrived at an age, in which the spirit of imposition has lost much of its former force. Many of the prevailing party here, like the Episcopalians of Virginia, have just notions of religious liberty, and are willing all should enjoy it; **but we believe there is a large portion of the ancient leaven remaining, and dissenters need to be on their guard to prevent its operations.** [Most of this lengthy article has been compiled from Backus_ *History*, and though references are not always made, the reader may rest assured that all important statements are grounded on authorities which admit of no dispute.]

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

RHODE ISLAND

Now in the twelfth year of the reign of Charles the First King of Great Britain, and the dominions thereunto belonging, Haynes being Governor of the colony of Massachusetts, and Bradford of Plymouth, Wilson and Cotton being chief priests at Boston, Roger Williams, filled with the spirit of liberty and anabaptism, was banished from their presence and fled to the head of the Narraganset Bay, where he built a town for his persecuted brethren, and founded a State, which is now called Rhode-Island.

As this State was first settled by Baptists, and they have always been the prevailing denomination in it, it may be proper to give a more particular account of its origin and civil affairs, than we shall do of the other States. Rhode-Island is the smallest State in the Union, its greatest length being forty seven miles, its greatest breadth thirty seven, and containing only about thirteen hundred square miles. It is bounded north and east by Massachusetts, south by the Atlantic, and west by Connecticut. It is divided into five counties, viz. Providence, Kent, Washington, Newport, and Bristol; these counties are subdivided into thirty-one townships, and contained, in 1810, about seventy-seven thousand inhabitants. This State has not increased very rapidly in population of late years, as it contained about sixty-thousand inhabitants forty years ago, No part of the United States is more healthy, but the territory is so small, that every part of it has long since been taken up, and as the inhabitants increase, they are obliged to remove to other parts for settlements.

The manufacturing interest is now very rapidly advancing, and the number of inhabitants will probably increase much faster for the future, than it has done for half a century, past.

The island, from which this State receives its name, is about fifteen miles long, and generally about three miles wide, and was, before the American war, called by travelers the Eden of America. It is divided into three townships, by the name of Newport, Middleton and Portsmouth.

The earliest settlements in this little State were made by two separate companies, who do not appear to have had any knowledge of each other's designs. The first was begun by Roger Williams and his persecuted brethren in 1636 [I have followed Mr. Backus' dates in describing these events; some historians have dated Mr. Williams' settlement in 1634; but no one has investigated this subject more thoroughly than Mr. Backus, and I am inclined to think he is the most correct]; the other by Dr. John Clark [Morgan Edwards observes, that Mr. Clark was properly the founder of the Rhode Island Colony, although Mr. Codrington has run away with the praise of it], William Codrington, and others, about 1638. The place where Mr. Williams settled, and which in testimony of God's merciful providence to him in his distress, he named Providence, was by the Indians called Mooshausick. Mr. Clark and his company settled on Aquidneck, or Aquetneck, now called Rhode-Island, at a place then named Pocasset, now Portsmouth. This was on the north end of the Island, between twenty and thirty miles from Mr. Williams.

Some of the company soon after removed and settled on the south-west part of the Island, where Newport now stands.

In 1644, the inhabitants of Aquidneck named it the Isle of Rhodes or Rhode-Island.

A third settlement was begun on Pawtuxet River, south of Providence, by Samuel Gorton and others, about 1641.

From these brief sketches we shall now proceed to a more circumstantial account of the commencement of these settlements.

ROGER WILLIAMS was the parent and founder of the State of Rhode-Island. He first planted the standard of freedom and peace among the Narraganset Indians, and all the settlements, in which were afterwards made, were by his assistance. He at first by his pacific measures and peculiar skill gained the friendship of the Indian princes, and any favor, which he requested, was easily obtained. **He was most thoroughly convinced that the untutored savages were lords of the soil on which the God of nature had planted them, and therefore took the utmost care; that none of the inhabitants of this infant colony should occupy the least part of it until it was fairly purchased of the aboriginal proprietors.** The Indians did, indeed, in some instances convey large tracts by deeds of gift, but these were Indian gifts, which in the end proved very costly. But the utmost care was taken that every claim should be satisfied, and every pretext for hostility precluded.

The cause of the banishment of this worthy man from the colony of Massachusetts was as follows: He was most firmly persuaded, and like an honest man faithfully defended the two following important propositions, viz. that the Princes of Europe had no right whatever to dispose of the possessions of the American Indians; and secondly, that civil rulers as such had no authority from God to regulate or control the affair of religion. A more definite statement of this last proposition will be made in the account of the founding of the church in Providence. It is sufficient to observe here that out of his maxims of religious liberty, and national justice, grew most of the heresies contained in his indictment. ["The sin of the Patents, Williams says, lay heavy on his mind, especially that part by which Christian kings (so called) were invested with a right, by virtue of their Christianity, to take and give away the lands and countries of other men." His sentiments on this subject, Mr. Cotton informs us, formed the first article in his indictment. Backus, vol. i. p. 57, 58.] And such were his talents and address, that the magistrates were fearful whereunto his opinions would grow, and after some ineffectual endeavours to convince or quiet him they passed against him the cruel sentence of banishment, October, 1635. He had permission to tarry within their jurisdiction until spring, upon condition "that he would not go about to draw others to his opinions;" but in January, 1636, the Governor and Assistants were informed that he received and preached

to companies in his house at Salem, "even of such points as he had been censured for." Having received this information, they agreed to send him back to England by a ship then ready to depart; "the reason was, because he had drawn about twenty people to his opinions; they were intended to erect a plantation about the Narraganset bay, from whence infection would easily spread into these churches, the people being many of them much taken with the apprehension of his godliness." They sent for him to come to Boston, but he sent an excuse; upon which they sent a pinnace, with a commission to Captain Underhill, to apprehend him and carry him on board the ship then at Nantasket; but when they came to his house they found he had been gone three days.

"What human heart," says Mr. Backus, "can be unaffected with the thought, that a people, who had been sorely persecuted in their own country, so as to flee three thousand miles into a wilderness for religious liberty, yet should have that imposing temper cleaving so fast to them, as not to be willing to let a godly minister, who testified against it, stay even in any neighboring part of this wilderness, but moved them to attempt to take him by force, to send him back into the land of their persecutors!" [vol. i. p. 72.]

The next we hear of this injured man, was on the Seekhonk plain, since called Rehoboth, a few miles east of Providence. To this place, which was then wholly inhabited by savages; he fled in the depth of winter and obtained a grant of land of Osamaquin, sometimes called Masasoit, chief Sachem at Mount Hope, now in Bristol, R.I. But he was soon informed by a letter and messenger from the men of Plymouth, that this place was within their patent. He next went over Pawtucket River, as will be related in the history of the first church in Providence.

Here he found that favor among the savages which christians had denied him. Many of his friends and adherents soon repaired to his new habitation. He had the happiness to gain the friendship of two powerful Narraganset princes, of whom he made a formal purchase of a territory sufficient for himself and friends. He soon acquired a sufficient knowledge of the Indian language to transact the affairs of trade and negotiation, and **perhaps no man ever had more influence over the savage tribes than Roger Williams. This influence enabled him to soothe the irritated Indian Chiefs, and break up their confederacies against the English.** And the first act of this kind was performed in favor of the colony from which he had been so cruelly banished.

The first deed which he obtained of his lands, or at least the first which is now extant, bears date the same with that of Aquidneck, and was given two years after his settlement at Providence. It runs in the following style: "At Nanhiggansick, the 24th of the first month, commonly called March, in the second year of our plantation, or planting at Mooshausick, or Providence: Memorandu, that we Caunannicus and Miantinomu, the. two chief suchems of Nanhiggansick, having two years since sold unto Roger Williams the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers called Mooshausick and Wanaskatuckett, do now by these presents establish and confirm the bounds of these lands, from the rivers and fields of Pautuckett, the great hill of Neoterconkenitt on the north-west, and the town of Mashapauge on the west. As also, In consideration of the many kindnesses and services he hath continually done for us, both for our friends of Massachusetts, as also at Quininkticutt and Apaum, or Plymouth; we do freely give unto him all that land from those rivers reaching to Pautuxett river, as also the grass and meadows upon Pautuxett river in witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in the presence of, The mark of CAUNAWNXCUS, The mark of MIANTIHOMU, The mark of SEATAGH, The mark of ASSOTEMEWETT. [The Mooshausick River empties into Providence cove from the north, a little below the Mill Bridge; the Wanaskatuckett is that on which Olney's Paper Mills are situated. The Pawtucket river rises in, or near Rutland in Worcester county, Massachusetts, and empties into the Narraganset Bay at India Point, Providence. The Pawtuxet rises near the borders of Connecticut, and falls into the Bay five miles below the town. On the fields of Pawtucket the author is now writing, but he is not sure where the town of Mashapauge stood.]

"1639, Memorandum, 3d month, 9th day, this was all again confirmed by Miantinomu; he acknowledged this his act: and hand; up the stream of Pautuckett and Pautuxett without limits we might have for our use of cattle; witness hereof,

ROGER WILLIAMS, BENEDICT ARNOLD."

This deed must have comprehended all the county of Providence, or the north part of the State, and most of the county of Kent.

A few months after this purchase was made, Mr. Williams admitted as his associates the persons afterwards named by the following instrument: Providence, 8th of the 8th month, 1638, (so called) Memorandum, that I, Roger Williams, having formerly purchased of Caunannicus and Miantinomu this our situation or plantation of New Providence, etc. the two fresh rivers of Wanasquatuckett and Moozhausick, and the ground and meadows thereupon; in consideration of thirty pounds received from the inhabitants of said place, do freely and fully pass, grant, and make over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the same grounds, and lands unto my loving friends and neighbors, Stukely Westcoat, William Arnold, Thomas James, Robert Cole, John Greene, John Throckmorton, William Harris, William Carpenter, Thomas Olney, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, Ezekiel Holliman, and such others as the major part of us shall admit into the same fellowship of vote with us: As also I do freely make and pass over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the lands and grounds reaching from the aforesaid rivers unto the great river Pautuxett, with the grass and meadows thereupon, which was so lately given and granted by the aforesaid sachems to me; witness my hand, ROGER WILLIAMS."

The next who were admitted into this company, were Chad Brown, William Field, Thomas Harris, William Wickenden, Robert Williams, brother to Roger, Richard Scott, William Reynolds, John Field, John Warner, Thomas Angell, Benedict Arnold, Joshua Winsor, Thomas Hopkins, Francis Weeks, etc. ["Of these I find Williams (brother to Mr. Roger) among the Massachusetts freemen, but no more of their names upon those records. Perhaps most of them might have newly arrived; for Governor Winthrop assures us, that no less than three thousand arrived this year in twenty ships; and Mr. Hubbard tells us that those, who inclined to the Baptists _ principles, went to Providence; others went to Newport. Seven of the first twelve, with Angell, I suppose began the settlement with Mr. Williams in 1636." Backus.]

The following passage explains, in a very pleasing manner, Mr. Williams_ design in these transactions:

"Notwithstanding I had the frequent promise of Miantinomu, my kind friend, that it should not be land that I should want about those bounds mentioned, provided that I satisfied the Indians there inhabiting, I having made covenant of peaceable neighborhood with all the sachems and natives round about us, and having, in a sense of God_s merciful providence unto me in my distress, called the place PROVIDENCE, I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience; I then considering the condition of divers of my countrymen, I communicated my said purchase unto my loving friends, John Throckmorton, and others, who then desired to take shelter here with me, And whereas by God_s merciful assistance I was the procurer of the purchase, not by monies nor payment, the natives being so shy and jealous that monies could not do it, but by that language, acquaintance and favor with the natives, and other advantages which it pleased God to give me; and also bore the charges and Venture of all the gratuities which I gave to the great sachems, and other sachems and natives round about us, and lay engaged for a loving and peaceable neighborhood with them, to my great charge and travel; it was therefore thought fit that I should receive some consideration and gratuity." Thus, after mentioning the said thirty pounds, and saying, "this sum I received; and in love to my friends, and with respect to a town and place of succor for the distressed as aforesaid, I do acknowledge this said sum and payment a full satisfaction;" he went on in full and, strong terms to confirm those lauds to said inhabitants; reserving no more to himself and his heirs than an equal share with the rest; his wife also signing the deed. [Backus vol. i. p. 94.]

The settlement of **AQUIDNECK** was begun in the following manner: Soon after the banishment of R. Williams, the colony of Massachusetts was most violently agitated by religious discords, and a synod held at Newton, now Cambridge, after due examination, found to their grief, that their country was infested with no less than eighty-two heretical opinions, which were all arraigned before the sapient ecclesiastical tribunal, and solemnly condemned. Rev. Mr. Whellwright, and Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, both Pedobaptists, were banished the jurisdiction for what was called Antinomianism, and others were exposed to a similar fate. **MR. JOHN CLARK**, an eminent physician, made a proposal to his friends to remove out of a jurisdiction so full of bigotry and intolerance. Mr. Clark was now in the 29th year of his age; he was requested with some others to look out for a place, where they might enjoy unmolested the sweets of religious freedom. By reason of the suffocating heat of the preceding summer, they first went north to a place which is now within the bounds of New-Hampshire, but on account of the coldness of the following

winter, they resolved in the spring to make towards the south. "So having sought the Lord for direction, they agreed that while their vessel was passing about Cape Cod, they would cross over by land, having Long-Island and Delaware Bay in their eye, for the place of their residence. At Providence Mr. Williams lovingly entertained them, and being consulted about their design, readily presented two places before them; Sowams, now called Barrington, and Aquetneck, now Rhode Island. And inasmuch as they were determined to go out of every other jurisdiction, Mr. Williams and Mr. Clark, attended with two other persons, went to Plymouth, to inquire how the case stood; they were lovingly received, and answered, that Sowams was the garden of their patent. But they were advised to settle at Aquetneck, and promised to be looked on as free, and to be treated and assisted as loving neighbors" [Backus_ *History*, vol. i., p. 89; Callender_s Century sermon, p. 30].

On their return, the 7th of March, 1638, the men, to the number of eighteen, incorporated themselves a body politic, and chose William Coddington their judge or chief magistrate. The names of these men were William Coddington, John Clarke, William Hutchinson, John Coggsall, William Aspinwall, Thomas Savage, William Dyre, William Freeborne, Philip Shearman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulstone, Edward Hutchinson; Edward Hutchinson, jun. Samuel Wilbore, John Sanford, John Porter, and Henry Bull. Those, whose names are in italicks, afterwards went back to Massachusetts; most of the others arose to eminence in the colony, which they established.

"It was not price or money," says Mr. Williams, "that could have purchased Rhode Island; but _twas obtained by love, that love and favor, which that honored gentleman, Sir Henry Vane, and myself had with the great sachem Myantonomo, about the league, which I procured between the Massachusetts English, and the Narragansets in the Pequot war. This I mention, that as the truly noble Sir Henry Vane, hath been so great an instrument in the hand of God, for procuring this island of the barbarians, as also for the procuring and confirming the Charter, it may be with all thankful acknowledgments recorded and remembered by us and ours, who reap the sweet fruits of so great benefits, and such unheard of liberties among us." And in another manuscript he tells us, "The Indians were very shy and jealous of selling the lands to any, and chose rather to make a grant of them, to such as they affected; but at the same time, expected such gratuities and rewards, as made an Indian gift oftentimes a very dear bargain." "And the colony in 1666," says Mr. Callender, "avered that though the favor Mr. Williams had with Myantonomo was the great means of procuring the grants of the land, yet the purchase had been clearer than of any lands in New England; the reason of which might be, partly, the English inhabited between two powerful nations, the Wamponoags to the north and east, who had formerly possessed some part of their grants, before they had surrendered it to the Narragansets; and though they freely owned the submission, yet it was thought best by Mr. Williams to make them easy by gratuities to the sachem, his counsellors and followers. On the other side the Narragansets were very numerous, and the natives inhabiting any spot the English sat down upon or improved, were all to be bought off to their content, and oftentimes were to be paid over and over again. [Century Sermon, p. 31, 32.]

The colony of Rhode-Island was small, and labored under many embarrassments. In an address to the supreme authority in England, in 1659, they gave the following account of their circumstances: "This poor colony consists mostly of a Birth and Breeding of the Most High. We being an outcast people, formerly from our mother-nation in the bishop_s days, and since from the New-English over-zealous colonies. Our whole frame being much like the present frame of our dearest mother England; bearing with the several judgments, and consciences of each other, in all the towns of the colony; which our neighbor colonies do not; and which is the only cause of their great offense against us."

A third settlement was made below Providence on the western shore of the **Narraganset Bay**, by Samuel Gorton, and Ms company. This company suffered for a time most severely by the officious and unrighteous interference of the Massachusetts and Plymouth rulers. Gorton was a very different character from either Williams or Clark, but he was a zealous, advocate for liberty of conscience, and sought an asylum where he might enjoy it. He was a man of learning and abilities, but of a satyirical, crusty turn; he was also a preacher, but of a very singular cast. He arrived in Boston in 1636, which place he in a short time left for Plymouth. There he soon fell out with their preacher, was taken in hand by the authority, and bonds were required of him for his good behavior. From Plymouth he went to Rhode-Island, where, for something in his conduct, what I cannot learn, he was, by Mr. Coddington_s order, roughly treated, and according to Callender_s account banished the Island. He next went to Providence, where he was kindly received by Mr.

Williams and others, and he with others soon settled at Pawtuxet, which was within the bounds of Mr. Williams' grant. But here new troubles followed him, contentions were fomented among his company, the weaker party sought assistance from the men of Boston, and some of them actually submitted themselves and their lands to that government. The Boston court had then a specious pretext for meddling with the affairs of an infant distant colony, and they having learnt the peculiar policy of the cabinet of their mother country, to foment quarrels and then profit by them, cited Gorton and his associates to appear at their tribunal, and answer to the complaints which had been exhibited against them. The warrant was signed by the Governor and three assistants; but Gorton treated it with disdain, and in answer wrote a long, mystical paraphrase upon it, which was signed by himself, Randal Holden, Robert Potter, John Wickes, John Warner, Richard Waterman, William Woodale, John Greene, Francis Weston, Richard Carder, Nicholas Power, and Sampson Shatton. It appears these people, in order to avoid further troubles, removed southward to a place then called Shawwomet, now Warwick, which they purchased of the sachems, Miantinomy [the name of this famous Indian chief is spelled many different ways, but Myantinomy seems the most proper, and according to Mr. Callender it was by the Indians pronounced Myantino`my. Century Sermon, p. 1] Pomham, and others, for 144 fathoms of wampum. [This was then computed at forty pounds, sixteen shilling sterling. Backus]

But new complaints soon went to Boston against them, and the petty sachems under Miantinomy and Pomham, for political reasons, were easily induced to become their enemies and accusers, and they were again summoned to appear before the Massachusetts rulers. And upon their refusal, because out of their jurisdiction, a company of armed men were sent to fetch them. They sent word to the company that if they set foot upon their land, it should be at their peril. But a band of soldiers marched on, the women and children, and some of the less resolute, were terrified and dispersed, and the rest, being overpowered by numbers, were carried to Boston, where they were treated in a severe and scandalous manner. Gorton, for being a blasphemous enemy of the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc. was confined to Charlestown, set to hard work, loaded with bolts and irons to hinder his escape; and in case he should break his confinement, and in the mean time publish, declare, or maintain his blasphemous abominable heretics, wherewith he had been charged by the court, after due conviction, he should be condemned and executed. John Wickes was confined to Ipswich, Randal Holden to Salem, Robert Potter to Beverly, Richard Carder to Roxbury, Francis Western to Dorchester, John Warner to Boston, and William Woodale to Watertown. John Green, Richard Waterman, and Nicholas Power, not being found so guilty as the rest, were dismissed after paying costs and hearing an admonition. The rest were confined at their different stations through the winter, eighty head of their cattle were sold to pay the charges of bringing them from their homes, and trying them before a foreign tribunal, which amounted to a hundred and sixty pounds. But the court, finding it impossible to keep them from seducing others, and despairing of reclaiming them from their errors, in the spring released them, and banished them, not only from their jurisdiction, but also from their own lands at Showwomet. [Backus, vol. i. p. 126-129.] This detestable tyranny came of Mr. Cotton's Jewish theocracy, and it is a lamentable fact, that that mistaken divine encouraged the court in this horrid oppression of Gorton and his unfortunate associates. Some of them were, at that very time, members of the church at Providence; they had associated with Gorton, not on account of his religious opinions, but for the purpose of obtaining lands on which they might procure a subsistence for themselves and families. But if Gorton had been that blasphemous, damnable heretick, which his orthodox persecutors pretended; if he had worshipped the sun, moon and stars; what right did that give the Boston rulers to treat him and his company in such an outrageous manner? These much injured men, being prohibited on pain of death to go to their lands, repaired to Rhode Island, where they tarried awhile meditating what course to take.

As yet none of the companies of this colony had any patent from the crown for their lands; but they had all purchased them of the Indians, their proper owners, and therefore ought to have been suffered peaceably to enjoy them.

About the time that Gorton and his company were released, that is, in 1643, Mr. Williams was sent to England as agent for the two colonies of Providence and Rhode-Island, and by the assistance of Sir Henry Vane, obtained "a free and absolute Charter of Civil Incorporation, by the name of the Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narraganset Bay, in New England." This charter was dated the 17th of March, in the 19th year of Charles I 1644. It was obtained of the Earl of Warwick, who was then appointed by Parliament, Governor and Admiral of all the plantations, etc. and was signed by him and ten other noblemen his council. It empowered them to rule themselves and such others as should inhabit within their

bounds by such a form of civil government as by the voluntary agreement of all or of the greater part should be found most suitable to their estate and condition, etc.

Mr. Williams returned with this charter the September following, and landed at Boston.

As persons of many different sentiments and tempers had resorted to this now asylum of freedom, it was a matter of some difficulty to fix upon a form of government, in which they could be united. But this desirable object was, not long after effected, and no event seems to have occurred, except what are common to the first efforts of new plantations, until 1651, when a very serious difficulty arose, which from the name of its author, was called Coddington's Obstruction. But before we proceed, it is proper to observe, that not long after Mr. Williams went to England, Messrs. Gorton, Greene, and Holden, set sail for the same country, and obtained an order to be suffered peaceably to possess their purchase at Showowmet.

By this means the claims of the Massachusetts court were defeated. As Mr. Williams's Charter covered their purchase, it was incorporated with the Providence Plantations, and as the Earl of Warwick was their peculiar friend in this affair, they, for that reason, gave their settlement the name of Warwick, and the posterity of its planters are still numerous in different parts of the State. Callender, Backus, and others, who have spoken of Gorton's religious opinions, acknowledge that it is hard to tell what they really were; but they assure us that it ought to be believed, that he held all the heresies which were ascribed to him. The most we can learn is, that in allegory, and double meanings of scripture, he was similar to Origen; in mystical theology and the rejection of ordinances, he resembled the Quakers; and the notion of visible instituted churches he utterly condemned. He was the leader of a religious meeting at Warwick above sixty years, and says he made use of the learned languages in expounding the Scriptures to his hearers. He was of a good family in England, lived to a great age, was promoted to honor in the Rhode-Island Colony, and left behind him many disciples to his non-descript opinions. Some of his posterity have been found among the Baptists, some among the Quakers, but the greater part of them are what Morse would call Nothingarians. But all of them still retain a lively abhorrence of that religious tyranny, by which he was so cruelly oppressed. [Callender's Century Sermon, p. 37,38; Backus, vol. ii. p. 95.]

The Charter obtained by Roger Williams in 1644, lasted until 1663, when another was granted by Charles II by which the incorporation was styled "The English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations in New-England."

This Charter, without any essential alteration, has remained the foundation of the Rhode-Island government ever since. Previous to its being obtained, that is, in 1651, Messrs. Williams and Clark were sent to England as agents for the Colony, which then consisted of only the four towns of Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick. The object of their embassy was to remove the obstructions which had been thrown in the way of their progress by William Coddington, then Governour of their infant settlement. This gentleman had, as they said, "by most untrue information," obtained a commission of the Council of State, to govern a part of the colony, that is, the Island, with such a council as the people should choose, and he approve. This they considered as "a violation of their liberties," etc. and by the exertions of these agents the commission was vacated, and the administration progressed in the original form. Mr. Williams soon returned, but Mr. Clark remained in England about twelve years, to watch the motion of affairs, and to be ready to lend his assistance to his brethren here as emergencies should require.

The form of government established by the Rhode-Islanders was, as to civil affairs, much like those of the other colonies, but in the important article of religion, they differed from them all. Liberty of conscience was, in the first social compact at Providence, established by law, and no one was allowed to vote among them, who opposed it. [Backus, vol. i. p. 96.] This darling principle was planted in the soil of Rhode-Island, before the red men left it, or ever the lofty forests were laid waste, and has been transmitted from father to son with the most studious care; it was interwoven in every part of the State Constitution, has extended its influence to all transactions, whether civil or sacred, and in no part of the world has it been more inviolably maintained for the space of upwards of a hundred and seventy years. It is the glory and boast of Rhode-Island, that no one within her bounds was ever legally molested on account of his religious opinions, and that none of her annals are stained with acts to regulate those important concerns, which he wholly between man and his Maker. Hence it was early said of this colony, "They are much like their neighbors, only they have one vice less, and one virtue more than they; for they never

persecuted any, but have ever maintained a perfect liberty of conscience" [Edwards_ MS. History of Rhode Island, p. 10].

They, among their first Legislative acts, (instead of establishing their own religion by law, and compelling all others to maintain it) determined that **"Every man, who submits peaceably to civil government in this colony, shall worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience without molestation."** And when in 1656, the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Hartford, and New-Haven, pressed them hard to give up this point, and join with them to crush the Quakers, and prevent any more from coming to New-England, they, for an answer, made the noble declaration, "We shall strictly adhere to the foundation principle on which this colony was first set. tied," etc. Accordingly, the Quakers found a safe asylum here, while they were in all places persecuted and destroyed.

When these people obtained their second Charter in 1663, they petitioned Charles II "that they might be permitted to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil State may stand and best be maintained, and that among English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concerns, and that true piety, rightly grounded on gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty; and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyalty." -- This permission was granted by his majesty, and **the tenor of their Charter was, that every person might freely and fully have and enjoy his own judgment or conscience in matters of religious concernment**, etc. The inviolable attachment of the Rhode-Islanders to this heaven-born principle of Religious Freedom, was the real cause of all those calumnies and injuries which the other colonies heaped upon them. Connecticut and Massachusetts on either side of them, were now making strong exertions to enforce their religious laws, and could not endure the maxims of this little colony, which were a tacit and standing condemnation of their bigotry and intolerance. They therefore stretched their lines if possible to swallow up the little State, and Massachusetts actually took possession of a large share of it one side, and Connecticut on the other; but failing of their design on this plan, they encouraged the Indians to harass them to the loss of 80 or 100 pounds a year; they refused to let them have ammunition for their money when in imminent danger; they fomented divisions among them, and encouraged their subjects to refuse obedience to their authority; they finally labored hard, after they could not dismember the colony, to gain a party within its bounds, of sufficient strength to outvote them in their elections, and establish among them their abominable system of parish worship, and parish taxes. Their letter writers, preachers, and historians, calumniated them as "the scum and runaways of other colonies, which, in time, would bring a heavy burden on the land: as so sunk into barbarity, that they could speak neither good English nor good sense -- as despisers of God's worship, and without order or government," etc. [Edwards_ MS. History of Rhode Island, p. 12, 13; Backus, vol. i., MS. of Governor Jenks.] Dr. Mather, speaking of this State about a hundred years ago, says, "It has been a Colluvies of Antinomians. Familists, Anabaptists, Antisabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, every thing in the world but Roman Catholicks and real christians, though of the latter, I hope, there have been more than the former among them; so that if a man had lost his religion, he might find it at this general muster of Opinionists" [Magnalia, Book viii. p. 20]. He goes on to describe it as the Gerizzim of New-England, the common receptacle of the convicts of Jerusalem, and the outcasts of the land. "The Island," says he, "is indeed for the fertility of its soil, the temperateness of its air, etc. the best garden of all the colonies, and were it free from serpents, I would call it the Paradise of New-England." But he finally applies to it the old proverb, *Bona Terra, Mala Gens*, a good land, but a bad people. This is but a part of a long reviling piece of the same character. Among other things he informs us, that the Massachusetts ministers had made a chargeless tender of preaching the gospel to this wretched people in their towns and on their paganizing plantations; but these offers had been refused.

The two following letters will give the reader to understand the manner in which these chargeless tenders were made, and also in what point of light the Rhode-Island people viewed them. The first is from an Association of the Massachusetts ministers; the other from the people of Providence:

"To the honorable Joseph Jenckes, Esq. late Deputy-Governor, William Hopkins, Esq. Major Joseph Willson, Esq. Joseph Whipple, Esq. Col. Richard Waterman, Esq. Arther Fenner, Esq. Wilkinson, Esq. Philip Tillinghast, Esq. Capt. Nicholas Power, Esq. Thomas Harris, Esq. Capt. William Harris, Esq. Andrew Harris, Esq. -- Brown, Esq. Jonathan Burton, Esq. Jonathan Spreauge, Jun. Esq. and to the other eminent men in the town of Providence. Pardon our ignorance if any of your honorable christian names, or if your proper order be mistaken.

"Honourable Gentlemen,

We wish you grace, mercy, and peace, and all blessings for time and for eternity through our Lord Jesus Christ. How pleasing to Almighty God and our Lord and Redeemer, and how conducive to the publick tranquillity and safety, an hearty union and good affection of all pious protestants, of whatever particular denomination, on account of some difference in opinion, would be, by the divine blessing, yourselves, as well as we, are not insensible of. And with what peace and love, societies of different modes of worship have generally entertained one another in your government, we cannot think of without admiration. And we suppose, under God, 'tis owing to the choice liberty granted to protestants of all persuasions in the Royal Charter graciously given you [be it observed that the same liberty was granted the Massachusetts people by their charters first and last. Edwards]; and to the wise and prudent conduct of the gentlemen that have been improved as governors and justices in your colony. And the Rev. Mr. Greenwood, before his decease at Rehoboth, was much affected with the wisdom and excellent temper and great candour of such of yourselves as he had the honor to wait upon, and with those worthy and obliging expressions of kind respects he met with when he discoursed about his desire to make an experiment, whether the preaching of our ministers in Providence. might not be acceptable; and whether some, who do not greatly recline to frequent any pious meeting in the place, on the first day of the week, might not be drawn to give their presence to hear our ministers, and so might be won over, by the influence of Heaven, into serious godliness; and although God has taken that dear brother of ours from his work in this world, yet it has pleased the Lord to incline some reverend ministers in Connecticut and some of ours to preach among you; and we are beholden to the mercy of Heaven for the freedom and safety they have enjoyed under the wise and good government of the place, and that they met with kind respect, and with numbers that gave a kind reception to their ministration among you. These things we acknowledge with all thankfulness. And if such preaching should be continued among your people, designed only for the glory of God and Christ Jesus in chief, and nextly, for promoting the spiritual and eternal happiness of immortal, precious souls, and the furtherance of a joyful account in the great day of judgment, we earnestly request, as the Rev. Mr. Greenwood in his life time did before us, that yourselves, according to your power and the influence and interest that God hath blessed you with, will continue your just protection; and that you add such further countenance and encouragement thereunto as may be pleasing to the eternal God, and may, through Christ Jesus, obtain for you the great reward in Heaven. And if ever it should come to pass that a small meeting-house should be built in your town to entertain such as are willing to hear our ministers, we should account it a great favor if you all, Gentlemen, or any of you, would please to build pews therein; in which you and they as often as you see fit, may give your and their presence and holy attention. And we hope and pray that ancient matters, that had acrimony in them, may be buried in oblivion; and that grace, and peace, and holiness, and glory, may dwell in every part of New-England; and that the several provinces and colonies in it may love one another with a pure heart fervently. So recommending you all, and your ladies and children, and neighbors and people to the blessing of Heaven, and humbly asking your prayers to the divine throne for us, we take leave and subscribe ourselves your servants,

PETER THACHER, JOHN DANFORTH, JOSEPH BELCHER."

"By the foregoing paper," says Edwards, "which is the joint act of the Massachusetts resisters, it appears that the people of Rhode-Island government were good people, even while the Mathers, their chief accusers, were alive. And if the Association spake according to knowledge and truth, the characters in the Magnalia and other New England histories must be false and slanderous. I will here add the answer that was made to the foregoing paper, and then offer two or three remarks."

"To John Danforth, Peter Thacher, and Joseph Belcher, committee of the Presbyterian Ministry.

"Sirs,

We, the inhabitants of the town of Providence, received yours, bearing date, October 27, 1721, which was read publickly, in the hearing of the people, and we judge it uncivil to return you no answer. But finding the matter to be of religious concernment, we counted it our duty to ask counsel of God, lest we should be beguiled as Israel was by the Gibeonites. And inasmuch as the sacred scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of the living God to be our instructor and counsellor, we shall therefore apply ourselves to them. And in the first place, we take notice of the honorable titles you give to many of us. Your view, as we take it, is

to insinuate yourselves into our affections, and to induce us to favor your request. But, we find flatteries in matters of religion to be of dangerous consequence; witness the Hivites, who said, We are your servants, and have heard of the fame of the God of Israel In this way did Joash set up idolatry after the death of Jehoida. Elihu abstained from flattery for fear of offending God, while the enemies of Judah, for want of the fear of God, practiced it. By the same means was Daniel cast into the Lion_s den, and Herod sought to slay the Lord Christ; and some at Rome sought to make divisions in the church of Christ by flattering words and fair speeches, to deceive the simple; but, saith the Spirit, Such serve, not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and saith the apostle Peter, Through covetousness and feigned words they shall make merchandise of you. To conclude this article. We see that flattery in matters of worship has been, and now is, a cloak to blind men and lead them out of the way; and serves for nothing but to advance pride and vain glory. Shall we praise you for this? We praise you not. Next. You salute all as saints in the faith and order of the gospels wishing all of us blessings for the time present and to all eternity. It is not the language of Canaan but of Babel to salute men of all characters as in the faith of the gospel. This is the voice of the false prophets, which daub with untempered mortar, sewing pillows under every arm-hole, and crying, peace! peace! when there is no peace. Is this your way to enlighten the dark corners of the world? Surely, this is darkness itself. Moreover, You highly extol liberty of conscience to men of all persuasions, affirming it to be most pleasing to God, and tending most to love and peace, and the tranquillity of any people. And you say, We are not insensible of this any more than you. To which we say, Amen; and you well know it hath been our faith and practice hitherto. Fourthly. We take notice how you praise the love and peace that dissenters of all ranks entertain one another within this government; and it is, as you say, to your admiration, and you suppose that under God, it is owing to the choice liberty granted to protestants of all denominations in the Royal Charter graciously given us, and to the discreet and wise rulers under whose conduct we enjoy this happiness. We answer, This happiness principally consists in our not allowing societies to have any superiority one over another, but each society supports their own ministry of their own free will, and not by constraint or force upon any man_s person or estate; and this greatly adds to our peace and tranquillity. But the contrary, which takes away men_s estates by force, to maintain their own or any other ministry, serves for nothing but to provoke to wrath, envy, and strife. This wisdom cometh not from above, but is earthly, sensual and devilish. In those cited concessions we hope too, that you are real and hearty, and do it not to flourish your compliments; otherwise you make a breach on the third commandment. This is but a preface to make room for your request, which is, That we would be pleased, according to our power, to countenance, protect, and encourage your ministers in their coming and preaching in this town of Providence. To which we answer -- We admire at your request! or that you should imagine or surmise that we should consent to either; inasmuch as we know, that (to witness for God) your ministers, for the most part, were never set up by God, but have consecrated them. selves, and have changed his ordinances; and for their greediness after filthy lucre, some you have put to death; others you have banished upon pain of death_; others you barbarously scourged; others you have imprisoned and seized upon their estates. And at this very present you are rending towns in pieces, ruining the people with innumerable charges, which make them decline your ministry, and fly for refuge to the Church of England, and others to dissenters of all denominations, and you, like wolves, pursue; and whenever you find them within your reach, you seize upon their estates. And all this is done to make room for your pretended ministers to live in idleness, pride, and fullness of bread. Shall we countenance such ministers for Christ_s ministers? Nay, verily. These are not the marks of Christ_s ministry; but are a papal spot that is abhorred by all pious protestants. And since you wrote this letter the constable of Attleborough [only nine miles from Providence] has been taking away the estates of our dear friends and pious dissenters to maintain the minister. The like hath been done in the town of Mendon [about twenty miles from this town]. Is this the way of peace? Is this the fruit of your love? Why do you hug the sin of Eli_s sons and walk in the steps of the false prophets, biting with your teeth, and crying peace? but no longer than they put into your mouth but you prepare war against them. Christ bids us beware of such as come to us in sheep_s clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves; and your clothing is so scanty that all may see your shame, and see that your teaching is like Gideon_s, who taught the men of Succoth with the briers and thorns of the wilderness. In the next place: You freely confess that we entertained you kindly at all times. We hope we are all so taught of God to love our enemies, and to do good to them that hate us, and pray for them who despitefully treat us. And since you admire the love and peace we do enjoy, we pray you to use the same methods and write after our copy. And for the future never let us hear of your pillaging conscientious dissenters to maintain your own ministers. O, let not this sin be your everlasting ruin. Further. You desire that all former injuries, done by you to us, may be buried in oblivion. We say, Far be it from us to avenge ourselves, or to deal to you as you have dealt to us, but rather say with our Lord, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they. Do! But if you mean that we should not speak of former actions done hurtfully to

any man_s person, we say, God never called for that nor suffered to be so done; as witness Cain, Joab and Judas, which are upon record to deter other men from doing the like. Lastly. You desire of us to improve our interest in Christ Jesus for you at the throne of grace. Far be it from us to deny you this, for we are commanded to pray for all men. And we count it our duty to pray for you, that God will open your eyes and cause you to see how far you have erred from the way of peace; and that God will give you godly sorrow for the same, and such repentance as is never to be repented of; and that you may find mercy and favor of our Lord Jesus Christ at his appearing. And so hoping, as you tender the everlasting welfare of your souls and the good of your people, you will embrace our advice; and not suffer passion so to rule as to cause you to hate reproof, lest you draw down vengeance on yourselves and on the! and. We, your friends of the town of Providence, bid you farewell. Subscribed for, and in their behalf, by your ancient friend and servant for Jean_s sake,

"JONATHAN SPREAGUE. Feb. 23, 1722.

"If it be thought," says Morgan Edwards, "that there is too much tartness and resentment in this letter, they will be readily excused by them, who consider, that the despoiling of goods, imprisonments, scourgings, excommunications and banishments, the slandering of this colony at home and abroad, and attempts to ruin it were yet fresh in the knowledge of the people; and especially, that the Massachusetts people were at the time, doing those very things to the brethren in the neighborhood, which they desire the men of Providence to forget. This was such a piece of uncommon effrontery and insult, as must have raised a mood in the man of Uz. Yet be it further observed, that the people of Providence do not forbid the Presbyterian ministers to come among them, nor threaten them if they should come, but in express terms execrate the thought of dealing to them as they had dealt to Baptists.

An anonymous letter in answer to this, was published in Boston a few months after, in which it was insinuated that all these complaints about persecution were ground. less, and that those who made them did it in consequence of their being buffeted for their faults. This letter was answered by Mr. Sprague in 1723, at the close of which he inquires, "But why do you strive to persuade the rising generation, that you never persecuted nor hurt the Baptists? Did you not barbarously scourge Mr. Obadiah Holmes, and imprison John Hazel of Rehoboth, who died and came not home? And did you not barbarously scourge Mr. Baker in Cambridge, the chief mate of a London ship? Where also you imprisoned Mr. Thomas Gould, John Russell, Benjamin Sweetser, and many others, and fined them fifty pounds a man. And did you not take away a part of the said Sweetser_s land, to pay his fine, and conveyed it to Solomon Phipps, the Deputy Governor Danforth_s son-in-law, who after by the hand of God ran distracted, dying suddenly, saying he was bewitched? And did you not nail up the Baptist meeting. house doors, and fine Mr. John Miles, Mr. James Brown, and Mr. Nicholas Tanner? -- Surely, I can fill sheets of paper with the sufferings of the Baptists, as well as others, thin your precincts; but what I have mentioned shall suffice for the present." Mr. Sprague preached for many years to a small society of Baptists in that, which is now the east part of Smithfield; and died in January, 1741, aged 93. Mr. Comer knew him, and speaks of him as a very judicious and pious man. [Backus, vol. ii. p. 103, 105; Edwards_ MS. History of Rhode Island, p. 15-32.]

The custom of making chargeless tenders of the gospel to the inhabitants of this benighted realm has been continued to the present time. And now the evangelizing Pedobaptists of Connecticut and Massachusetts are almost constantly sending missionaries with freights of sermons well arranged in black and white to illuminate this heathenish land of dippers; and many wish that more good may follow their labors than has hitherto done. They pass unmolested, the Baptists frequently invite them to preach in their pulpits, and those, who do not deal out too freely their canting censures are listened to with attention, and they find it convenient to receive the missionary reward for labouring in ancient settlements within a short distance of their homes. [A Reverend Doctor of Massachusetts, a few years since, was invited to preach in the Baptist pulpit at Providence, but when the same favor a short time after was asked of him, it was denied.] Some of these missionaries are doubtless pious, worthy men, but the Rhode-Islanders are not without suspicions that their employers have other ends in view in sending them hither, besides the salvation of souls. Their prejudices, however, whether fight or wrong, and strong and unyielding, and all attempts to convert them to Pedobaptism or Law-Religion will be unavailing.

We shall now give a brief account of some of the Baptist churches which have arisen in this State, and begin with

The First Church in Providence. -- This church, which is the oldest of the Baptist denomination in America, according to Governor Winthrop, was planted in the year 1639. Its first members were twelve in number, viz. **Roger Williams**, Ezekiel Holliman, William Arnold, William Harris, Stuckley Westcot, John Green, Richard Waterman, Thomas James, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, Francis Weston, and Thomas Olney. Roger Williams being the chief instrument of this work of God, and also in settling this colony, we shall here give a connected view of his origin, character, banishment, etc. Although many things have already been said of this distinguished man, yet we have purposely omitted the following sketches, that they might stand in connexion with the church which he founded; they are found in its records, from which they are here transcribed.

"Mr. Williams was a native of Wales, born in the year 1598, and had a liberal education, under the patronage of Sir Edward Coke. The occasion of Mr. Williams_ receiving the favor of that distinguished lawyer was very singular. Sir Edward, one day, at church, observing, a youth taking notes from the sermon, beckoned and received him into his pew. He obtained a sight of the lad_s minutes; which were exceedingly judicious, being a collection of the most striking sentiments delivered by the preacher. This, with Mr. Williams_ great modesty, so engaged Sir Edward in his favor, as to induce him to solicit Mr. Williams_s parents to let him have the care of their son; which was readily granted. Mr. Williams soon entered on the study of the law, and received all possible assistance from his generous patron; but finding this employment not altogether agreeable to his taste, after pursuing it some time, he turned his attention to divinity, and made such proficiency therein, as encouraged Sir Edward to obtain him episcopal orders. His preaching was highly esteemed, and his private character revered. By embracing the sentiments of the Puritans, he was greatly exposed to suffering, and at last was thereby compelled to leave his native country. He embarked for America, on February 5, 1631, being then in the 32d year of his age. On his arrival, he was called by the church at Salem to join in the ministry with Mr. Skelton; but the Governor and Council not being satisfied with it, the appointment was suspended. This was a means of his being called by the church at Plymouth, where he preached two or three years, and was held in high estimation by Governor Bradford and the people. The former was pleased to give this testimony of Mr. Williams: "He was a man, godly and zealous, having many precious parts. His preaching was well approved, for the benefit of which I still bless God, and am thankful for his sharpest admonitions, so far as they agreed with truth." Mr. Skelton, of Salem, now growing old, a second application was made to Mr. Williams; but many of his Plymouth friends were against his removal. One Mr. Brewster at length prevailed with the church to dismiss him; saying, "If he stayed, he would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptism which one Smith of Amsterdam had done." He accordingly settled in Salem, and many of the church at Plymouth followed him. The Court again wrote to prevent his settlement, but could not prevail. Morton and Hubbard inform us, "In one Year_s time, Mr. Williams filled that place with principles of rigid separation, and tending to anabaptism." His favourite topic, liberty of conscience, a subject he well understood, gave offense to a few of the leading part of the congregation; but this would have been borne with, had he not further maintained that civil magistrates, as such, have no power in the church, and that christians, as such, are subject to no laws or control, but those of King Jesus." This so greatly enraged the magistrates, that they excommunicated and banished him. The town was again enraged at the conduct of the magistrates, and several of the inhabitants followed their minister. This was done in the winter of 1636. When they were out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, they pitched in a place now called Rehoboth; but the men of Plymouth hearing thereof, sent to inform them that they were settled on lands within their territories. Now they had no refuge, but must venture among savages; and it is said, that Mr. Williams and his friend Olney, and Thomas Angel, an hired servant, came over the river in a canoe, and were saluted by the Indian word that signifies, What cheer? They then came round Fox Point, until they met with a pleasant spring, which runs to this day, and is nearly opposite the Episcopal Church. Being settled in this place, which, from the kindness of God to them. they called PROVIDENCE, Mr. Williams and those with him, considered the importance of Gospel Union, and were desirous of forming themselves into a church, but met with a considerable obstruction; they were convinced of the nature and design of believer_s baptism by immersion; but, from a variety of circumstances, had hitherto been prevented from submission. To obtain a suitable administrator was a matter of consequence: at length, the candidates for communion nominated and appointed Mr. Ezekiel Holliman, a man of gifts and piety, to baptize Mr. Williams; and who, in return, baptized Mr. Holliman and the other ten. This church was soon joined by twelve other persons, who came to this new settlement, and abode in harmony and peace. Mr. Holliman was chosen assistant to Mr. Williams. This Church, according to Chandler, held particular redemption; but soon after deviated to general redemption. Laying-on-of-hands was held in a lax manner, so that some persons were received without it. And such, says Governor Jenks, was the opinion of the Baptists throughout this colony.

Psalmody was first used and afterwards laid aside. These alterations took place about sixteen years after their settlement. The church at first met for worship in a grove, unless in wet and stormy weather, when they assembled in private houses. Mr. Williams held his pastoral office about four years, and then resigned the same to Mr. Brown, and Mr. Wickendon, and went to England to solicit the first charter. [Some accounts state his ministry in the church to have been but a few months.] After Mr. Williams' return, he preached among the Indians, whose forefathers were gathered by him. He wrote an account of the Indians, which the then Lords of Trade highly commended; also a defense of the doctrines controverted by the Quakers, and another piece, called the Bloody Tenet, with some other pieces. He died in the year 1682, aged 84, and was buried under arms in his own lot; now supposed to be not far from the new house lately built by Mr. Dorr on Benefit-Street. [His grave is not certainly known, but tradition makes it to be near some trees to the west of this street.] Mr. Williams's wife's name was Elizabeth, by whom he had children, viz. Mary, Freeborn, Providence, Mercy, Daniel, and Joseph. The third died without issue, aged 48 years. The others married into the Rhodes, Olney, Waterman, Windsor, and Sayles families; whose descendants, according to Governor Hopkins, had in 1770 been traced to the number of two thousand.

"Mr. Williams' character, given by many, as a man, a scholar, and a christian, was truly respectable. He appears, says Mr. Callender, in his Century Sermon, page 17, by the whole tenour of his life, to have been one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, and a most pious and heavenly minded soul. Governor Hutchinson, reflecting on the life of this good man, says, **"Instead of shewing any revengeful temper, or resentment, he was continually employed in acts of kindness and benevolence to his enemies."** Vol. 1st, page 38. Mr. Callender observes, "the true grounds of liberty of conscience were not understood in America, until Mr. Williams and John Clarke publicly avowed, that Christ alone is king in his kingdom, and that no others had authority over his subjects, in the affairs of conscience and eternal salvation." Governor Hopkins said, **"Roger Williams justly claimed the honor of being the first legislator in the world, that fully and effectually provided for, and established a free, full, and absolute liberty of conscience."** He not only founded a State, but, by his interest with the Narraganset Indians, broke the grand confederacy against the English, and so became the savior of all the other colonies.

"Rev. Chad Brown, who succeeded Mr. Williams in the charge of this church, came to Providence the latter end of the year 1636, by reason of the persecution in Massachusetts. He was ordained in the year 1642. Mr. Brown was one of the town proprietors, and the fourteenth in order. He supported a good character, and was prosperous in his ministry.

"Rev. Mr. Wickendon, who was colleague with Mr. Brown, came from Salem to Providence in 1639, and was ordained by Mr. Brown. He died, February 23, 1669, after having removed to a place called Solitary Hill. Mr. Wickendon preached for some time in the city of New York, and as a reward for his labor was imprisoned four months.

"Rev. Gregory Dexter was next in office. He was born in London, and followed the stationary business with a Mr. Coleman. [This Coleman became the subject of a Farce called The Cutter of Coleman Street. Edwards.] It is said, he fled from his native country for printing a piece, which was offensive to the then reigning powers. He came to Providence in 1643, and was the same year received into the church, being both a Baptist and a preacher before his arrival. He took the care of this church on Mr. Wickendon's removal to Solitary Hill. **He was the first who taught the art of printing in Boston, in New-England.** He was never observed to laugh, and seldom to smile. So earnest was he in the ministry, that he could hardly forbear preaching when he came into a house, or met a number of persons in the street. His sentiments were those of the Particular Baptists. He died in the 91st year of his age.

"Rev. Thomas Olney succeeded to the pastoral office. He was born at Hertford, in England, about the year 1631, and came to Providence in 1654; but when baptized or ordained is not known. He was the chief who made a division about laying-on-of-hands. He and others withdrew and formed a separate church, but it continued only a short time. He died June 11, 1722, and was buried in his own field.

"Rev. Pardon Tillinghast was next in office. He was born at Seven-cliffe, near Beachy-Head in Old-England, about the year 1622. He came to Providence by way of Connecticut, in the year 1645, and was of the Particular Baptist denomination, and remarkable for his piety and his plain dress. At his own expense he built the first meeting house, about the year 1700, on a spot of ground towards the north end of the

town; having the main street for the front, and the river to the back. A larger house was erected in its place in the year 1718. He was buried in his own lot, towards the south end of the town; and which is still continued as the burial place of the family.

"**Rev. Ebenezer Jenckes** succeeded Mr. Tillinghast in office. He was born in Pawtucket, in the township of Providence, 1669, and ordained pastor in 1719; which office he held till his death, Aug. 14, 1726. He was a man of parts and real piety. He refused every publick office, but the surveyorship of the propriety of Providence. He was buried in the family burial ground in Pawtucket.

"**Rev. James Brown**, grandson to the Rev. Chad Brown, by his eldest son, born at Providence, 1666, was next ordained to the pastoral office in this church, and continued therein till his death, October 28, 1732. He was an example of piety and meekness, worthy of admiration. He was buried in his own lot at the north end of the town, and a stone was erected to his memory.

"**Rev. Samuel Windsor** succeeded Mr. James Brown. He was born in the township of Providence, 1677, and ordained, 1733. He continued the care of this church, until November 17, 1758, when he died. He was esteemed a worthy man, and had considerable success in his ministry.

"**Rev. Thomas Burlingham** was in union with Mr. Windsor. He was born at Cranston, May 29, 1688, and was ordained at the same time with Mr. Windsor, but in a measure resigned his care of the church, a considerable time before his death in order to preach to a new church at Cranston. He died January 7, 1740.

"**Rev. Samuel Windsor**, son to the aforementioned Samuel Windsor, was next in office. He was born, November 1, 1722, in the township of Providence, and ordained June 21, 1759. He continued his office with ease and some success, till towards the year 1770, when he made repeated complaints to the church, that the duty of his office was too heavy for him, considering the remote situation of his dwelling from town. He constantly urged the church to provide help in the ministry, as he was not able to serve them any longer in that capacity, without doing injury to his family, which they could not desire.

"Divine Providence had so ordered, that the **Rev. James Manning**, President of the Rhode-Island College, was likely to remove from Warren, to settle with the college in the town; and which was esteemed favorable to the wishes of Mr. Windsor and the church. However, at this juncture, Mr. John Sutton [now in Kentucky, and is one of those who are known by the name of Emancipators], minister, on his way from Nova-Scotia to the Jerseys, arrived at Newport; when Mr. Windsor and the church invited him to preach as assistant for six months; which he did to good acceptance, and then pursued his journey. The attention of the church and Mr. Windsor, was now directed to Mr. Manning; and at a church meeting held the beginning of May, 1770, Daniel Jenkins, Esq. chief judge of the inferior court, and Solomon Drown, Esq. were chosen to wait on Mr. Manning at his arrival, and, in the name of the church and congregation, to invite him to preach at the meeting-house. Mr. Manning accepted the invitation, and delivered a sermon. It being communion day, Mr. Windsor invited Mr. Manning to partake with them, which the President cordially accepted. After this, several members were dissatisfied at Mr. Manning's partaking of the Lord's Supper with them; but at a church meeting appointed for the purpose, Mr. Manning was admitted to communion by vote of the church. Notwithstanding this, some of the members remained dissatisfied, at the privilege of transient communion being allowed Mr. Manning; whereupon another meeting was called previous to the next communion-day, in order to reconcile the difficulty. At said meeting Mr. Manning was confirmed in his privilege by a much larger majority. At the next church meeting, Mr. Windsor appeared with an unusual number of members from the country, and moved to have Mr. Manning displaced, but to no purpose. The ostensible reason of Mr. Windsor and of those with him for objecting against President Manning was, that he did not make imposition of hands a bar to communion, though he himself received it, and administered it to those who desired it. Mr. Windsor and the church knew Mr. Manning's sentiments and practice for more than six years at Warren; those, therefore, who were well informed, attributed the opposition to the President's holding to singing in public worship; which was highly disgusting to Mr. Windsor. The difficulty increasing, it was resolved to refer the business to the next association at Swansy. But when the case was presented, the association, after a full hearing on both sides, agreed that they had no right to determine, and that the church must act for themselves. The next church meeting, which was in October, was uncommonly full. All matters relative to the President were fully debated, and by a much greater majority were determined in his favor. It was then agreed all should sit

down at the Lord's table the next Sabbath, which was accordingly done. But at the subsequent communion season, Mr. Windsor declined administering the ordinance; assigning for a reason, that a number of the brethren were dissatisfied. April 18, 1771, being church meeting, Mr. Windsor appeared and produced a paper, signed by a number of members living out of town, dated, Johnston, February 27, 1771, in which they say,

"Brethren and sisters, -- We must in conscience withdraw ourselves from all those who do not hold strictly to the six principles of the doctrine of Christ, as laid down in Hebrews 6:1,2."

"At a church meeting held May 30, 1771, Mr. Samuel Windsor made a second declaration, that he withdrew from the church at Providence, and that he should break bread in Johnston, (an adjacent town) which he accordingly did the first Lord's day in June, and continued so to do.

"The church remaining in Providence, applied to Rev. Gardner Thurston, of Newport, for advice. In consequence of advice received, it was resolved to apply to Rev. Job and Russel Mason, of Swansy, to come and administer the Lord's supper. Accordingly, a letter was sent signed by Daniel Janekes, Esq. Deacon, Ephraim Wheaton, and others, bearing date, June 10, 1771. To this letter the following answer was received: Swansy, June 28, 1771.

"To the Brethren and Sisters in the town of Providence, not long since under the care of Elder Samuel Windsor, but now forsaken by him, we send greeting, wishing all grace, mercy and peace may abound toward you all, through our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Whereas you have sent a request for one of us to break bread among you, we laid your request before our church meeting, and there beg but few members present, and we, not being able to know what an event of such a proceeding might be at this time, think it not expedient for us to come and break bread with you. And whereas you have received Mr. Manning into your fellowship, and called him to the work of preaching, (he being ordained) we know not but by the same rule he may administer the Lord's supper. But whether it will be most expedient for you to omit the administration of the Lord's supper, considering the present circumstances of the case, until the association, we must leave you to judge. No more at present, but desiring you would seek God for wisdom to direct you in this affair; hoping you will have the glory of God, the credit of our holy religion, and the comfort of his children at heart, in all your proceedings, Farewell.

JOB MASON, RUSSEL MASON, Elders.

"In consequence of the above advice, the church appointed a meeting to consider the propriety of calling President Manning to administer ordinances to the church; whereupon the following resolution was formed:

"_At a meeting of the members of the Old Baptist Church Meeting in Providence, in church-meeting assembled this 31st day of July, 1771, Daniel Jenckes, Esq. Moderator. Whereas, Elder Samuel Windsor, now of Johnston, has withdrawn himself, and a considerable number of members of this church, from their communion with us who live in town; and we being destitute of a minister to administer the ordinances amongst us, have met together, In order to choose and appoint a suitable person for that purpose. Upon due consideration, the members present choose and appoint Elder James Manning to preach and administer the communion, according to our former usage._

"To the above resolve Mr. Manning returned the following answer: _As the church is destitute of an administrator, and think the cause of religion suffers through the neglect of the ordinances of God's house: I consent to undertake to administer *pro tempore*; that is, until there may be a more full disquisition of this matter, or time to seek other help; at least until time may prove whether it will be consistent with my other engagements, and for the general interest, of religion._

"This answer being accepted, the Rev. James Manning was appointed pastor of this church, *pro tempore*.

"At the general meeting or association, held September 20, 1771, a question was put _Whether those members who Withdrew with Mr. Windsor, or those in Providence, be considered the Old Church?_

Whereupon the brethren, meeting in Providence, were acknowledged the Old Church; but it was agreed that the association would hold communion with both churches so long as they walked agreeably to the gospel.

"Mr. Manning preached with general acceptance to an increasing congregation for some time, without any visible success in the conversion of sinners. In the latter end of the year 1774, the sudden death of one Mr. Biggilo, a young man, who was accidentally shot by his intimate companion, playing with a gun, made a very uncommon impression on the minds of many. In December of the same year, it pleased the Lord to make his power known to the hearts of Tamar Clemans and Venus Arnold, two black women, who were soon added to the church by baptism, and who maintained the dignity of their profession. The sacred flame of the gospel began to spread; and **in the course of fifteen months, one hundred and four persons confessed the power of the Spirit of Christ, in the conversion of their souls**, and entered the gates of Zion with joy. During this time a peculiar solemnity pervaded the whole congregation and town. There was a general attendance on the worship of God; and meetings for conference and prayer were held from house to house to great advantage.

The meeting-house was not sufficient to contain the people, who pressed to hear the word; therefore, those whose hearts the Lord opened, were ready to join their hands to build a more convenient place for the worship of God.

"A committee was now appointed to petition the general assembly of the State at their next session to obtain an act, empowering them to sell the meeting, house and ground, and lay out the motley arising from the sale thereof, in purchasing and preparing another lot, and building a house for the Baptist church and society. The petition was granted, and the meeting house and lot were sold at public venue to John Brown, Esq. for the sum of four hundred and twenty pounds, L.M. A generous subscription was soon obtained, and a lot of ground of large dimensions situated in the center of the town, was purchased of Mr. William Russel, and Mr. Amaziah Waterman.

"The draught of the new meeting-house was made by Joseph Brown, Esq. a member of this church, and Mr. Sumner, who also superintended the building. The floor was laid 80 feet square. It contains 126 square pews on the ground floor. A large gallery on the south, west, and north, and one other above on the west, for the use of the blacks. The roof and galleries are supported by twelve fluted pillars of the Doric order, the ceiling in the body is a continued arch, and over the galleries it is intersected; the adjustment of which, and the largeness of the building, render it extremely difficult for most who attempt to preach in it. At the east end is a very elegant, large Venitian window, before which the pulpit stands. At the west end is a steeple of the height of 196 feet, supposed to be the best workmanship of the kind of any in America, it was furnished with a good clock and bell, both made in London. The weight of the bell was 2515 lb. and upon it was the following motto:

"For freedom Of conscience, the town was first planted; Persuasion, not force, was used by the people; This church is the eldest and has not recanted, Enjoying and granting bell, temple, and steeple."

This bell was split by ringing in the year 1787, and afterwards recast by Jesse Goodyear at Hope Furnace; the weight thereof is 2387 lb. The inscription of it is,

"This Church was founded, A.D. 1639, the first in the State, and the oldest of the Baptists in America." The ground and building amounted to about seven thousand pounds, lawful money, that is, over 23,000 dollars. It was opened for publick worship, May 28, 1775, when the President, afterwards Doctor Manning, preached the first sermon from Genesis 28:17. This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.

"At this time, a number of the principal members of the church and congregation, sincerely wishing the utmost prosperity to attend the interest of Christ among them, proposed to form themselves into a body politick, to be known by the name of _The charitable Baptist society, in the town of Providence, in the colony of Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantation, in New England._ The design of this society was to raise a fund towards the support of the ministers of the church, educate youth, and other laudable purposes. These members petitioned the General Assembly, at their next session, holden at Newport, for a charter,

which was readily granted, on the first Wednesday in May, 1774. This society is still continued. "The church and congregation being happily settled in the new meeting house, and promising themselves great pleasure therein, were soon disturbed by the alarm of war. Many of the young members were taken away to join the army. Families removed for safety to the country; and those who were left behind, were exposed to the fears common to such afflictive seasons. Through divine goodness, the stated worship was continued, and meetings of business regularly preserved. When it pleased the Lord to ordain peace, and to return many of those brethren, who had been separated by public calamities, it was thought proper to hold two especial meetings; one at providence and the other at Pawtucket, four miles distant, where a number of the members resided. The design of these meetings was to engage each other to walk in the fear of God, and enjoy the happy privilege of christian communion, which proved of real advantage. However, the church was constrained to experience the sad consequences of their scattered state. Gifts and graces were greatly injured, and that bloom of profession, which appeared at the time of the general revival unhappily fades away.

"Dr. Manning continued his ministry to good satisfaction, and with success; but his constant employ in the college, not only prevented him from attending the affairs of the church, and from necessary visits, but unavoidably permitted its members to lie in a very unpleasant situation. The Doctor being sensible of these things, repeatedly entreated the church to look out for a minister to take the charge of them; and at length in a most honorable way resigned his pastoral office. He died in a fit of the apoplexy, universally regretted, July 29, 1791, leaving behind an amiable widow, who is yet living in Providence."

Thus far the history of this church has been transcribed from its records, which were set in order in 1775, by Rev. John Stanford, now of New-York, who was then preaching with them. This account, up to Dr. Manning's beginning in Providence, is found almost in the same form as here stated in Morgan Edward's MS. History, etc. prepared in 1771. It was published in Rippon's *Register* its 1802, and as it is well written, I have chosen to copy it without scarce any alteration.

After Dr. Manning's death, Mr. Snow Dr. Maxcy, President of Columbia College, South Carolina, served this church about two years. Next to him was **Mr. Stephen Gano**, who is still with them. He is a son of the late John Gano whose history will be related in the biographical department; was born in the city of New-York, Dec. 25, 1762; was bred to physic; was a surgeon in the American army in the latter part of the revolutionary war, and was settled in his medical profession at Orangetown, New-York, before his attention was called to the things of religion. At the age of 23 he commenced his ministry in the First Church in his native city, where he was ordained, May, 1786. From this period he labored successively at Hudson, Hillsdale, and Nine Partners, until 1792, when, by the call of this ancient church, he removed among them and became their pastor. During the twenty-one years of his pastoral labors here, some very precious and extensive revivals have been experienced, and by him about flee hundred persons have been baptized, who have joined this church, besides many others in different parts of the surrounding country.

The branches of this church have been considerably numerous, and it seems probable that from it originated either directly or indirectly most of the churches which have, at different times, arisen in the northern part of the State. Mr. Callender informs us that "this church shot out into divers branches, as the members increased, and the distance of their habitations made it inconvenient to attend the public worship in the town; several meetings were thereupon fixed at different places for their ease and accommodation; and about this time (1730) the large township of Providence became divided into four towns; their chapels of ease began to be considered as distinct churches, though all are yet (1738) in a union of councils and interests" [Century Sermon, p. 61. 62].

The towns taken from Providence were Smithfield, Gloucester, and Scituate; in each of which large and flourishing churches afterwards arose. In 1743, a church was formed at Greenwich, partly of members from this body.

The church in Cranston, still nearer home, was formed mostly of members from Providence in 1764. This church was first founded on Calvinistic principles, which, I conclude, did not long prevail among them. In 1771, a church arose at Johnston, only three miles distant, in consequence of Mr. Windsor's separations which has already been mentioned.

We must from that time pass on to 1805, in which year. were formed from this ancient body and in union with it, the second church in Providence, and the one at Pawtucket. The year after was formed the church at Pawtuxet. Considerably over a hundred members were dismissed to form these three churches, and yet it being a time of revival, the old church increased so fast, that it was larger after they were all formed than before. This church has experienced some changes as to its doctrinal sentiments: it was, as we have seen, first founded on the Particular or Calvinistic plan; in process of time they became what our English brethren would call General Baptists, and so continued for the most part more than a hundred years. From the commencement of Dr. Manning's ministry, they have been verging back to their first principles, and now very little of the Arminian leaven is found among them. **From first to last the Bible, without comment, has been their Confession of Faith.**

THE DOCTRINE OF LAYING-ON-OF-HANDS was, at the beginning of this church, held in a lax manner; but it became afterwards a term of communion, and continued so until after Dr. Manning came among them; he prevailed with the church to admit to occasional communion those brethren, who were not convinced of the duty of coming under hands; but very few such were received as members till after his death. But on August 4, 1791, the church had a full meeting, when this point was distinctly considered, and a clear vote was gained to admit members who did not hold that doctrine. But notwithstanding this vote, the laying-on-of-hands, not as an ordinance, but as a form of receiving new members, was generally practiced until 1808, when the pastor of the church, who had been educated in the belief of this ceremony, as his father was an advocate for it, and who had hitherto practiced it, not, however, without troublesome scruples of its propriety, found his mind brought to a stand on the subject, and after duly weighing the matter, informed the church, that he could no longer continue the practice, and unless they could excuse him, he must ask a dismissal from his pastoral care. After a full discussion of the subject, the church, with but one dissenting voice, voted not to dismiss him, and laying-on-of, hands of course fell into neglect. Some few worthy members were desirous of retaining both their pastor and this ancient ceremony, but not being disposed to act against the voice of the church, no division and but little controversy ensued.

Before we close this sketch, it is proper we should take notice of some things pertaining to this ancient and wealthy congregation, which have not yet been mentioned. The lot, on which their meeting house stands, is bounded on four streets, and is enclosed with a handsome and costly picket fence. Its dimensions are 150 feet on Main-street, west; 300 feet on Thomas-street, north; 170 feet on Benefit-street, east; and 188 on President-street, south. This spacious lot would occupy an entire square, were it not for two small lots on which are buildings at its southwest corner. This lot is near the center of the town, and would probably sell for at least thirty thousand dollars. The meeting house, forty, years ago, cost not far from twenty thousand dollars; it could not probably be built now under double that sum. Under the floor at the west end is a vestry, which will contain about five hundred persons.

The appendages of this establishment, which have not been mentioned, are,

1st. A large elegant glass chandelier, which cost about four hundred dollars, and was presented by Mrs. Ives, sister of Nicholas Brown, Esq. This lady, about the time she made this present, expended six hundred dollars in painting the inside of the meeting-house.

2d. A parsonage house, built in 1792, which, with the lot, cost about three thousand dollars; two thousand of which were given by the above mentioned Mr. Brown.

3d. Funds at interest, which produce about five hundred dollars a year. This fund was raised by subscription, and a considerable portion of it came from the Brown family.

4th. A legacy of about three hundred dollars, intrusted particularly with the church, for the benefit of the poor colored members. This, like the widow's mite, seems to be more than all the rest, as it was bequeathed by a black sister lately deceased, whose name was Patience Borden, commonly called Patience Sterry.

Second Church in Providence. -- This church arose, as we have already stated, in 1805. It was formed in perfect agreement with the first, and received from it the right hand of fellowship as a sister community. Its

seat is some distance from it on the west side of the river. Mr. Joseph Cornell, whose name has frequently occurred in the preceding narratives, became its pastor at the time of its constitution, and continued in that office about seven years. His membership is still with them, but he has been traveling as a missionary most of the time for a year or two past. They have had preaching constantly since his resignation; but the pastoral office is yet vacant. Mr. Cornell, previous to the founding of this church, had preached a short time with the congregation of the late Mr. Joseph Snow, who closed his long and successful ministry in 1803, when he was over 80 years of age. Mr. Snow was one of the zealous New-Lights of Whitefield's time, was ordained at Providence in 1747, and was, in early life, a companion in labors with Mr. Backus, and other successful itinerants of those times. He was a Pedobaptist in principle, but saw fit to administer baptism in any way his disciples chose, and as the Providence people are much inclined to the ancient mode, a considerable number of them were immersed. [Towards the close of Mr. Snow's ministry, his church was divided; the larger part has for its minister, Mr. James Wilson, who also immerses those, who prefer that mode. The part to which Mr. Cornell preached, is under the care of Mr. Thomas Williams, from Connecticut who chooses not to go into the water.] Mr. Snow was well esteemed by the Baptists in Providence and elsewhere. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Gano from 2 Timothy 4:7,8, I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, etc.

The church under consideration, by their own exertions, by the assistance of the old church and congregation, and others, built them a convenient house of worship 60 feet by 40. It was completely finished in less than two months after the foundation was begun.

Pawtucket Church. -- Pawtucket is four miles north-east of Providence, on the road to Boston. For a hundred and thirty or forty years past, there have at all times resided in this place and its vicinity, a number of the members of the church in Providence. Some of the most distinguished of whom were Ebenezer Jenks, for a number of years pastor of that body, Governor Joseph Senks, Judge William Jenks, and others. The pastors of Providence used frequently to preach here; but no provision was made for a stated meeting, until about 1795. At that time a number of the inhabitants formed themselves into a Baptist Society, obtained an act of incorporation, built them a house for worship, raised a fund of three thousand dollars for the support of preaching, and obtained supplies from different preachers, until the autumn of 1804, when the Author began to labor among them. A few months after a revival commenced, and in August, 1805, the church was formed of members dismissed for the purpose, from the mother church at Providence. The meeting house stands on a lot of half an acre, the gift of Nicholas Brown, Esq. of Providence; it was at first 45 feet by 36, but has been enlarged this summer, (1813) to 60 feet by 45.

Pawtucket is five miles below Providence, on the western shore of the Narraganset Bay. The church here was formed the year after that at Pawtucket, and is now under the care of a young man by the name of Bela Jacobs. The origin of this church was similar to the one at Pawtucket. Some of the Providence members had long resided in the place, and the inhabitants had, a number of years before the church was established, formed an incorporated Baptist Society, and built them a place of worship, which has since been enlarged.

We have thus given a general view of the origin, progress, appendages, and branches of the oldest Baptist church in America. The number of her ministerial sons cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision; since 1790, she hath given her approbation to the twelve following, whose stations we shall add to their names. Dr. Jonathan Maxcy, President of the college at Columbia, South Carolina; Dr. Asa Messer, President of Brown University; David Leonard, John M. Roberts, Statesbury, South-Carolina; Abisha Sampson, Harvard, Massachusetts; Ferdinand Ellis, Marblehead, do. Henry Grew, Hartford, Connecticut; Jonathan Going, Cavendish, Vermont; James Barnaby, Harwich, Massachusetts; Harvey Jenks, Hudson, New-York; George Angel, Woodstock, Connecticut; Nicholas Branch, not yet settled.

"This church," said Governor Hopkins, a Quaker, "hath from its beginning kept itself in repute, and maintained its discipline, so as to avoid scandal or schism to this day." And he further adds, "It hath always been and still is a numerous congregation, and in which I have with pleasure observed very lately sundry descendants from each of the founders of the colony, except Holliman." [Providence Gazette for March 16, 1765, article, History of Providence.]

This eulogium, which could not have flowed from sectarian partiality, was pronounced forty-eight years ago. This Baptist congregation is still large and respectable in every point of view; and in it are usually

found a greater number of men of wealth, of honorable, professional, and literary characters, than are to be found in any Baptist congregation in America, and their estate of different kinds, cannot be estimated at less than eighty thousand dollars. And the church, after fitting out so many daughters around, consists of four hundred and twenty-five members.

Such is the history of a Baptist community, which has ever protested against civil coercion in the affairs of conscience, which has always depended on the voluntary contributions of its patrons for its support, and which has existed an hundred and seventy-four years under the influence of those very principles, which many of the New-England declaimers have represented as heretical, licentious, dangerous, and disorganizing.

Among the families, who have been members and distinguished patrons of this church and society, those of the Browns_ and Jenks_ deserve particular notice. Others are entitled to respectful mention, but a connected history of them I have not been able to obtain.

From **Chad Brown**, who became the pastor of this church but three years after it was formed, descended that opulent and liberal train of benefactors, who have contributed so much to its splendor and convenience. One of his sons was, according to tradition, a preacher; but I find no record of him. His grandson James, of whom we have given an account, died the pastor of this church in 1732. Grandsons to him were the four brothers Nicholas, Joseph, John, and Moses, under whose superintendence the College was built, and who were, from the beginning of that institution, among its most distinguished patrons. Their mother was a member of the church, but their father was not.

Joseph Brown, L. L. D. was long a member of this church, was distinguished for his attainments in philosophical researches, and held, till his death, the office of Professor of Experimental Philosophy in the College, of which he was a zealous patron. He died December, 1785. Obadiah Brown, Esq. Mrs. Ward, and the youngest daughter of the pastor of this church, are all who remain of his posterity.

Nicholas Brown, Esq. died in 1791, in the 62d year of his age; his funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Stillman of Boston. "He was, from early life, engaged in the mercantile business, by which he acquired an ample fortune; he was from sentiment a lover of all mankind, especially of the good. His manners were plain and sincere; and in him the publick lost a good citizen, the College a Maecenas, mid the religious society, to which he belonged, an ornamental and main pillar." He was esteemed by his religious friends a man of piety, although he never so far surmounted his doubts, as to make a publick profession of religion. His only surviving children are Nicholas Brown, Esq. and Mrs. Ives, the wife of Thomas P. Ives, Esq. John Brown, Esq. was a liberal promoter of the Baptist Society and also of the College, the foundation stone of which was laid by him in 1769. He accumulated a vast estate, and left, it is said, half a million of dollars for his heirs, one of whom married James B. Mason, Esq. grandson of John Mason, one of the pastors of the second church in Swansea.

Moses Brown, Esq. is the only survivor of these brothers; he has been a liberal patron of the College, but has, for many years, belonged to the Society of Quakers or Friends.

The Jenks_ family for near a century resided mostly in Pawtucket and its vicinity; but they are now widely scattered in many different States, and not so many eminent men are found among them as formerly. They all descended from the Hon. Joseph Jenks, Esq. who was born in Buckinghamshire, England, 1632. When young, he came to America, tarried awhile at Lynn, in Massachusetts, and then emigrated to Pawtucket and erected the first house, which was built in this place. Here he built a forge, which was burnt down in King Philip's War. Whether he became a member of the church at Providence, I cannot learn, but he is reputed to have been a man of piety, and most of his descendants, who have professed religion, have been found in the Baptist connexion. His four sons, Joseph, Nathaniel, Ebenezer, and William, were eminent in their day; each of them built houses in Pawtucket, which are yet standing, and three of them were worthy members of the Providence church.

Joseph Jenks, who filled many important offices in the colony, who was a number of years an ambassador to the court of St. James on the business of the colony, and who was five years its Governor, was born in

1656, and was an active and ornamental member of the church, whose affairs we have in view. He was solicited to remain longer in the chair of State, but for this sage reason he declined: "I now," said he, "perceive my natural faculties abating -- if I should continue longer in office, it is possible I may be insensible of their decay, and may be unwilling to resign my post when I am no longer capable of filling it." He was interred in the family burying ground at Pawtucket, where the following epitaph maybe seen on his tomb:

"In memory of the Hon. Joseph Jenckes, Esq. late Governor of the Colony of Rhode-Island, Deceased the 15th day of June, A.D. 1740, in the 84th year of his Age. He was much Honoured and Beloved in Life and Lamented in Death: He was a bright Example of Virtue in every Stage of Life: He was a Zealous Christian, a Wise and Prudent Governor: a Kind Husband and a Tender Father: a good Neighbour and a Faithful Friend: Grave, Sober, Pleasant in Behaviour: Beautiful in Person, with a Soul truly Great, Heroic, and Sweetly Tempered."

His wife was Martha Brown, daughter of Elder James Brown of Providence, by whom he had children, Obadiah, Catharine, Nathaniel, Martha, Lydia, John, Mary, Esther, who married into the families of the Blakes, Turpins, Scotts, Andrews, Masons, Harendens, and Butkilns. John studied physick, went to England with his father to perfect himself in his profession, where he died with the small pox. It does not appear whom he married, but he left three children.

Major **Nathaniel Jenks** was born in 1662, and died in 1723, aged 61. Of Elder Ebenezer Jenks, one of the pastors of the Providence church, we have already given some account.

Judge **William Jenks**, the youngest of these four brothers, was a worthy member of the church at Providence, and died 1765, in the 91st year of his age.

Judge **Daniel Jenks**, a son of Elder Ebenezer, settled in Providence, became a member of the church, accumulated a great estate, and was a generous promoter of the Baptist interest in the town. It is said he expended a thousand dollars towards the College, and the same sum upon the meeting-house. He was born in Pawtucket, October 1701, was forty-eight years a member of the church, was forty years in the General Assembly, and nearly 30 years Chief Justice of Providence County Court. He died July, 1774, in the 73d year of his age. The Hon. Joseph Jenks, a member of the Providence church, who has lately removed to the Narraganset country, is a grandson of this eminent man, One of his daughters was also the mother of the present Nicholas Brown, Esq. and Mrs. Ives. The remaining history of the Jenks_ family, which will be somewhat more particular than we usually give, may be found in the footnote. [The house built by Governor Jenks is now owned by his great-grandson, George Jenks and Dr. Manchester. The part owned by Dr. Manchester is the oldest: In this the Governor died The other part was built while he resided at Newport by one of his sons. The one built by Elder Ebenezer is now owned by James Mason, Esq. Judge Williams_ house is that near to Samuel Slater_s, and is now owned by Friend Moses Brown of Providence. Nathaniel_s house is now owned by the widow and heirs of the late Ichabod Jenks In this house the Pawtucket Church first covenanted together. It is said, that the old part at the east end of it, which is now in tolerable repair, is the very house built by Joseph Jenks, the planter of Pawtucket; that it first stood not far from where Mr. Timothy Green_s house now stands, and was removed from that place to its present situation. From Governor Jenks descended the Honorable John Andrew, the Honorable Peleg Arnold, and the wife of James Fenner, Esq. late Governor of Rhode Island. From Elder Ebenezer Jenks descended, as we have seen, Judge Daniel Jenks, Ebenezer Jenks, Esq. Mr. Esek Esten, who furnished these accounts of this family, and the widow of the late David L. Barns, Judge of the District of Rhode Island. From Judge William descended Jonathan Jenks, one of the members of Providence church, who died at Brookfield, but was brought down and buried at Pawtucket. His sons were Gideon, Judge Jonathan, who died at Winchester, and Nicholas, now of Brookfield, the father of Hervy Jenks, now pastor of the church in the city of Hudson, New York. Samuel Eddy, Esq. Secretary of State, and one of the Providence Church, is connected by blood to both Judge William Jenks of Pawtucket, and Elder Chad Brown of Providence. From Nathaniel descended a numerous family, many of whom are in Pawtucket and its vicinity, and many have removed to other parts. The descendents of the late Captain Stephen and Mr. Ichabod Jenks all sprang from Major Nathaniel, the second son of the ancient and Honorable Joseph. Of his posterity also is Nicholas Branch, who has lately been approbated as a preacher by the old Providence church. One of Governor Jenks_ grandchildren, namely Joseph, belongs to the Pawtucket church, and a great number of the

great-grandchildren of him and his three brothers, and some of the fifth generation, belong to the churches and congregations of Pawtucket and Providence. Thus from the ancient and Honorable Joseph Jenks, who was one of the Senators of the colony, or as they call them Assistants of the Governor, have descended a most numerous posterity, which it is supposed would, counting them in the male and female lines, amount to eight or ten thousand. Among his grandchildren were ten widows of remarkable character: namely Catharine Turpin, ancestor of a gentleman of that name, now in Charleston, South Carolina. At her house the General Assembly of the colony was held for many years. She died at the age of 88. Second, Catharine Jenks, widow of Captain Nathaniel, who died in his 96th year. Third, Bridget, widow of another Nathaniel, who lived to the age of 89. Forth, Experience, widow of Ebenezer Jenks, Esq. who lived to be more than 90. Fifth, Joanna, widow of Judge Daniel Jenks, who died in her 93rd year. Sixth, Rachel, widow of Cornelius Esten, who lived to be 71. Seventh, Mercy, widow of Philip Wheeler, who lived to her 80th year, and died a member of the Swansea church. Eighth, Freeloove, widow of Jonathan Jenks, who lived also to the age of 80. Ninth, Mercy, widow of Thomas Comstock, she was a Quaker and lived to the age of 90. Tenth, Patience, widow of John Olney, Esq. who died at the age of four score. These ten widows were all first cousins, seven by blood, and three by marriage, were all eminent for piety, and most of them were members of the Providence Church. Some of the eighth generation from this ancient Joseph, are now settled in the State of Ohio.]

The next cluster of churches, which demand our attention, are those of **NEWPORT**

First Church. -- For the origin of this church we must go back to 1644, when according to tradition it was formed. The constituents were Dr. John Clark and wife, Mark Lukar, Nathaniel West and wife, William Vaughan, Thomas Clark, Joseph Clark, John Peckham, John Thorndon, William and Samuel Weeden.

JOHN CLARK, M.D. was the founder of this church and also its first minister. He took the care of them at their settlement, and continued their minister until his death, which happened in 1676, in the 66th year of his age. He had three wives, but left no children. The Clarks now in the State sprang from his brothers Thomas, Joseph, and Carew. Where Mr. Clark was born is not certainly known. In some of his old papers he is styled "John Clark of London, Physician;" but tradition makes him a native of Bedfordshire. Neither can we find where he had his education and studied physick; but we meet with proofs of his acquaintance with the learned languages. In his will he gives to his "dear friend, Richard Bailey, his Hebrew and Greek books; also (to use his own words) my Concordance with a Lexicon to it belonging, written by myself, being the fruit of several years_ study." His baptism and ordination are also matters of uncertainty; tradition saith, that he was a preacher before he left Boston, but that he became a Baptist after his settlement on Rhode-Island by means of Roger Williams. The cause of his leaving Boston and the Massachusetts colony has been related in the beginning of this chapter. An account of his imprisonment at Boston may be found under the head of Massachusetts. Soon after his release from that scene of affliction, he was appointed with Roger Williams to go to England on the business of the Rhode-Island colony, where he tarried twelve years, and returned with their second charter in 1663. "By which it appears," says Morgan Edwards, "that Mr. Clark had a hand with Mr. Williams in establishing the polity of this government, that he without him, might not be made perfect." Mr. Clark_s character as a christian was unspotted; "as a divine," says Mr. Callender, "he was among the first, who publickly avowed that Jesus Christ alone is king in his own kingdom" [Century Sermon, p. 16]. His sentiments were those of the Particular Baptists. His *Narrative of the Sufferings of Obadiah Holmes*, etc. printed in London in 1652, is the only piece of writing which has come down to us.

Successor to him was Obadiah Holmes, who had such a terrible scouring at Boston, for preaching the gospel and baptizing some persons at Lynn, an account of which has been related. He had for his assistant Mr. Joseph Tory, of whom we find no more than that he was one of the three who went to Boston in 1668, to assist the Baptists in that curious dispute, of which we have given an account in the history of Massachusetts.

Mr. Holmes was a native of Preston, Lancashire, England; arrived in America about 1639, and continued a communicant with the Pedobaptists, first at Salem, then at Rehoboth, about eleven years, when he became a Baptist and joined to this church. After he had recovered from his wounds inflicted at Boston, he removed his family from Rehoboth to Newport, where he found an asylum from the rage of his enemies, and in 1652, the year after Mr. Clark set sail for England, was invested with the pastoral office which he held till

his death in 1682, aged 76 years. He was buried in his own field, where a tomb is erected to his memory. Mr. Holmes had eight children, and his posterity are spread in different parts of New-England, Long-Island, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, etc. "and it is supposed," says M. Edwards, "could all that sprang from him in the male and female lines be numbered, they would amount (in 1790) to near 5000." His son Obadiah was long a judge in New-Jersey, and a preacher in the Baptist church at Cohansey. Another of his sons, by the name of John, was a magistrate in Philadelphia, at the time of the Keithian separation, which will be mentioned towards the close of the second volume. One of his grand. sons was alive in Newport in 1770, in the 96th year of his age. After Mr. Holmes was Richard Dingly and William Peckham, of whom we can learn but little more than that they were men of good characters and useful in their day, and that the former went to South-Carolina in 1694. [Backus, vol. iii. p. 228.] The fifth pastor of this church was John Comer, A. B. He was born in Boston in 1704, began his education at Cambridge, but finished it at New-Haven. Before he entered college he had hopefully experienced a gracious change; while there, one of his intimate, young friends, by the name of Crafts, joined the Baptist church in Boston. Comer admonished him for his departure from the faith, and entreated him to recant; but being prevailed on to read Stennett on baptism, he became convinced of the sentiments he had opposed, joined the same church with his friend Crafts, and by it was approbated to preach in 1725. [Backus, vol. ii. p. 66, 111.] From Boston he went to Swansea, where he was invited to settle, but was prevented by an invitation from Newport. Hither he came, and was ordained co-pastor with Mr. Peckham, May, 1726. His ministry in this place was short but successful; by his means singing in publick was introduced, which had not before been practiced. The laying-on-of-hands was held in a lax manner, and his attempts to urge it as an indispensable duty, though not as a term of communion, gave offense to two leading members in the church, and was the means of his being dismissed from his office. He afterwards settled in that part of Rehoboth called the Oak Swamp, where he gathered a church in 1732; but falling into a decline, he was removed from the scene of his labors, 1734, in the 30th year of his age. His son John is now a member of the church in Warren in this State, between eighty and ninety years of age. Mr. Comer bid fair to be one of the most eminent ministers of his day; his character was unspotted and his talents respectable and popular; he had conceived the design of writing the history of the American Baptists, and for the purpose of forwarding it traveled as far as Philadelphia, opened a correspondence with persons in the different colonies, and also in England and Ireland. He was curious in making minutes of remarkable events of every kind; he also collected many useful facts for his intended history. These minutes, in the few years of his ministry, swelled to two volumes folio of about 60 pages each. They are now owned by his aged son of Warren, and were by him loaned to the Author. These minutes, together with his letters upon historical matters (for he preserved copies of them all) have been of singular advantage to Edwards, Backus, and the writer of this sketch of this promising man, whom a mysterious providence saw fit to cut down almost in the beginning of his course.

The next in office in this church was **JOHN CALLENDER**, A.M. He was a native of Boston, nephew of Elisha Callender, pastor of the old church in that town, was educated at Cambridge, and was one of the very few, who enjoyed the benefit of Mr. Hollis_ donation to that Institution. He became pastor of this flock in 1731, and acted the part of a good shepherd till his death, which happened January 26, 1748. He published, 1st, A Funeral Sermon, occasioned by the death of Rev. Mr. Clap, a Congregational minister of Newport.

2d, A Sermon preached at the ordination of Mr. Condry of Boston. 3d, A Sermon to young people.

And 4th, *A Sketch of the History of Rhode-Island* for a hundred years, usually known by the name of the Century Sermon, from which much assistance has been derived in the preceding sketches of this State. Mr. Callender_s excellent character was thus drawn by Dr. Moffit in an epitaph which may be seen on his tomb in Newport:

"Confident of awaking, here reposes JOHN CALLENDER; Of very excellent endowments from nature, And of an accomplished education, Improved by application in the wide circle Of the more polite arts and useful sciences. From motives of conscience and grace He dedicated himself to the immediate service Of GOD, In which he was distinguished as a shining And very burning light by a true and faithful Ministry of seventeen years in the first Baptist Church of Rhode-Island, where the purity And evangelical simplicity of his doctrine, confirmed And embellished by the virtuous and devout tenor Of his own life, Endeared him to his flock, and justly conciliated The esteem, love, and reverence of all the Wise, worthy, and good. Much humanity, benevolence and charity Breathed in his conversation, discourses and writings, Which were all

pertinent, reasonable, and useful. Regretted by all, lamented by his friends, and Deeply deplored by a wife and numerous issues He died, In the forty-second year of his age, January 26, 1748; Having struggled through the vale of life In adversity, much sickness, and pain, With fortitude, dignity, and elevation of soul, Worthy of the philosopher, christian and divine."

Mr. Callender was succeeded by **Edward Upham**, A.M. who was born at Malden, near Boston, 1709, was educated at Cambridge, and probably received the benefit of Mr. Hollis's donation. He became a minister of this church in 1748, where he continued until 1771, when he resigned his office and returned to West-Springfield, in Massachusetts, where he was first settled, and where he spent the remainder of his days. Some further account of him may be seen in the history of the West-Springfield church. Next to him was Erasmus Kelly, a native of Buck's County, Pennsylvania, where he was born in 1748. He was educated at the College in Philadelphia, and began to preach in 1769; two years after, he was called to Newport and was ordained the pastor of this church, which prospered much under his ministry until the troubles of the war obliged him to remove to Warren, where the enemy followed him and burnt the parsonage house in which he lived with Mr. Thompson, together with his goods, November 7, 1778. After this he tarried awhile in Connecticut, and then went back to Pennsylvania. On the return of peace he resumed his charge at Newport, which he continued not a year before he was removed by death in 1784.

Mr. Kelly was succeeded by **Benjamin Foster**, D. D. afterwards pastor of the first church in New York. He continued with them but about three years.

In 1790, Mr. **Michael Eddy**, their present pastor, was settled among them. He was born in Swansea, November 1, 1760, and was ordained in the second church in that town in 1785. Two very considerable revivals have been experienced in this church within ten or twelve years; its present number is 250. Its possessions are 1st, A farm of about 150 acres, which now rents for 600 dollars a year. 2d, A lot of 30 acres, rented for 100 dollars a year. 3d, A lot in the town occupied by the pastor as a garden. This property was bequeathed to the church by Mr. John Clark its founder. In addition to these valuable possessions, they have, for a parsonage house, the mansion of Governor Lyndon, which was bequeathed to them by that honorable member of their Society. The Governor was esteemed a man of piety, although he never joined the church; he died 1778, aged 74. The meeting house to this church is 40 feet by a little under 60. The lot is 73 feet by 64, and was given by Col. Hezekiah Carpenter, and Governor Lyndon.

Second Church. -- This church originated in 1656, when twenty-one persons broke off from the first church, and formed themselves into a separate body. Their names were William Vaughan, Thomas Baker, James Clark, Jeremiah Clark, Daniel Wightman, John Odlin, Jeremiah Weeden, Joseph Card, John Greenman, Henry Clark, Peleg Peckham, James Barker, Stephen Hookey, Timothy Peckham, Joseph Weeden, John Rhodes, James Brown, John Hammet, William Rhodes, Daniel Sabear, and William Greenman.

These seceders objected against the old body, 1st. Her use of psalmody. 2d. Undue restraints upon the liberty of prophesying, as they termed it. 3d. Particular Redemption. 4th. Her holding the laying-on-of-hands as a matter of indifference.

This last article is supposed to have been the principal cause of the separation. Mr. Clark was now in England on the business of the colony, had he been with his church the division might have been prevented. But this is one of the many cases where similar divisions have been overruled for good.

The three first pastors of this church were William Vaughan, Thomas Baker, and John Harden. The first died in 1677; the second after ministering here awhile, removed and raised up a church at North Kingston. The third was a native of England, and died in the pastoral care of this people in 1700.

The fourth in succession was James Clark a nephew of Dr. John. He was ordained pastor of this flock in 1701, by Messrs. Dexter, Tillinghast, and Brown of Providence, and continued in good esteem until he died, December 1, 1736, aged 87.

Daniel Wightman was his colleague and successor. He was born in Narraganset, January 2, 1668, was ordained in 1701, at which time he took the joint care of the church with Mr. Clark. He continued in office until he died in 1750 aged 82. He was a man of an excellent character, was related to Valentine Wightman of Groton, Connecticut, and is supposed to have been a descendant of Edward Wightman, who was burnt for heresy at Litchfield in 1612, being the last man, who suffered death for conscience_ sake in England.[34]

The colleague and successor of Mr. Wightman was the famous Nicholas Eyres. He was born at a place called Chipmanslade, Wilts county, England, August 22, 1691; came to New-York about the year 1711; was baptized about three years after by Mr. Wightman of Groton, of which event, and also of his ministry in that city, an account will be given under the head of New-York. October, 1731, he set sail for Newport in compliance with an invitation from this church, and the same month was settled co-pastor with Mr. Wightman. "Mr. Eyres left behind him heaps of manuscripts, some polemical, some doctrinal, some political, for which he was every way qualified." He died February 13, 1759, and was buried in Newport, where a tomb was erected to his memory with the following inscription:

"From an early institution in the languages
And mathematical learning,
He proceeded to the study of the sacred scriptures,
And from them alone derived
The true christian science
Of the recovery of man
To virtue and happiness.
This he explained in his pastoral instructions;
This he happily recommended in his own example
Of gravity, piety, and unblemished morals.
Like his Divine master
In his daily visitations
He went about doing good.
He was a friend to the virtuous of every denomination,
But a foe to established error and superstition;
An enemy to unscriptural claims of superiority
Among the churches of our common Lord;
But of protestant liberty and the rights of conscience
An able and steady defender.
From these distinguishing strictures
And ruling principles of his character
Posterity may know,
Or at least have reason to judge,
That while many monumental inscriptions
Perpetuate the names of those
_Who will awake to shame and everlasting contempt,
This stone transmits the memory of one,
Who shall shine as the brightness of the firmament
And as the stars for ever and ever."

Mr. Eyres was succeeded by Mr. Gardner Thurston, who was ordained the April after his death. The history of this worthy man may be found in the biographical department. During a part of his ministry, his meeting-use and congregation were the largest among the Baptists in New-England. [See earlier in this work.] He finished his long and successful course in 1802.

Mr. Joshua Bradley, a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Brown University was, a few years previous to Mr. Thurston_s death, ordained as co-pastor with him. Under his ministry large additions were made to the church; but in the midst of a prosperous course he saw fit to ask a dismission, and removed to Connecticut; he has lately settled at Windsor in Vermont.

Successor to Mr. Bradley is Mr. John B. Gibson, who was settled among this people in 1807. He was born in Woodbury, Connecticut, in 1765; was first a Methodist, and a preacher in their connexion about

eight years; was, after traveling different circuits, located at Warren, Rhode-Island, where he became fully convinced of believers_ baptism, and of the errors of Wesley_s creed; was baptized by Mr. Baker in May, 1807, and was ordained in the same place the June following.

The house of worship belonging to this church and congregation is 76 feet by 50. It stands on a lot of 140 feet by 75. Adjoining is another lot 50 feet square, on which is a small building, formerly occupied as a school-house, but now it is used for the accommodation of some of the poor members. Their funds are only 750 dollars; 400 of which are expressly appropriated for the poor.

The old Sabbatarian church in this town will be noticed under the head of Seventh Day Baptists, towards the close of the second volume.

A fourth church was formed in **Newport** in 1788. It was, till lately, under the care of Mr. Caleb Green, who is now in Suffield, Connecticut. They have now no one, who is properly their pastor; they, however, keep up their meetings, and Elder William Moore, who is far advanced in years, and others among them, help to carry them on. Their number is about 75.

In **Tiverton**, on the east side of this State, are three churches, which arose in the following manner: The first was formed in the adjoining town of Dartmouth about 1685; the members at first lived in Dartmouth, Tiverton, and Little Compton. Their first minister was Hugh Mosier, and next to him was Aaron Davis. This was the seventh Baptist church formed on the American continent. In process of time its seat was removed from Dartmouth to Tiverton, where, it continues to the present day. Philip Taber succeeded Mr. Davis, and ministered to this people until his death, which happened in 1752. He was a respectable minister and useful citizen. During his ministry an event took place, which made considerable noise both in England and America. Tiverton was then claimed by Massachusetts, and continued to be until 1741. In 1723, the Assembly of that Commonwealth passed an act to raise five hundred and seventy-five dollars, in the towns of Dartmouth and Tiverton, for the support of their ministers; and to blind the eyes of the people in these towns, who were mostly Quakers and Baptists, this sum was put in with the province tax, and was afterwards to have been drawn out of the treasury.[36] But the assessors of these towns, of whom Mr. Taber was one, getting knowledge of the devise, refused to assess the money, for which they were imprisoned in Bristol gaol about eighteen months, and were then released in obedience to an order from the Court of St. James, dated June, 1724. The names of these sufferers were, besides Mr. Taber, Joseph Anthony, John Sisson, and John Atkin. Their petition was laid before the clement prince George I by Thomas Richardson and Richard Partridge, Quakers, who were set forward and supported in their embassy by the Society of Friends. [Morgan Edwards.]

Next to Mr. Taber was David Hounds of Rehoboth, who ministered to the church about thirty years. After him was Benjamin Shelden, and then Peleg Burroughs from Newport, who was settled among them in 1775, and died, after a pious and successful ministry, in 1800. In 1780 and 1781, he had the happiness of receiving to membership in his flock 105 persons. Their next pastor was Mr. Benjamin Peckham from Newport, who was settled among them in 1801. In 1805-6 a refreshing season of an extensive nature was granted to this people, and about 100 were added to their number.

From this church proceeded the second in Tiverton in 1788, which is now under the care of Mr. Job Borden; and in 1808 another church was formed from the old body, at Howland_s Bridge, in the same town.

Warren. -- This church was constituted October 15, 1764, one of the constituents was Dr. Manning, then residing in the town; most of the other members had previously belonged to the old church in Swansea, only three miles distant. Mr. Manning took the care of this church at its beginning, and continued with them till 1770, when he removed with the College to Providence.

Successor to him was Mr. Charles Thompson, A. M. one of the first graduates of the college, which began its movements in this town. Mr. Thompson was born at Amwell, New-Jersey, April 14, 1748, was ordained at Warren in 1771, by Messrs. Ebenezer Hinds of Middleborough, and Noah Alden, of Bellingham. He was a chaplain in the army almost three years of the first part of the Revolutionary War;

and it was while he was at home on a visit, that the British came up to Warren, burnt the meeting and parsonage houses, carried him to Newport, and confined him in a guard ship, from which he was released in about a month, by what means he never knew. After this he preached a short time in Pomfret, Connecticut, and as the church at Warren was mostly dispersed, and many of them had gone back to the mother church at Swansea, he, by the invitation of that body, became their pastor in 1779 or 1780. In this situation he continued 23 years, when he removed to Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he died, May 1, 1803, in the 56th year of his age. His widow and three of his children are now settled in Warren. Mr. Thompson left behind him an unblemished character, and a large circle of cordial friends. His MS. writings were numerous, but nothing of his has appeared in print.

It was not till after the war that the church, under consideration, resumed its travel as a distinct body; they had, for about eight years after their dispersion, stood as a branch of the church at Swansea.

In 1784, they built their present meeting-house, on the same ground where their former one stood. It is 61 feet by 44, and has a steeple and bell. About two years after this house was built, Mr. John Pitman settled in the town, and ministered to this people till 1790, when he removed to Providence. After him Mr. Nathaniel Cole, now in Plainfield, Connecticut, and others preached here occasionally, till 1793, when Mr. Luther Baker, their present pastor, was ordained. He was born in the town, June 11, 1770. Under his ministry some very considerable revivals have been experienced. In the year 1805, over ninety were added to their number. In September, 1812, immediately after the session of that Association, which took its name from this town, another revival commenced, in which over sixty were baptized in the course of a few months. This church has a fund of about fourteen hundred dollars.

Bristol. -- This town is five miles south of Warren, and is next in size, and in point of commercial importance, to Providence and Newport. It was, until 1741, claimed by Massachusetts, and, being a shire town, its gaol was the frequent receptacle of Baptists, Quakers, and others, who were so heretical as not to pay their parish taxes. From this, and other causes, the Baptists gained but little influence here, until long after the Pedobaptists had acquired a permanent standing. But the principles of believers' baptism have at length forced their way through the barriers of antiquated errors, and a church has been formed, which bids fair to flourish and prevail. It arose in the following manner: In 1780, **Mrs. Hopestill Munro, the wife of Hezekiah Munro, was led to embrace the Baptist sentiments, and was the first person in the town from time immemorial, who submitted to baptism in the Apostolical mode.** [Stratagems of this kind were very frequent in these times.] **A few months after was baptized the wife of Mr. Daniel Lefavour,** who died about fifteen years ago, with a well grounded hope of immortality. **On her death bed, she left a solemn injunction on her husband, to give unconditionally seven hundred dollars for the support of the ministry in Bristol, whenever there should arise a church of the same faith and order with the one at Warren** under the care of Mr. Baker. This sum her husband bequeathed in his Will, dated May, 1797, was entrusted with the Warren church, and has now increased to near fifteen hundred dollars. The next person baptized in this place was Mrs. Hannah Martin, who is still living. Thus slowly progressed the Baptist interest in Bristol, until 1801, when Dr. Thomas Nelson, whose name has been mentioned in the account of the second church in Middleborough, settled in the place in the practice of his profession. By his means Baptist preachers were procured to visit the town, among whom were Elders Simeon Coombs and Joseph Cornell, whose labors were greatly blessed. And in 1811, a church was formed, which at first consisted of only 23 members, but has since increased to 56.

This church has been supplied a year since its constitution by Mr. James M. Winchell, a native of North-Eastown, New-York, who lately finished his education at Providence. Since the history of the first church in Boston was sent to press, Mr. Winchell has gone to visit that people, with whom there is a prospect of his settling. And very lately Mr. Barnabas Bates, of Barnstable, has accepted a call to settle with this church. They meet now in a commodious hall, called the Tabernacle, in Dr. Nelson's house, which he has fitted up for the purpose, but are making exertions to erect a house for worship, and it is sincerely hoped that the neighbouring churches will lend them their aid. Mrs. Munro, first mentioned, has lately given them a deed of an estate valued at a thousand dollars. This, with their other funds, amount to two thousand seven hundred dollars.

A short time since there was a very remarkable revival in this town; not far from two hundred were hopefully awakened to religious concern; a considerable number of them were buried in baptism, but few,

however, comparatively, united with the Baptists. The additions were made mostly to the Congregational, Episcopalian, and Methodist churches.

On the west side of the Narraganset Bay, in the counties of Kent and Washington, are a considerable number of churches, of which our limits prevent our giving a very particular account. A few of them are of ancient date, some arose in and after the New-Light Stir, and others have arisen within a few years past.

We shall now proceed to some account of the Associations, which have originated in this State, and to which the Rhode-Island churches now belong.

At what time the churches in this State began to associate I do not find, but it was probably at an early period. Mr. Comer gives an account of an Association or General Convention, as it was then called, 1729, which was supposed to have been the largest assemblage of brethren they had ever witnessed. Thirteen churches were represented, and the whole number of messengers was thirty-two. The churches composing this convention were the one in Providence, the second in Newport, two in Smithfield, and one in each of the towns of Scituate, Warwick, North and South-Kingston. In other colonies were the one in Dartmouth, now the first in Tiverton, the second in Swansea, and those of Groton, New-London, and New-York. The ministers belonging to these churches were of Providence, James Brown; of Smithfield, Jonathan Sprague; of Scituate, Peter Place and Samuel Fisk; of Newport, James Clark, Daniel Wightman, and John Comer, then supplying them after his dismissal from the first church; of Warwick, Manasseh Martin; of North-Kingston, Richard Sweet; of South-Kingston, Daniel Everett; of Swansea, Joseph Mason; of Dartmouth, Phillip Taber; of Groton, Valentine Wightman; of New-London, Stephen Gorton; of New-York, Nicholas Eyres. Ten of these ministers were present; the number of communicants at the convention were 250, and the number of auditors about 1000. The churches were all strenuous for the laying-on-of-hands, and were generally inclined to those doctrinal sentiments, which in England would have denominated them General Baptists. At the same time there were the first churches in Newport, Swansea, and Boston, who held decidedly to particular election, and who did not practice the imposition of hands, and for these reasons were not members of the Association. These sixteen churches comprehended at that time all the Baptists this side of New. Jersey.

It is now (1815) eighty four years since this great Association, as it was then esteemed, was held; very considerable changes have taken place in most of the churches of which it was then composed; but the same body on the same plan of doctrine and discipline, still exists under the name of the Rhode-Island Yearly Meeting. This meeting, on account of its making the laying-on-of-hands a term of communion, and its inclination to the Arminian system of doctrine, has no connexion with any of the neighboring Associations. It contains thirteen churches, twelve ministers, and over eleven hundred members. Eight of the churches are in this State, the others are in Massachusetts and New York.

WARREN ASSOCIATION

This body was formed in the place from which it took its name in 1767, at which time three ministers 39 from the Philadelphia Association came on with a letter to encourage the measure. Only four churches at first associated, viz. Warren, Haverhill, Bellingham, and the second in Middleborough. The delegates from six other churches were present, but they did not feel themselves ready to proceed in the undertaking. As the annual commencement of the college had been fixed on the first Wednesday of September, the anniversary of the Association was appointed the Tuesday after. This arrangement is still observed. The second and third sessions of this Association were held in the place where it was formed. The fourth was at Bellingham and the fifth at Sutton in 1771, by which time it had increased to 20 churches and over 800 members. This year they began to print their Minutes, and have continued to do so to the present time. The two churches in Boston fell in with this establishment a few years, after it was begun, but it was some time before the Providence church, which is now the oldest and largest in it, could be brought into its measures. The doctrine of the laying-on-of-hands was probably the principal cause of this delay. This Association for a number of years included a large circle of churches, which were scattered over a wide extent of country in Rhode-Island, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Vermont, and Connecticut. Most of them were however in Massachusetts, and in process of time Boston became not far from its center. It has, from its beginning, been a flourishing and influential body; has contained a number of ministers of eminent standing in the Baptist connexion; has successfully opposed the encroachments of religious oppression; has

aided the designs of the college at Providence; has devised plans of a literary and missionary nature; and has been more or less concerned in whatever measures have had a view to the promotion of the cause of truth, of the Baptist interest in New England, and remoter regions. By this body were presented many addresses to the rulers of Massachusetts, and some to the continental Congress against civil oppressions for conscience sake; by it also were issued many publications in defense of religious freedom. It was almost constantly employed in measures of this kind from its formation to the close of the war in 1783; and no small success attended its exertions.

After traveling in union upwards of forty years, and witnessing within its bounds much of the divine goodness, it had become so large that its division appeared indispensable, and accordingly a new one was formed, called the BOSTON; of which we have already given a brief account. Thus the staff has become two bands, which together contain 65 churches, 53 ministers, and almost 7000 members.

In the south, west part of this State, in the counties of Kent and Washington, are eleven churches, which belong, to the Stonington and Groton Associations in Connecticut.

Some of them arose in the New-Light Stir in Whitefield's time. The church at Exeter, belonging to the Stonington Association, was formed in 1750; it has ever been a flourishing body, and now contains over 250 members, and is under the care of Mr. Gershom Palmer.

The large Sabbatarian church at Hopkinton will be noticed under the head of Seventh-Day Baptists towards the close of the second volume.

We shall now close the history of this State with some brief remarks. We have already quoted some of the calumniating accounts, which have been given of the people in this State, and the following extract will show that they now stand no higher in the estimation of some of their Pedobaptist neighbors than formerly. Dr. Worcester, of Salem, in his epistolary dispute with Dr. Baldwin, of Boston, found it necessary to resort to a State, which was founded by an exile from his own government, for arguments against his opponent. "Was not Rhode-Island," said he, "originally settled on Antipedobaptist principles? Have not those principles there been left to their free and uncontrolled operation and influence? To these interrogations there can be but one answer. If then," continues he, "the principles of Antipedobaptism were true and scriptural, might we not look to Rhode-Island for a more general prevalence of divine knowledge, a more general and sacred observance of divine institutions, more pure and flourishing churches, and more of the spirit of primitive christianity, than is to be expected in almost any other part of the globe? But what is the actual result of this experiment? Alas! let the forsaken, decayed houses of God -- let the profaned and unacknowledged day of the Lord -- let the unread and even exiled oracles of divine truth -- let the neglected and despised ordinances of religion -- let the dear children and youth, growing up in the most deplorable ignorance of God, his word, and sacred institutions -- let the few friends of Zion, weeping in secret places over her desert, her affecting and wide-spread desert around them -- let the deeply-impressed missionaries, who, in obedience to the most urgent calls, have been sent by Pedobaptist societies into different parts of the State -- be allowed to testify! If there be religion there, is it not almost wholly confined to those places in which Pedobaptist churches are established, and a Pedobaptist influence has effect. "Witness the late revivals!"

This gloomy and affecting picture was drawn but three or four years ago. It is doubted whether this Rev. Doctor was ever in the State, and it is probable that the outlines of his doleful picture were furnished by those slanderous missionaries, whose urgent calls for eight dollars a week, led them to travel in it. [We know not what other urgent calls these deeply-impressed missionaries have to travel in Rhode Island. It is certain the Baptists do not call them, for they have but little faith in their commission--the Quakers will not hear them, because they do not think they are moved by the Spirit to teach--and it cannot be that there are any of Dr. Worcester's Pedobaptists in those "deserts, those affecting wide-spread deserts" which they visit, for their influence would soon convert them into celestial regions. We will not dispute about their urgent calls, but we know well enough, that they roam around the rocks and forests of Burrillville, Gloucester, etc. the most destitute parts of the state, and from their scanty survey represent the whole of it as sunk into the most deplorable condition of profaneness and barbarism. The candid reader will, doubtless, consider the following statement a sufficient refutation of this ungenerous calumny. There are thirty-six Baptist churches in Rhode-Island in which are over five thousand communicants, who have all been

received upon a verbal relation of their religious experience; pertaining to the denomination are about thirty meeting-houses in good repair,* besides a number of others in which meetings are held, and which will probably be fitted up in better order, when the gracious, Lord shall again revive his work in their vicinities. There are now, and have been for a great many years, over forty stated meetings among the Baptists in this State, besides many occasional ones in school-houses, private dwellings, etc. Of other denominations, there are eighteen congregations of Quakers or Friends, the same number of meeting-houses, in which they statedly assemble twice a week, and in their community they reckon 1150 members; there are eleven churches of Congregationalists, as many houses of worship, and probably not far from 1000 communicants; there are four Episcopal churches, fourteen. Methodist Societies, a few churches of those who call themselves Christians, a Moravian Chapel, and a Synagogue for Jews.

[* In this list of churches, we do not reckon a number, which, by deaths and removals, have so far declined, that they have in a measure lost their visibility, although many worthy members remain to mourn over the broken walls of their Zion. We may add to this account of meeting houses, that there are many new commodious school houses, in the neighborhood of the factories, built by their owners on purpose for the accommodation of meetings as well as schools. Public worship is also maintained either stately or occasionally in academies, courthouses, and halls of different kinds, in divers parts of the state. Besides the meeting houses we have reckoned in good repair, there are a considerable number which are not so. But it ought to be observed that within this present century, many new houses have been built, and of the remainder a number have been built anew, enlarged, or repaired, since the last war. Of the houses of worship belonging to our churches in some of the principal towns, we have already given brief descriptions, the first which were erected in the country were mostly small, and the structure and finishing of them varied according to the means of the builders. It was not uncommon for churches, as they branched out, to have two or three meeting houses for their use. Many of these have either fallen or are falling into decay. First, because they were built too slightly to be worth repairing, or were not well contrived for enlargement. Second, because, in process of time, they were left out of the center of the congregations. But while they have been left to decay, others more spacious and durable, and in more eligible situations have been erected in their stead. But when Dr. Worcester's missionaries pass one of these old houses, they look, they wonder, they sigh, and in their memorandums write against the whole State, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN. These memorandums doubtless furnished materials for the affecting picture of this ungenerous adversary. Where houses of worship are erected, churches gathered, and ministers supported by the aid of law, they may all remain in a permanent and splendid form. It would be sad case indeed if some benefits did not arise from the evil of ecclesiastical establishments in those parts of the United States, where houses of worship are built and ministers supported, not by legal taxes, but by the voluntary contributions of their patrons, changes, similar to those we have described in Rhode Island, as the Author knows from observation, have been, and are now taking place, not only among the Baptists, but all other denominations.]

Thus it appears there are about 90 religious societies in the thirty-one towns of Rhode-Island, in which public worship is constantly maintained; and to these societies appertain at least seventy houses of worship, which are neither decayed nor forsaken. These societies all maintain the ordinances of religion according to their different views of propriety; the oracles of truth they have neither exiled nor incorporated with their civil code; and their Bible Society lately established can furnish with the word of life all who have need. As to those children for whom this compassionate Doctor shows so much regard, we will only say, they can teach divines of Massachusetts better divinity than to fatten on the spoils of conscientious dissenters, and more civility than to defame their fellow men of whose affairs they are ignorant.

This statement of the religious affairs of Rhode-Island, which is made not from conjecture and vague report, but from actual survey, from absolute, uncontrovertible matters of fact, it is hoped, will, in the view of some at least, dispel somewhat of the horrid gloom of Dr. Worcester's picture. And as a proof that the Divine Spirit has not withdrawn from the Antipedobaptist churches, whose principles he would represent as blasting and pestiferous as the tree of Java, we would state, with gratitude to the Father of mercies, that over a thousand persons have been hopefully_ born into the kingdom, buried in baptism, and added to their number within six or seven years past. To a number of other societies there have also been large additions.

The reader must keep in mind that this State is but about as large in extent as the adjoining county of Worcester; its number of inhabitants is but about twice as large as Boston and Charlestown together, and

not equal to the city of New-York. And it is believed by those best acquainted with, it, that there are as many real christians, if not so many professors of religion, in this, as in any territory of the same extent in any of the neighboring States.

It is acknowledged that in some of the country towns in this State, too many of the inhabitants live a careless, irreligious life, disregard the Sabbath, and neglect the worship of God. But Pedobaptists are mistaken when they ascribe the conduct of these people to the influence of Baptist principles. The accusation is unfounded, unfair, and egregiously false. These people are under the influence of no principles of a religious kind, and many of them are the descendants of progenitors of the same character, who fled to this asylum of freedom during the reign of ecclesiastical terror in the neighboring colonies. It has always been found that men of no religious principles are as desirous of liberty of conscience as real christians, and we may furthermore add, it is just they should enjoy it. From ecclesiastical establishments there always have been a multitude of dissenters of this character, and not a few of them were found amongst the early settlers of Rhode-Island. The maxims of the government were suited to their views; their money was not distrained for the support of religious teachers, neither were they fined for not attending the worship of God. Mr. Cotton of Boston taught that men had "better be hypocrites than profane persons," that "hypocrites give God part of his due, the outward man," etc. [See earlier in this work.] But the Rhode-Island rulers had no belief in this logic. If the subjects of their government performed the duty of citizens, they required nothing more; the regulation of religious opinions they left to the Searcher of hearts, and all were free to possess what religion best accorded with their views, or none at all, if they chose. They could not maintain the foundation principle of the colony, and do otherwise. But this same principle subjected them to inconveniences for which there was no remedy. And the same inconvenience has happened in every country where the standard of freedom, whether civil or religious, has been set up. With the Taborites of Bohemia, under Ziska and Procopius, with the Independents of England, in the time of the Commonwealth, among the Baptists of Germany, in their struggles for religious freedom, as well as with the planters of Rhode-Island, were associated many characters, who understood not their principles, either civil or religious, but who perverted them to purposes, which were never intended. Roger Williams, on a certain occasion, in imitation of a noble Greek, thanked God, that he had been the author of that very liberty by which his enemies dare to abuse him. A letter of this renowned legislator, explaining more fully this subject, will be given in the Appendix.

I find Mr. Callender in his Century Sermon, delivered seventy-five years ago, in repelling the calumnies, which were then east upon Rhode-Island, on account of these irreligious people, observes, that among the first settlers of the State, who were "a pious generation, men of virtue and godliness," some intruded themselves of a very different genius and spirit. He also assures us, that "there scarcely ever was a time, the hundred years (then) past, in which there was not a weekly publick worship of God attended at Newport and in the other first towns of the colony."

Governor Hopkins, about fifty years ago, speaking of this circumstance, has a train of observations similar to those of Mr. Callender. [*Providence Gazette*, March, 1765.]

We do not pretend that all the careless people of the State descended from those unprincipled settlers, whom the persecutions or the other colonies drove to this asylum. Some of them are the descendants of pious progenitors, who have not inherited their virtues, but have run counter to their instructions, and happy for Pedobaptists if they have no occasion to mourn on the same account.

If the Rhode-Island people had established religion by law, they would have been excused from all the reproaches which are now cast upon them. it would be an easy but invidious task, to find places enough in Massachusetts, notwithstanding all their laws, as destitute of religion, and as careless of publick worship, as any of the back towns of Rhode-Island. But we are now engaged only on the defensive. ["Were a serious Baptist from Rhode Island," says Dr. Baldwin in reply to Dr. Worcester, "to visit the metropolis of Massachusetts, the headquarters of good principles," would he not be led, from your observations, to suppose that no person would be seen in the streets on Lord's day, unless going or returning from church or meeting! But while he could scarcely credit his senses, would he not be ready to ask, What meaneth this prancing of the horses, and this rattling of the carriage wheels in my ears? And should he be informed, that more horses and carriages of every kind were let to visiting and other parties of pleasure on that day than on any other in the week, what would be his astonishment? What would he think of the "influence of

Pedobaptist principles?" Would he not suppose there were some besides the ancient Pharisees, who could strain at a gnat and swallow a camel"]

It is worthy of notice, that the two Baptist churches in Providence and Newport, founded by Roger Williams and John Clark, have always maintained a respectable standing, have had a regular succession of worthy pastors, now together contain almost seven hundred members, have congregations large and opulent, and possess each of them larger estates than any Baptist church in America, except the first in Philadelphia. While new churches have arisen in some parts, in others, those, which were once large and flourishing, have become small or extinct. This circumstance may appear strange, and may furnish matter of reproach to those, who fine religions societies, "not under sixty nor over a hundred dollars a year," for being "without a teacher of piety, morality, and religion, three months out of six," and who impose fines on individuals for not attending public worship a certain number of times in a year. **But with the Baptists this matter is easily accounted for. Their churches cannot long flourish nor exist without the reviving influence of the Holy Spirit; but those churches, which depend on the civil arm for their support, may continue and flourish even when there is not a christian nor a spark of grace among them.** Many of the Rhode-Island churches have been greatly reduced, and some in a measure broken up, by their members emigrating to other States. We observed in the beginning of this chapter, that this State is so small and so fully settled, that as the inhabitants increase, they are obliged to remove to other parts for settlements. And here it is proper to observe, that by ministers and members from this State were founded the oldest church in Pennsylvania in 1684; the oldest in Connecticut in 1705; the first church in the city of New-York was much assisted by the Rhode-Island brethren about 80 years ago; and by emigrants from this nursery of Baptists have been founded and enlarged many other churches in Connecticut, Hampshire, and Berkshire counties in Massachusetts, and also in New-Hampshire, Vermont, and New-York. Of the ministers, to whom Rhode-Island has given birth, who have settled in other States, we may name Valentine Wightman, Joshua Morse, Peter Werden, Clark Rogers, Caleb Nichols, Wightman Jacobs, and others, who have all rested from their labors. Of those now on the stage of action, are Dr. Rogers of Philadelphia, Mr. Grafton of Newton, Mr. Thomas H. Chipman of Nova-Scotia, and many others in different parts of the surrounding States. From certain information, from the affinity of names, etc. I am confident that not less than forty, and probably over fifty Baptist ministers of the First and Seventh Day order, have, within half a century past, gone out from this little territory, and acted, or are now acting, successful parts in various departments of the Lord's vineyard. The reader is left to make his own comments on the prevalence of those religious principles, on which Rhode-Island was founded, and which she has ever considered it her boast and glory to maintain.

The fathers of the colony, as we have already shown, desired permission from the powers at home to try the experiment, whether a flourishing civil State might not stand and best be maintained with a full liberty in religious concerns. The experiment has been tried, and has answered their most sanguine expectations. A flourishing State has arisen on a little spot of earth in this western world, whose ships when not embargoed nor blockaded, traverse every sea, whose artificers and manufacturers are spreading to every State, and in which from first to last, every individual has been left free to profess what religion he chose, without fear or molestation. [The manufacturing of cotton on Arkwright's plan was begun in Pawtucket in 1790, by Samuel Slater, Esq. from England. There are now in this village, and near, almost 7000 spindles in operation, and within a mile and a quarter of it, including both sides of the river, are buildings erected, capable of containing about 12,000 more. In 1810, according to an account taken by Mr. John K. Pitman of Providence, in the State of Rhode Island only, were 39 factories, in which over 30,000 spindles were running, and the same factories were capable of containing about as many more. The number of spindles in operation in this State only, is now (1813) probably not far from 50,000. In 1810, the gentleman above mentioned ascertained, that within thirty miles of Providence, which includes a considerable territory in Massachusetts, and a small portion of Connecticut, there were 76 factories, capable of containing 111,000 spindles. The number of spindles now in actual operation within this circumference are said to be 120,000. The amount of yarn spun each week, is not far from 110,000 pounds, or 5,500,000 a year. This side of the river Delaware the number of cotton factories of different dimensions, built and in building is estimated at 500.] The proposal of this experiment, and its issue in Rhode-Island, is worthy of being recorded in capitals of gold, and ought to be hung up in the most conspicuous place in the Vatican at Rome, and in every Ecclesiastical Court in Christendom.

The principal acts of the Rhode-Island Legislature in defense of religious freedom have already been given.

In 1716 a law was passed, which has not yet been mentioned. The closing part of the preamble together with the act are as follows:

"THE present Assembly being sensible by long experience, that the aforesaid privilege (that is of entire toleration) by the good providence of God, having been continued to us, has been an outward means of continuing a good and amicable agreement amongst the inhabitants of this colony: And for the better continuance and support thereof, as well as for the timely preventing of any and every church, congregation and society of people, now inhabiting, or which shall hereafter inhabit within any part of the jurisdiction of the same, from endeavoring for preeminence or superiority one over the other, by making use of the civil power, for the enforcing of a maintenance for their respective ministers:

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly, and by the authority hereof it is enacted, That what maintenance or salary may be thought necessary by any of the churches, congregations, or societies of people, now inhabiting, or that hereafter shall or may inhabit within the same, for the support of their respective minister or ministers, shall be raised by free contribution, and no otherwise" [Laws of Rhode Island, edition of 1767, p. 194].

This law was passed under the administration of Governor Cranston, a Quaker, and when Joseph Jenks, afterwards Governor, had great influence in governmental affairs. The Rhode-Island people had many suspicions about this time, that the taxing and distraining policy of the neighboring colonies, would be attempted among them, and this law was doubtless intended to counteract, and be a standing barrier against any manoeuvres of the kind. It has been thought by many in later times, that it rendered invalid all contracts between a minister and people for his support, but I cannot find that it was ever so construed. Subscriptions were recoverable by law while this act was in force, and voluntary contracts individually entered into for the support of ministers are now, and for ought that appears to the contrary, always have been as much binding in law in this, as in any other State, where there are no religious establishments. If a minister here were in his own name to attempt to recover his salary in a legal way, it is not certain how he would succeed; the case I believe was never tried by any -- it surely never was among the Baptists, and it is hoped it never will be; for the preacher, who is reduced to the necessity of suing his people, had better dig for his bread, or else decamp to some place where he will be more punctual.

The last act of the Rhode-Island Assembly has a preamble somewhat lengthy, but high in the strain of religious freedom, and doses thus: "Whereas a principal object of our venerable ancestors, in their migration to this country, and settlement of this State, was, as they expressed it, to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil State may stand, and best be maintained, with a full liberty religious concerns:

"Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever; nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities" [Laws of Rhode-Island, edition of 1798, p. 83, 84].

[The following is a brief statement of the Governors of Rhode Island. Under their first charter, which lasted nineteen years, their chief magistrates were called Presidents, of these there were seven; some were Baptists, some Quakers, the religious opinions of a number are not known. Three years of this time, the Presidential Chair was filled by Roger Williams. From the time the second charter was obtained, necessarily, in 1663, is now a period of 150 years. During this period there have been 25 Governors, counting his Excellency the present Chief Magistrate. Eight of these were Quakers or Friends, about the same number Baptists by education or profession, and of the remainder some were Episcopalians, some Congregationalists; the religious opinions of a number are not known. Governor Cook was baptized by immersion, but belonged to a Congregational church, and the same may be said of the present Governor Jones. For more than a century the Baptists and Quakers had the lead in the affairs of government. They at first had some disputes about ordinances and inward light, but these soon subsided, and they have, with very few exception, from time immemorial, harmoniously agreed to differ. While they feared the introduction of the religious laws of the surrounding governments, they endeavored to keep a preponderating balance of power in their own

hands. For Pedobaptism and law-religion they both disbelieved, and have ever strenuously opposed. The Quakers now in many places serve as judges, magistrates, legislators, etc. but their pretensions to the gubernatorial chair they have long since resigned, on account of the danger of its subjecting them to military duties, incompatible with their views of religion and morality. The Baptists still fill many offices of different kinds, but more native citizens of the other States hold offices and have influence in governmental affairs, than formerly.]

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

CONNECTICUT

This state began to be settled by some of the famous Robinson's congregation in 1633, but we do not find any Baptists in it for more than seventy years from that period. In 1705, Mr. Valentine Wightman removed from North Kingston in Rhode Island to Groton, seven miles from New London, where he the same year planted a church of which he became pastor. This remained the only Baptist church in this province for about twenty years: But in 1726 another was gathered in the township of New London on the ground which is now occupied by the Seventh Day Baptists, and a minister by the name of Stephen Gorton became their pastor. He was a man of some eminence as a preacher, and ministered to this people for many years; but he at length fell into some scandalous conduct, for which he was deposed from his pastoral office, and the church in a short time became extinct.

In 1729, some people in Saybrook at the mouth of Connecticut river, embraced Baptist sentiments; but no church was gathered there until fifteen years after.

In 1731, some of the Pedobaptists in Wallingford, thirteen miles north of New Haven, by reading Delaune's *Plea*, etc. became convinced of the error of their former creed, were baptized, and united with the church at New London, but usually met for worship in their own town, where a church was soon afterwards established.

These were some of the first efforts which our brethren made amongst the rigid Pedobaptists in this fast-bound State. Their progress was at first extremely slow and much embarrassed; they had to work their way against the deep-rooted prejudices of a people, who had been always taught, with a sanctimonious tone, that these were the vile descendants of the mad men of Munster; that they propagated errors of a pestilential and most dangerous kind; that they were aiming to subvert all the established forms of religion in the land, and on the ruin of the Pedobaptist churches to plant their heretical and disorganizing principles; that for the people to hear them preach, or for the magistrates to tolerate or connive at their meetings in any of their towns or parishes, was a crime of peculiar enormity, which would expose them to the famishing and revengeful judgments of Heaven.

Such were the sentiments of most of the Connecticut people, at the period of which we are speaking. But this host of prejudices was only a shadowy obstacle to the progress of the Baptist cause, compared with those religious laws with which the Connecticut rulers had fenced in their ecclesiastical establishment.

In the New Light Stir the foundations of this establishment were very sensibly shaken; many ministers opposed the progress of that extraordinary work of grace, as being only the fruit of error and fanaticism; divisions ensued; separate meetings were set up in many towns and parishes; Baptist principles almost everywhere prevailed; and many of the zealous New Lights, who began upon the Pedobaptist, brought up on the Baptist plan.

About the time, and a little after this distinguished epoch in the religious affairs of New England, small churches were formed in Stonington, Colchester, Ashford, Lyme, Killingly, Farmington, Stratfield, and Horseneck, some of which acquired a permanent standing, while others were soon scattered and became extinct.

So slow was the increase of the Baptists in this government, that in 1760, fifty-five years after Mr. Wightman erected his standard at Groton, they had only eight or nine churches, which had acquired any degree of permanency, and most of these were small and feeble bodies.

In 1784 their number had increased to about thirty, in which were about twenty ministers. From this date, the denomination began to increase much faster than it had formerly done, so that in 1795 the number of

churches amounted to sixty, the ministers were about forty, and the communicants a little over three thousand, five hundred. These churches were scattered in every county, and in almost every township in the State.

From 1795, Baptist principles have prevailed in this populous territory as rapidly as at any former period. But as many brethren have emigrated to other parts, the clear increase of members has not been so great as it would otherwise have been.

The River from which this State receives its name divides it into two sections nearly equal in size. The churches east of this river belong mostly to the Stonington, Groton, and Sturbridge Associations. The Danbury Association comprehends most of those to the west of it; a few churches towards the south-west part of the State belong to the Union and Warwick Associations, in New York.

STONINGTON ASSOCIATION

This body was formed at the place from which it received its name in 1772. Its progress does not appear to have been marked with any peculiar events; it has now increased to twenty-two churches, five of which are in Rhode Island, the remainder are in the south-west part of this State.

Groton. This church was planted by Valentine Wightman in 1705, being **the first Baptist church in Connecticut**. The members_ were harassed for awhile by the predominant party; but no account of their sufferings has been obtained. Mr. Wightman was born at North Kingston, Rhode Island, in 1681, and finished his course in a joyful manner in 1747. We have already stated that he is supposed to have been a descendant of Edward Wightman, the last man who was burnt for heresy in England. According to a tradition in his family, five brothers came to Rhode Island in the early settlement of that colony; two of them were preachers, two were deacons, and the fifth was a professor of religion, all of the Baptist persuasion. The subject of this memoir was a son of one of these men, but nothing more particular respecting his progenitors can be learnt. He settled in Groton at the age of twenty-four, when there were but six or seven Baptists in the place.

In 1727, Mr. Wightman, being called to preach at Lyme, was opposed by Reverend Mr. Bulkly of Colchester, who challenged him to a public dispute, which was first maintained in a verbal manner, and was afterwards kept up in writing. Mr. Bulkly, after ransacking the records of slander for arguments against his opponent, and the Baptists generally, concludes, "They are but of yesterday, and consequently the truth cannot be with them, as being not known in the world till about two hundred years past." Mr. Wightman replied, "I never read of a Presbyterian longer than said term, how then can the way of truth with them?" etc. [Backus, vol. ii. p. 89, 90.]

Mr. Wightman was succeeded by Mr. Daniel Fisk, who served the church about seven years, when Timothy Wightman, one of the sons of the founder of this body, was elected its pastor. He discharged the duties of his office till a good old age, and was succeeded by his son John Gano Wightman, who was ordained in 1800. Jesse Wightman, another of his sons, is pastor of a church in West Springfield. John Wightman, a brother of Timothy, was an eminent minister in his day, and died at Farmington in this State. From a daughter of Valentine Wightman descended four Baptist ministers, by the name of Rathbun; one of them, by the name of Valentine Wightman Rathbun, died this present year, pastor of the church in Bellingham, Massachusetts.

Stonington. This town is in the south-east corner of Connecticut, adjoining Rhode Island, and directly east of Groton. In it, as it stood before its late division, were three churches belonging to the Association under consideration. The oldest of the three is situated in what is now called North Stonington, and is under the care of Mr. Peleg Randal. It was formed in 1743; its first members were baptized by Mr. Wightman of Groton. The foundation for the second church in this town was laid by Simeon Brown, now its aged pastor, and Stephen Babcock of Westerly, Rhode Island. In the remarkable revival so often referred to, these two men caught the New Light flame, and zealously engaged in promoting the work, which was then going on in the land. Mostly by their means a church was formed in Westerly, on the plan of open communion, in 1750, of which Mr. Babcock was soon ordained pastor, and Mr. Brown a deacon. They

traveled together about fourteen years, held meetings sometimes in Westerly, but often in Stonington, and the church increased abundantly, and spread into many of the surrounding parts. But the pastor and deacon at length fell out upon sundry points, both of doctrine and discipline, their disputes, however, turned principally upon what, in that day, was called the divine testimony. By this testimony, which consisted of certain impulses and spiritual manifestations, Mr. Babcock was for regulating those acts of discipline, which Mr. Brown would govern by moral evidence. As all attempts at reconciliation proved ineffectual, the deacon, who had not yet been baptized, had the ordinance administered to him by Elder Wait Palmer, the same who had baptized Shubeal Stearns; gathered a church in his own town in 1765, to the pastoral care of which he was ordained the same year. Mr. Brown was born in Stonington, January, 1723, and if still living, is turned of 90.

This church has been a flourishing body, and has now become large; by it were sent into the ministry, John and Valentine Rathbun, Robert Staunton, Eleazer Brown, Amos Wells, Simeon Brown, Jr., Asa Spaulding and Jedidiah Randal.

A third church was gathered at Stonington harbour in 1775. Mr. Rathbun, late of Bellingham, was for a number of years its pastor; it is now under the care of Mr. Elihu Cheeseborough.

A fourth church was formed in this town in 1795, which has since been dissolved.

New London. This town once included Montville and Waterford. In the last place a church was formed in 1726, whose pastor was Stephen Gorton, of whom we have given some account. In the same place has arisen a Sabbatarian church, and also one of the First-day order, whose ministers are Zadock and Francis Darrow. It was formed in 1767. The ancient church, in what is now called Montville, was gathered in 1750, under the ministry of Mr. Joshua Morse, who removed to Sandisfield, Massachusetts, in the time of the war, and his flock appears to have been scattered. The present church is dated in 1786, and is now under the care of Mr. Reuben Palmer.

A church in the city of New London was gathered in 1804, under the ministry of Mr. Samuel West.

The church in Lebanon, Windham county, arose out of a Pedobaptist quarrel, about an old meeting house; the affair made a considerable noise at the time, and is thus briefly related by Mr. Nehemiah Dodge, under whose ministry the church was built up:

"Many things complicated and perplexing took place in the town, relative to taking down one old meeting house, and building two new ones; concerning which many wrong reports have been spread abroad. And since a number of Christians have been baptized in this place and formed into a church, some have been ungenerous enough to cast many hard reflections upon the denomination. They have said, that the Baptists had been the cause of the tumults and distressing divisions which took place in the parish anterior to our existence as a church, or to there being any Baptists here, excepting a few individuals, who lived recluse, and had nothing to do with the existing controversy."

This controversy turned principally upon the place where a new meeting house should be set, and as the parties could not agree, they built two in places they respectively chose. Some measures taken by the party, who became Baptists, it would seem, did not receive the sanction of the Legislature, which accounts for what follows:

"After a meeting house was erected, the people, who built it made application to Presbyterian ministers, under whose ministry they had been brought up, to come and preach to them. But these gentlemen replied, that they could not in conscience preach to them, nor fellowship those that would. Why? Because the people were immoral or scandalous in their lives? No, but because they said they had gone contrary to law in building their house. They said it did not become them as leaders of the people and examples of piety, to have so much fellowship with a people, who had paid so little regard to the voice of the General Assembly, and who had been governed no more by civil law in the management of their affairs, relative to their meeting house. It is understood that a vote to this import passed in their Association.

"Many of the people by these means became convinced that late religion might, in some instances, operate unjustly by depriving individuals of their unalienable rights. Or in other words, they became convinced, that

civil law and civil rulers had an undue influence over ministers and churches. Feeling the injuries produced by this legal influence, they were led to seek an acquaintance with those Christians, who acknowledge no other Lawgiver in the church but Jesus Christ, and no other law-book to govern them in their religious concerns but the Bible. And notwithstanding the many reproaches they had heard cast upon the Baptist denomination, for refusing to be dictated in their religious affairs by civil law, and for trusting alone to the spirit and providence of God to support their cause, they thought best to examine for themselves, and see, if what had so long been deemed foolishness and enthusiasm were not a virtue. Accordingly in October, 1804, application was made to the Stonington Baptist Association by some of the aggrieved people of Lebanon, requesting some of their ministers to visit them and preach the gospel to them. It being in our view consistent with the great commission to preach the gospel to every creature, whether they be governed by civil law in their religion or not, eight of our ministers agreed to visit them in their turns between that time and the next spring.

"When it came to my turn according to appointment to visit this people for the first time (which was about a year ago) I perceived so much solemnity and candour among them, and such a spirit of inquiry after the apostolic truth and practice, as could not fail to interest my feelings in their behalf. I also found how grossly mistaken many people abroad had been about them, by reason of their circumstances having been misrepresented. Their ideas were no less incorrect with respect to the Baptists. I therefore thought it my duty to pay more attention to them than just to preach a single day, and then leave them. Hence I appointed to visit them again in February, and continue with them eight or ten Sabbaths. During this visit God was pleased to move upon the minds of some by the influences of his Spirit, as I have reason to hope. While some, who had never experienced the truth, felt the pangs of conviction, a number of backsliders seemed disposed to return to the great Shepherd and Bishop of their souls. Some, who had been members of the Presbyterian church, obtained light upon Bible baptism, and the doctrine of the covenants. Many others began to inquire whether they had not taken that for granted, which ought first to have been proved, in supposing that baptism was appointed by God as a substitute for circumcision, and for a sign and seal of the same covenant. And whether in the case of infant sprinkling they had not acted without any positive or fairly implied evidence. Our assemblies were large and solemn as they have ever since continued. And on Fast day, last spring, three persons were baptized, which, I conclude, were the first ever baptized in this parish.

"As my time of engagement was near expiring, the proprietors of the new house, with others, met and requested me to remove my family, and make my home with them. With this request I thought it duty to comply, and agreed to stay and preach with them as long as they and I should think it duty; leaving it for them to do for me whatever Bible and conscience should dictate, and nothing more. They accordingly removed my family from Middletown to this place in May last, and have hitherto done for me and my family as well as the principles of honor and christian friendship require, without the aid of civil law to enforce their obligations. A people who are governed by the religion of Christ, will do their duty in these respects much more cheerfully and uniformly, than those who are goaded to it by civil penalties.

"Since I commenced my stated labors here, God has been pleased graciously to continue his favor to the people. Some have been hopefully converted to God, and baptized. Several brethren and sisters from the Presbyterian church have put into practice the light they have obtained upon this ordinance. Some backsliders have been waked up to purpose, and put on the Lord Jesus Christ. NEHEMIAH DODGE
Lebanon, December 7, 1805 [Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazines, vol. i. p. 180-8.]

This revival continued until a sufficient number of baptized believers were collected for the purpose, who received the fellowship of a large number of ministers as a distinct church, September, 1805. Among these ministers were Dr. Baldwin of Boston, Dr. Gano of Providence, and others. This church has since increased to eighty members. The meeting house, thus unexpectedly built for Baptist use, is 73 feet by 48 with a steeple and bell. By this church was sent into the ministry Mr. Jonathan Goodwin, pastor of the church in Mansfield, founded by Mr. Joshua Bradley in 1809.

GROTON UNION CONFERENCE

This name was given to an Association, which was formed in 1785. The churches of which it is composed are intermixed with those of the Stonington; they at first held pretty generally, if not uniformly, to open communion, which accounts for its being formed in the neighborhood of that body. But this practice I believe they have all now given up, and are in fellowship with the surrounding churches.

The Groton church, from which this body took its name, is the second in the town; it was formed in 1765; its first pastor, Silas Burrows, is still living, though far advanced in years. His son, Boswell Burrows, has been ordained his colleague, and will doubtless succeed him. This is a large and flourishing church, has had many refreshing seasons, and contains between two and three hundred members. Mixed communion they held till 1797, when the practice was relinquished without opposition. A few members of this community had lived a number of years at a place called Preston city, considerably to the north of it, where

a revival commenced in 1811, in which forty or fifty were brought to put on Christ by a public profession. They have built them a commodious house of worship, and will probably soon become a distinct church.

Lyme. In this town a church arose in early times under the ministry of an Elder Cooley, which was long since dissolved. The wife of this Elder was a Rogerene, and gave her husband no little trouble in the prosecution of his ministry, but more especially in his family devotions. One of his deacons was a brother of the late Governor Griswold.

The present church in Lyme was formed in 1752, by the labors of Elder Ebenezer Mack, who was for some years its pastor. It arose out of a church of the Pedobaptist New Lights, which was formed in 1749. Mr. Mack removed to Marlow, in New Hampshire, in 1768, where he tarried many years, but in his old age came back and died among this people. The second pastor of this flock was Elder Jason Lee, who died among them at an advanced age in 1810.

The church is now under the care of Mr. Asa Wilcox from Rhode Island. Their number is between four and five hundred; they have a farm and parsonage house, the gift of Captain Miller, estimated at about twelve hundred dollars.

A second church was formed in this town in 1812. Their preacher is Mr. Mathew Bolles from Ashford.

In Norwich a church was formed in 1800; their pastor is Mr. John Sterry; they have lately received a legacy of real estate supposed to be worth about six thousand dollars. It was given by a Mr. Hatch, who was not a Baptist, and had never manifested any peculiar regard for the denomination. It is said that he had been heard to in merit that the Baptists were no more able to support the ministry among them; but no one knew what he had done until his Will was opened. His widow is a member of the church, and is to have her support out of the property during her life. From the preceding sketches it appears that the county of New London has been a fruitful nursery of Baptists for more than a century. The towns of Groton and Stonington have been the most distinguished for the prevalence of the denomination. In these two towns are now five churches, which contain about one thousand communicants. Our brethren here have met with but little opposition from the ecclesiastical powers of the State, compared with what they have experienced in other parts. Their contiguity to the State of Rhode Island has probably been a principal cause of the prevalence of their opinions and of the toleration they have enjoyed. This Baptist corner of Connecticut is generally represented in as deplorable a state of darkness and ignorance as Rhode Island, and ministers are frequently sent to teach and enlighten it.

A number of the churches in this body are in Rhode Island and a few in Massachusetts.

In the north-east corner of this State in the counties of Windham and Tolland, are ten churches belonging to the Sturbridge Association. Some of them arose out of Separate Pedobaptist churches, but most have had their origin at a later period. A church in Thompson was formed on the Six Principle Plan, under the ministry of Mr. Wightman Jacobs from Rhode Island, in 1750. And upon this plan was formed an Association about the same time, which increased to eight or ten churches, when it began to decline and has long since been dissolved. The churches of this Association were mostly in Rhode Island, which Thompson joins. The first church we find here was dissolved, and the present arose out of its ruins in 1773; Mr. John Martin became its pastor; after him was Mr. Parson Crosby, who is still with them. In 1811, a revival commenced among this people, during which about a hundred were added to their number by baptism. They have a farm with buildings for the accommodation of their pastor estimated at about two thousand dollars.

The first church in Woodstock was formed in 1766, by the labors of that distinguished man of God, Biel Ledoyt, who spent fourteen years of his ministry in New Hampshire, and who died among his own people this present year.

The dates of the remaining churches, their pastors, etc. will be exhibited in the General Table.

In this region are a few churches not associated, one of which in Ashford was once under the care of Mr. Thomas Ustick, afterwards pastor of the first church in Philadelphia. It now has for its pastor Mr. Frederick Wightman from Rhode Island.

DANBURY ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1790 in the town from which it received its name. It extends from the line of Massachusetts south to the sea coast; it also extends to the State of New York, and a few churches are in that State. Its movements have been harmonious and respectable, but nothing very remarkable has attended them. Of only a few of its churches shall we be able to give much account.

Suffield. This town is on the Connecticut River eighteen miles above Hartford. In the time of the religious agitations in New England, two Separate churches were formed here, whose pastors were Holly and Hastings. Holly wrote first against the Connecticut establishment; then against the Baptists, and afterwards turned back and became a parish minister. Hastings persisted in his separation, and towards the close of his life became a Baptist. Some time before the year 1770, a church of the denomination arose partly out of the remains of the two Separate ones, and partly of those who had newly professed religion, and John Hastings, son of the minister just named, was ordained its pastor in 1775. He was one of the most eminent ministers among the Connecticut churches in his day, and under his labors a large and extensive church arose, which spread its branches throughout a wide extent of towns. It is said that during the whole of his ministry he baptized eleven hundred persons. He finished his course with much serenity, March 17, 1811, aged 68. His successor is Mr. Asahel Morse, late pastor of the church in Stratfield in this State.

From this church, according to a statement of its clerk, originated those of Westfield, Russell, Wintonbury, Hartford, Windsor, Enfield, Granville, Southwick, and Granby, in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Great numbers have also emigrated from this fruitful community to different and distant parts.

In 1804, a second church was formed in this town, partly of members from this body, but not in fellowship with it. Its minister is Mr. Caleb Green from Newport, Rhode-Island.

In Colebrook, west of Suffield, adjoining Massachusetts, a church was formed in 1794, and was the first of any denomination gathered in the town. Their pastor is Mr. Rufus Babcock, a descendant of a family of that name in Westerly, Rhode Island.

Hartford. In this city a church was established in 1790, mostly of members from the Suffield. For a few years after they embodied, they were supplied part of the time by Elders Winchell, Moltit, and others. In 1795, Mr. Stephen S. Nelson was settled in the pastoral office, in which he continued until 1800, when he removed to Mount Pleasant in the State of New York. Under his ministry a revival took place, in which about seventy-five were added to their number.

For about seven years from Mr. Nelson's removal, this church remained destitute of a pastor, but was generally supplied with neighboring ministers, and two years of the time by the late Mr. David Bolles of Ashford, who, during that time, resided in the city.

In 1807, they settled among them Mr. Henry Grew from Providence. His ministry was acceptable and prosperous about four years, when he withdrew from his office, and formed a new church on the plan of weekly communion, etc.

Next to him is their present pastor, Mr. Elisha Cushman, a native of Kingston, Massachusetts.

The house of worship belonging to this church stands at the corner of Dorr and Theatre Streets, in a central part of the city; it is 51 feet by 41, with a steeple fourteen feet square. The lot is but a little larger than the house, and is the gift of deacons John Bolles and Samuel Beckwith. Both house and lot were at first owned by the church and society in connection, but in January, 1813, the society made a generous transfer of their

claim to the church, with whom the estate is now wholly vested. This was a rare instance of reformation in the embarrassing tenure of property for religious purposes too common in New England. It is hoped that other societies may follow the example of the accommodating one at Hartford. This church has lately had a reversionary bequest of bank stock, to the amount of over eight thousand dollars from Mr. Caleb Moore, one of their members.

In Middletown, a church was formed in 1795. They have a commodious house of worship, and are in a promising condition. Their first pastor was Elder Stephen Parsons, formerly a Pedobaptist minister of the Separate order, who is now settled in the Black River country, New York. After him they were supplied at different periods by Elders Enoch Green, John Grant, Asa Niles, Joshua Bradley, and others. Last year they settled among them Mr. George Phippen, a graduate of Brown University, who was sent into the ministry by the church in Salem, Massachusetts.

At a place called the Upper Houses in this town, a church was formed in 1800, mostly of members from Hartford.

Stratfield. This is an ancient and respectable church. Like many others in this State, it arose out of a Pedobaptist community of the Separate order, and was formed in 1751. Mr. Joshua Morse, then of New London, made frequent visits to the place, and baptized most of the first members in it. About six years after they were set in order as a church, Mr. John Sherwood, one of their number, was ordained their pastor, by Messrs. Morse and Timothy Wightman of Groton. He served them about ten years, when his health declined, and the pastoral office devolved on Mr. Benjamin Coles, from Oyster Bay, Long Island, who, after tarrying here about six years, removed to Hopewell, New Jersey. Since then, they have had in succession Elders Seth Higby, Stephen Royce [by Mr. Royce the Author was baptized in 1798], and Asahel Morse, now of Suffield. Unless they have settled a minister lately, the pastoral office is now vacant. This church has two houses of worship about ten miles apart; it is scattered in many of the surrounding towns, and has extended its branches to Wilton and New Canaan on towards the line of New York. They have a small estate estimated at about eight hundred dollars.

In Stamford, near the south-west corner of this State, a church was formed in 1773. Most of the first members were baptized by John Gano from the city of New York, and added to the church under his care, where they continued until their number was sufficiently large to become a distinct body. Mr. Ebenezer Ferris one of their number was ordained their pastor not long after they began their movements, and is still with them, though far advanced in years. A few other churches have, at other times, arisen in this part of the State, of which we shall give a list in the table of Associations, etc.

From this State have emigrated multitudes of the Baptist denomination to New York, Vermont, and all the surrounding States. This land of steady habits has also given birth to a great number of ministers, who have settled without its bounds. Among these are Messrs. Isaac Backus, the historian, John Waldo, Dr. Thomas Baldwin, Aaron Drake, Justus Hull, Elias Lee, Jeremiah Higbee, Stephen Parsons, Henry Green, Peter P. Roots, and many others. The maxims of the land do not well suit the genius of our Order, and besides, the country is so fully settled, as population increases, the surplusage must go abroad for settlements.

The religious laws of Connecticut are not much unlike those of Massachusetts. The Pedobaptist, frequently called the Presbyterian party, was taken under legal patronage in early times. The whole State was divided into parishes, in which houses of worship were built, ministers settled, and maintained all according to law. Some ministers here as well as in Massachusetts are supported from funds, pew rents, etc. but by far the greater part have their living by a direct tax according to the civil lists, which every human being within the parish bounds, whether Jew or Gentile, Infidel or Christian, possessed of a rateable poll or taxable property, is obliged to pay, unless he gives a certificate of his different belief.

The first certificate law in Connecticut was passed in favor of the Quakers, May, 1729. It provided that those who should produce from a society of that denomination a writing, certifying that they had united with them, and did attend their meetings of worship, should be exempted from ministerial taxes, etc.

In the autumn of that year a similar act was passed in favor of the Baptists of the following tenor:

UPON the Memorial of the people called Baptists, praying that they may be discharged from the payment of rates and taxes for the support of the gospel ministry in this government, and for building meeting houses,

"It is resolved by the Governor, Council, and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That for the future, the same privilege and exemption from the charges aforesaid, as was granted by this Assembly in May last, unto the people called Quakers, is hereby allowed unto them, under the same regulations; any law, usage, custom, to the contrary notwithstanding."

This act appears to have been obtained principally by the friendly assistance of the Rhode Island brethren. At an Association of their churches held in North Kingston, September, 1729, they drew the Memorial above mentioned, which was signed by Richard Sweet, Valentine Wightman, Samuel Fisk, John Comer, Elders, and brethren Timothy Peckham, Joseph Holmes, Ebenezer Cook, Benjamin Herenden and others, to the number of eighteen, all of Rhode Island except two. To this Memorial was added the following:

"We the subscribers do heartily concur with the Memorial of our brethren on the other side, and do humbly request the same may be granted, which we think will much tend to Christian unity, and be serviceable to true religion, and will very much rejoice your Honor_s friends, and very humble servants, JOSEPH JENKS, Governor JAMES CLARK, Elders DANIEL WIGHTMAN, Elders Newport, September 10, 1729"

This law continued in force without much variation over sixty years. The Quakers and Baptists were the only denominations exempted till about 1756, when the same privileges granted to them were extended to dissenters of all classes, provided they ordinarily attended meetings in their respective societies, and paid their due proportion, etc. otherwise they should be taxed.

The words "ordinarily, etc." were intended to restrain those, who might go off to dissenting sects from motives of economy only, but on the strength of the clause, collectors found pretexts to frequently distrain taxes from church members. A number of Baptists in Stafford had united with the church in **Willington** under the care of Elder Lillibridge from Rhode Island. The distance being great and the way rough, they did not meet with the church so often as they could have wished, or the law required. **The Presbyterians in Stafford, to pay the expense of a new meeting house, taxed them all, distrained their goods, and disposed of them at public sale.** The brethren then set about seeking redress, commenced an action against the distrainers for their goods, damages, etc. The affair went through two courts; in the second the counsel for our brethren plead, that they were Baptists sentimentally, practically, and legally. To this statement the counsel on the other side acceded, but still continued his plea against them because they did not ordinarily attend their own meeting. While the lawyers were disputing, the Judge, who was an Episcopalian, and not very well affected towards the predominant party, called the attention of the court by inquiring, how long a man, who was a Baptist sentimentally, practically, and legally must stay at home to become a Presbyterian? His Honor_s logic produced the same effect upon the whole court as it must upon the reader, and the Baptists easily obtained the case.

In May, 1791, the ruling party thinking probably that certificates were too easily procured, passed a law that they should in future be signed by two magistrates before they could be valid and effectual. This law set all the dissenters in motion. Remonstrances and memorials poured into the Assembly from every quarter, and the act was repealed the October following, when the present certificate law was passed, which reads thus: "Be it enacted by the Governor and Council and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled, That in future, whenever any person shall differ in sentiments from the worship and ministry, in the ecclesiastical societies in this State, constituted by law within certain local bounds and shall choose to join himself to any other denomination of Christians, which shall have formed themselves into distinct churches or congregations, for the maintenance and support of the public worship of God, and shall manifest such his choice, by a certificate thereof, under his hand, lodged in the office of the Clerk of the Society to which he belongs, -- such person shall thereupon, and so long as he shall continue ordinarily to attend on the worship and ministry, in the church or congregation, to which he has chosen to belong as aforesaid, be

exempted from being taxed for the future support of the worship and ministry in such society" [Statutes of Connecticut].

This law is probably as favorable as any one of the kind can be framed. A dissenter has nothing to do but to write his own certificate, and then he becomes of another sect. This facility has been the cause of multitudes leaving the established order, who are of no use to any other denomination. No man can be a neuter in religion neither here nor in Massachusetts; unless he gives a certificate of dissent, he is known and dealt with in law as a Presbyterian or Congregationalist.

To the certificate law of this State as it now stands, our Baptist brethren object principally, that it presupposes a subordination, which they do not well relish, and obliges them, in Leland's phraseology, to lower their peak to the national ship. They have made several attempts to get it repealed, but the established clergy have hitherto had influence enough to prevent it. In one of the petitions of the Baptists to the Assembly, dated February, 1803, is the following clause: "We are frequently told that giving a certificate is a mere trifle: if it be so, we would desire that the law would not intermeddle with such a trifling business or that those, who consider it as a mere trifle, may be the persons to do this trifle themselves, and not the dissenters, who consider it in a far different point of light."

Some will not give certificates at any rate, and so much are matters mollified, that very few at present meet with much trouble whether they do or not.

The Pedobaptist communities have found by experience, that it will not do to push their measures, for where ever they have, swarms have deserted from them.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

NEW JERSEY

"Sometime after the year 1608, the Hollanders made a settlement on the spot where New York now stands; and in 1614 obtained a patent from their countrymen. In consequence of which, and a pretended purchase from Captain Hudson, they claimed a right to all the country from the river Connecticut to the river Delaware and, therefore, that part now called Jersey. But neither patent nor purchase availed them; for Charles II put in a prior claim, and supported it with armed forces, which the Hollanders were not able to resist; nevertheless, they kept possession to the treaty of Breda, in 1667. About four years before said treaty, the king gave the country to his brother the Duke of York; and the Duke, the same year, sold the western part, Jersey, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. **Those two gentlemen immediately formed a constitution, or bill of rights, for such as should be settlers; the sixth and seventh articles of which promise a "full liberty of conscience to all religious sects that should behave well."** This, and the terms of obtaining land, being known abroad, British subjects began to resort hither from New York, New England, Long Island, etc. these settled in the parts next to them, afterwards called East Jersey; some of whom were Baptists. In the year 1675, and afterwards, emigrants arrived in the Delaware from England, and settled in the parts adjoining the river, since distinguished by the name of West Jersey; some of them, also, were Baptists. About 1683, a company of Baptists, from the county of Tipperary, in Ireland, arrived at Amboy; they proceeded towards the interior parts. In the fall of 1799, about 50 families of the Tunker Baptists from Holland, but originally from Schwartzeneau in Germany, arrived at Philadelphia; some of whom, in 1733, crossed the river Delaware, and settled at Amwell in Hunterdon county. In 1734, the Rogerene Baptists arrived from Connecticut, and settled near Schooley Mountain, in the county of Morris. Thus it appears, that among the first Jersey settlers, some were of the Baptist denomination. The present Baptists are, partly, the offspring of those adventurous Baptists; and, partly, such as have been proselyted to their sentiments."

This State has been famous with the Baptists, for containing a number of old and very respectable churches, which have been supplied with preachers of peculiar eminence; some emigrated from Wales and England, but most of them were born in the country, and nurtured in the churches. New Jersey has given birth to a number of very eminent ministers, who removed and spent their days in other parts; among the most distinguished of these, we may reckon John Gano, James Manning, and Hezekiah Smith.

Middleton. -- This is the oldest church in the state; it is thus distinguished from the village where the meeting house stands, in a township of the same name, and county of Monmouth, about 79 miles East Northeast from Philadelphia. The meeting house is 42 feet by 32, erected in 1734, on the lot where the old place of worship stood. **"For the origin of this church we must look back to the year 1667;** for that was the year when Middleton, containing a part of Monmouth, and part of Sussex counties, was purchased from the Indians by twelve men and twenty-four associates; their names are in the town book. Of them the following were Baptists, namely Richard Stout, John Stout, James Grover, Jonathan Bown, Obadiah Holmes, John Buckman, John Wilson, Walter Hall, John Cox, Jonathan Holmes, George Mount, William Cheeseman, William Layton, William Compton, James Ashton, John Bown, Thomas Whitlock, and James Grover, Jr. It is probable, that some of the above had wives and children of their own way of thinking; however, the forenamed eighteen men appear to have been the constituents of the church of Middleton, and the winter of 1688, the time.

"How matters went on among these people for a period of 24 years, namely from the constitution of 1712, cannot be known. But in the year 1711, a variance arose in the church, insomuch that one party excommunicated the other; and imposed silence on two gifted brothers that preached to them, namely John Bray and John Okison. Wearied with their situation, they agreed to refer matters to a council, congregated from neighboring churches. The council met, May 25, 1712; it consisted of Reverend Messrs. Timothy Brooks, of Cohansey; Abel Morgan and Joseph Wood, of Pennepek; and Elisha Thomas, of Welch Tract, with six Elders, namely Nicholas Johnson, James James, Griffith Miles, Edward Church, William Bettridge and John Manners. Their advice was, "To bury their proceedings in oblivion, and erase the

records of them;" accordingly four leaves are torn out of the church book. "To continue the silence imposed on John Bray and John Okison the preceding year." One would think by this, that those two brethren were the cause of the disturbance. "To sign a covenant relative to their future conduct;" accordingly 42 did sign, and 26 refused; nevertheless most of the non-signers came in afterwards; but the first 42 were declared to be the church that should be owned by sister churches. "That Messrs. Abel Morgan, Sr. and John Barrows should supply the pulpit till the next yearly meeting; that the members should keep their places and not wander to other societies;" for at this time there was a Presbyterian congregation in Middleton, and mixed communion in vogue.

"The first who preached at Middleton, was Mr. John Bown, of whom we can learn no more than that he was not ordained; and that it was he who gave the lot on which the first meeting house was built. Contemporary with him was Mr. Ashton, of whom more will be said soon; and after him rose the forementioned Bray and Okison; neither of whom was ordained, and the latter was disowned. Mr. George Eaglesfield was another unordained preacher; but the first that may be styled pastor of the church, was,

"James Ashton. He probably was ordained by Thomas Killingsworth, at the time the church was constituted in 1688; for Mr. Killingsworth assisted at the constitution, which gave rise to the tradition "that he was the first minister." Mr. Ashton's successor was,

"Reverend **John Barrows**. He was born at Taunton, Somersetshire, England, and there ordained: arrived at Philadelphia in the month of November, 1711, and from thence came to Middleton in 1715, where he died in a good old age. Mr. Barrows is said to have been a happy compound of gravity and facetiousness; the one made the people stand in awe of him, while the other produced familiarity. As he was travelling one day, a young man passed by him in full speed; and in passing, Mr. Barrows said, "if you considered whither you are going, you would slacken your pace." He went on, but presently turned back to inquire into the meaning of that passing salute? Mr. Barrows reasoned with him on the folly and danger of horse racing: (to which the youth was hastening) he gave attention to the reproof. This encouraged Mr. Barrows to proceed to more serious matters. The issue was a sound conversion. Here was a bow drawn at a venture; and a sinner shot flying!

Mr. Barrows was succeeded by Reverend **Abel Morgan**, A.M. He was born in Welsh Tract, April 18 1713, had his learning at an academy kept by Reverend Thomas Evans, in Pencader; ordained at Welsh Tract in the year 1754; became pastor of Middleton in 1738; died there November 24, 1785. He was never married; the reason, it is supposed, was, that none of his attention and attendance might be taken off of his mother, who lived with him, and whom he honored to an uncommon degree. Mr. Morgan was a man of sound learning and solid judgment; he has given specimens of both in his public disputes and publications; for it appears that he held two public disputes on the subject of baptism. The first was at Kingwood; to which he was challenged by Reverend Samuel Harker, a Presbyterian minister. The other was held at Capemay, in 1745, with the Reverend afterwards, Dr. Samuel Finley, President of Princeton College.

"Mr. Morgan's successor was his nephew, Reverend Samuel Morgan. He was born in Welsh Tract, August 23, 1750; called to the ministry in Virginia; ordained at Middleton, November 29, 1785; at which time he took on him the care of the church." No account of Mr. Morgan's death has been obtained, This ancient church has for its present pastor, Mr. Benjamin Bennet. It was once well endowed, but a considerable part of its temporalities were sunk by that sacrilegious thing, (as Edwards calls it) Congress Money. What are its present possessions I have not learnt.

Piscataway. -- The history of this church, which is the next to Middleton in point of seniority, from the beginning to the present time, is not easy of acquisition. The reason is, their records were destroyed in the Revolutionary War. The following historical sketches have been gleaned partly from public records; partly from the town book; partly from the records of the Sabbatarian church, which sprang from this church; and partly from current tradition, and the information of ancient persons. The public records tell us, "That the large tract, on the east side of Rariton River, which comprises the towns of Piscataway, Elizabeth, etc. was purchased from the Indians in 1663. The purchasers were John Baily, Daniel Denton, Luke Watson, etc. These persons and their associates obtained a patent the following year, from Governor Nicholas, who acted under the Duke of York; but the Duke having, the same year, sold Jersey to Lord Berkeley and Sir George

Carteret, the validity of Nicholas_ patent has been called in question." However, the inhabitants keep possession to this day. The said tract does not, by the town records, appear to have been settled at once, but in the following successions. "In 1677, the Blackshaws, Drakes, Hands, and Hendricks, were inhabitants of Piscataway; in 1678, the Dottys and the Wolfs; in 1679, the Smalleys, Hulls, and Trotters; in 1680, the Hansworths, Martins, and Higgins; in 1681, the Dunhams, Lafflowers, and Fitzrandolphs; in 1682, the Suttons, Brindleys, Bounds, and Fords; in 1688, the Davies and Slaughters; in 1684, the Pregmores; in 1685, the Grubs and Adams; in 1687, the Chandlers and Smiths; in 1689, the Mortohs, Molesons and M_Daniels; the Gilmarts were settlers in 1663, which is one year before the patent." Were we to judge of the religion of these settlers by the lists of members in the two Baptist churches of Piscataway, we should conclude they were of that denomination, for most of the names are to be found in those lists. Nevertheless, tradition will allow of no more than six to have been professed Baptists, namely Hugh Dunn, who was an exhorter; John Drake, afterwards their pastor; Nicholas Bonham, John Smalley, Edmond Dunham, afterwards minister of the Seventh Day Baptists; and John Randolph; the above persons were constituted a Gospel church, in the spring of 1689, by the help of Reverend Thomas Killingsworth, at which time it is probable Mr. Drake was ordained their pastor. It is not to be doubted, but the said men had wives, or sisters, or daughters of the same way of thinking; however, none but the male members are mentioned, either here or at Middleton, or Cohansey. It is a current tradition, that some of the above Baptists emigrated hither from Piscataqua, in the District of Maine, and gave the name to this part of Jersey. This is a probable supposition, for there were a number of Baptists in that place at this time, and it appears, that this part of Jersey was written New Piscataqua their town book, and in the printed folio, which contains the original Jersey papers.

"The first who preached at Piscataway, from the beginning of the settlement to 1689, were the following unordained ministers, namely Messrs. Hugh Dunn, John Drake, and Edmond Dunham. About 1689, Reverend Thomas Killingsworth visited them, and settled them into a church, and ordained Mr. Drake to be their minister; this gave rise to the tradition, "that Mr. Killingsworth was the first minister of Piscataway, Middletown, and Cohansey." The last is true; but the first minister of Piscataway was Reverend **John Drake**, who was one of the first settlers, and bore an excellent character; he labored among them from the beginning to 1689, when he was ordained their pastor, and continued in the pastorship to his death, in 1739, which was a period of about 50 years. Mr. Drake_s descendants are very numerous, and respectable among the Baptists in this region; they claim kindred to the famous Sir Francis Drake.

Contemporary with Mr. Drake, was the unworthy Henry Loveall, He was ordained in this church to assist old Mr. Drake, but never administered ordinances; for the vileness of his character was soon discovered. From Piscataway he went to Maryland, where see an account of him.

"Mr. Drake_s successor was **Benjamin Stelle** who held the office of a magistrate, he was of French original, though born in New York; ordained in this church, and continued in the pastorship to the month of January, in 1759, when he died in the 76th year of his age. He is said to have been a popular preacher, and a very upright magistrate.

He was succeeded by his own son, **Isaac Stelle**, who became minister of Piscataway in 1752, as an assistant to his father, who was old and infirm, and continued in the ministry here to October 9, 1781, when he died in the 63rd year of his age. Mr. Stelle was remarkable for his travels among the American churches, in company with his other self, Reverend Benjamin Miller."

Reverend **Beune Runyon**, the late pastor of this church, succeeded Mr. Stelle. He also was of French extraction, and son of Reune Runyon, Esq.; born March 29, 1741; called to the ministry in this church, March, 1771; ordained at Morristown, March, 1772, where he continued to April, 1780, and then returned hither. He took on him the oversight of the church in 1783, and continued therein with credit and success till his death in November 1811.

Mr. **James M_Laughlin** succeeded him, October, 1812. He preaches half of the time at New Brunswick, two and a half miles distant, where there is a branch of the church and a commodious house of worship lately built of brick, 60 feet by 40, on a lot of near an acre. The lot and house cost about 6000 dollars.

The Piscataway church is the mother of the Scotch Plains, Morristown, and the Sabbatarian church, in the same neighborhood.

Cohansey. -- Cohansey is the name of a river, which meanders in the neighborhood, and from which this church takes its distinction; the meeting house stands in the township of Hopewell, and county of Cumberland, 47 miles south by west from Philadelphia.

The rise and progress of Cohansey church cannot be easily investigated, because their records have been destroyed; nevertheless, the following historical sketches will, in part, supply the loss: "About the year 1683* some Baptists from the county of Tipperary in Ireland settled in the neighborhood of Cohansey; particularly David Sheppard, Thomas Abbot, William Button, etc. In 1685, arrived hither from Rhode Island government, Obadiah Holmes and John Cornelius: In 1688, Kinner Vanhyst, John Child and Thomas Larestone were baptized by the Reverend Elias Keach, of Pennepek. About this time Reverend Thomas Killingsworth settled not far off, which increased the number of Baptists to nine souls; and probably to near as many more, including the sisters; however, the above nine persons were formed into a church, by the assistance of said Killingsworth, whom they chose to be their minister; this was done in the spring of 1690. Soon after the few Baptists who lived about Gloucester, Salem, Pennsneck, etc. united with them; so that the cords of this Zion were at first very lengthy, and continued so for 66 years; necessarily, until distant members began to form themselves into distinct churches, in the several neighborhoods." The churches which were thus formed were those of Salem, Dividing Creek, and Pittsgrove. [* In Cohansey graveyard is a stone with this inscription upon it: "Here lies Deborah Swinney, who died April 4, 1760, aged 77 years. She was the first white female child born at Cohanse."]

Most of the Baptist churches in America originated from England and Wales; but Cohansey from Ireland. The Baptist church whence it sprang, is still extant in Tipperary, and distinguished by the name of Cloughketin. "In 1710, Reverend Timothy Brooks and his company united with this church. They had emigrated hither from Swanzy, in Massachusetts, about the year 1687; and had kept a separate society for 23 years, on account of difference in opinion relative to predestination, singing, psalms, laying-on-of-hands, etc., Reverend Valentine Wightman of Groton, Connecticut, formed the union, on the terms of bearing and forbearance.

In 1711, they built their first meeting house, which was taken down to erect the present in its place; for from the beginning till then, they held worship, in private houses, though a period of about 28 years.

It does not appear that this people had any stated preacher, before the constitution, except **Obadiah Holmes**, the son of the famous Obadiah Holmes, who endured such cruel scourgings at Boston, in 1651, for the Word of God, and the testimony of Jesus, He was not, ordained. His settling at Cohansey is placed under the year 1685, which was four years prior to the constitution; he continued an occasional preacher while he lived, though a Judge of the Common Pleas in Salem Court.

The first pastor of Cohansey was **Thomas Killingsworth**, Esq. He took the oversight of the church at the constitution in 1690, and continued therein to his death, in the year 1708. This honorable gentleman, (for he was Judge of Salem court) was probably a native of Norwich, in England. He must have arrived in America in early times; and must have been an ordained minister before he arrived; for we find him exercising the ministerial functions, at Middleton in 1688; at Piscataway in 1689; and at Philadelphia in 1697. He had a wife, but no issue. It seems that the troubles, which came on dissenters in Queen Ann's reign, reached the Jersey; for Mr. Killingsworth put himself under the protection of the toleration act, at a court held in Salem, December 24, 1706, and took out a license for a preaching place at Penn's Neck, then the dwellinghouse of one Jeremiah Nickson.

His successor was Reverend **Timothy Brooks**. It has already been observed that Mr. Brooks' company and the church at Cohansey, coalesced into one body in the year 1710. It was at that time that he took the care of the Cohansey church; he continued in the care thereof to 1716 when he died in the 55th year of his age, and had upwards of 80 of his own offspring to follow him to his grave. Though Mr. Brooks was not eminent for either parts or learning, yet was a very useful preacher, meek in his carriage, and of a sweet and loving temper, and always open to conviction, which gained him universal esteem, and made the Welch ministers labor to instruct him in the ways of the Lord more perfectly.

Mr. Brooks was succeeded by Reverend **William Butcher**. He became the minister of this church in 1791, and continued therein to December 12 1724, when he died in the 27th year of his age. Mr. Butcher was a very popular preacher, and, withal, very tall and of a majestic appearance, which procured him the name of the High Priest.

Reverend **Nathaniel Jenkins** took the oversight of this church, at an advanced age, in 1730; and continued therein to his death, January 2, 1754.

He was succeeded by Reverend **Robert Kelsey**, who was a native of Ireland, born near Drummore in 1711; arrived in Maryland in 1754; came to Cohansey, in 1758; embraced the sentiments of the Baptists in 1741; was ordained in 1750, and became pastor of this church in 1756, in which office he continued to his death, which came to pass, May 50, 1789. The public print which announced his death, adds "as a man and companion, he was amusing and instructive; as a Christian, he was animated and exemplary; as a preacher, fervent and truly orthodox; warmly engaged was he in the service of the sanctuary, to which he repaired without interruption, till a few Lord_s days previous to his decease."

The present pastor of this church is Mr. **Henry Smalley**, who was sent into the ministry by the church in Piscataway, and ordained here September, 1790.

This church was well endowed in early times, but what their present income is, I have not ascertained.

Cape May. -- The foundation for this church was laid **in the year 1675**, when a company of emigrants from England arrived in the Delaware, some of whom settled at the Cape. Among these were two Baptists, whose names were George Taylor and Philip Hill. Taylor kept a meeting at his house till his death in 1701. Mr. Hill kept up the meeting till 1704, when he also died. After this the few brethren, who had been collected here, were visited by George Eaglesfield, Elias Keach, Thomas Griffiths, and **Nathaniel Jenkins**, the last of whom became the pastor of the church, which was constituted in 1712. Mr. Jenkins was a Welchman, born in Caerdicanshire, 1678, arrived in America in 1710, and two years after settled at the Cape. "He was a man of good parts and tolerable education; and quitted himself with honor in the loan office, whereof he was a trustee, and, also, in the Assembly, particularly in 1721, when a bill was brought in "to punish such as denied the doctrine of the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, etc." In opposition to which, Mr. Jenkins stood up, and with the warmth and accent of a Welshman, said, "I believe the doctrines in question, as firmly as the promoters of that ill-designed bill; but will never consent to oppose the opposers with law, or with any other weapon, save that of argument, etc." Accordingly, the bill was suppressed, to the great mortification of them, who wanted to raise, in New Jersey, the spirit which so raged in New England."

The ministers, who have had the care of the church at the Cape, from this period, were Samuel Heaton, John Sutton, Peter P. Vanhorn, David Smith, Artis Seagrave, John Stancliff, Jonathan German and Jenkin David; most of whom, except the last, appear to have been sojourners rather than stationed pastors.

Hopewell. -- This church is distinguished, as above, from the township where the meeting house stands, in Hunterdon county, bearing northeast from Philadelphia, at the distance of 40 miles; the dimensions of the house are 40 feet by 50; built, in 1747, on a lot of three quarters of an acre, the gift of John Hart, Esq.

One of the three families, who first settled in the tract, now called Hopewell, was that of **Jonathan Stout**, who arrived here from Middleton, about 1706. **The place then was a wilderness and full of Indians.** Mr. Stout_s wife was Ann Bullen, by whom he had nine children, namely Joseph, Benjamin, Zebulon, Jonathan, David, Samuel, Sarah, Hannah, and Ann. Six of these children are said to have gone to Pennsylvania for baptism. Thus it appears, that Mr. Stout_s family, including the father and mother, furnished eight members for the church. Seven other members are supposed to have been Thomas Curtis, Benjamin Drake, Ruth Stout, Alice Curtis, Sarah Fitzrandolph, Rachel Hide, and Mary Drake; and these fifteen persons on the 23rd of April, 1715, were organized into a church by the assistance of Abel Morgan and John Burrows, with their Elders Griffith Miles, Joseph Todd, and Samuel Ogden, and the same year they joined the Philadelphia Association.

This church is remarkable for the number of ministers, who have been raised up in it. Thomas Curtis, John Alderson, John Gano, Joseph Powel, Hezekiah Smith, John Blackwell, Charles Thompson, and James Ewing, were all licensed or ordained at Hopewell.

It is natural to think, that the first preaching of Believer's Baptism, at Hopewell, was owing to Jonathan Stout's settling in the parts; and it is inferred from the church records, that from the settlement of Mr. Stout, to the constitution of the church, which was a period of nine years, that Messrs. Simmons, Eaglesfield, etc. from Middleton, were the men who preached here; neither of whom was ordained. Mr. Simmons afterwards went to Charleston, South Carolina. From the constitution of the church to the coming of the Reverend Isaac Eaton, was another period of 135 years; during 15 of which, Joseph Eaton of Montgomery attended the place regularly once a month. After his desisting his visits, **Thomas Davis**, of the Great Valley, came to Hopewell, and preached steadily to the people for about four years, and then resigned to go to Oysterbay, on Long Island. Mr. Davis was brother to Reverend John Davis of said Valley; he was born in the parish of Llanfarnach, and county of Pembroke, Wales, in 1707; he arrived in America, July 27, 1713; was ordained at Great Valley, and died at Yellow Springs, February 15, 1777, in the 70th year of his age. From his departure, the place was supplied for two years, by Messrs. Carman, Bonham, and Miller; and glorious years they were -- 55 souls were converted and added to the church; a meeting house was built, etc. The first minister who can be said to have been the settled pastor of this church, (for those before mentioned were but transiently among them) was **Isaac Eaton**, A.M. He was son of Joseph Eaton of Montgomery, joined Southampton church, and commenced preaching in early life. Mr. Eaton came to Hopewell in the month of April, 1748, and on the 29th of November following, was ordained pastor of the church by Messrs. Carman, Curtis, Miller, and Pots. He continued in the pastorate to July 4, 1772, when he died in the 47th year of his age; he was buried in the meeting house; and at the head of his grave, close to the base of the pulpit, is set up, by his congregation, a piece of fine marble, with this inscription upon it: "In him, with grace and eminence did shine, The man, the Christian, scholar, and divine."

His funeral sermon was preached by Samuel Jones, D.D. of Pennepek; who thus briefly portrayed his character. "The natural endowments of his mind; the improvement of these by the accomplishments of literature; his early and genuine piety; his abilities as a divine and a preacher; his extensive knowledge of men and books; his catholicism, etc, would afford ample scope to flourish in a funeral oration, but it is needless." Mr. Eaton was the first man among the American Baptists, who set up a school for the education of youths for the ministry, which will be mentioned in its proper place."

About two years after Mr. Eaton's death, Reverend **Benjamin Coles** was elected to the pastoral office here, (October 15, 1774) without one dissenting voice; and continued with them to the spring of 1779. This church had enjoyed two very distinguished revivals of religion before one in 1747 when 55 were added; and another in 1764, when 123 were added; and soon after Mr. Coles became their pastor, there was a third, which added to their number, in about two years, 105 souls. But notwithstanding this success, Mr. Coles, in about seven years, found himself so uncomfortable among this people, that by the advice of his friends, he resigned his charge and settled at Scotch Plains about two years, when he returned to his native place at Oyster Bay.

Successor to him was Oliver Hart, A.M. who had fled hither from Charleston, South Carolina, on account of the war. He took the oversight of this people, December, 1780, and continued with them till his death in 1795. A further account of this eminent minister will be given in his biography.

After him was Mr. James Ewing about nine years, and next to him was their present pastor, Mr. John Boggs, son of a minister of the same name, formerly of Welsh Tract.

This church has a farm with buildings for the accommodation of their pastor, valued at about 6000 dollars. From it originated the Second in Hopewell, and the one called Amwell.

HISTORY OF THE STOUTS

The family of the Stouts are so remarkable for their number, origin, and character, in both church and state, that their history deserves to be conspicuously recorded; and no place can be so proper as that of Hopewell, where the bulk of the family resides. We have already seen that **Jonathan Stout** and family were the seed of the Hopewell church, and the beginning of Hopewell settlement; and that of the 15 which constituted the church, nine were Stouts. The church was constituted at the house of a Stout, and the meetings were held chiefly at the dwellings of the Stouts for 41 years, namely from the beginning of the settlement to the building of the meeting house, before described. Mr. Hart was of opinion (in 1790) "that from first to last, half the members have been and were of that name; for, in looking over the church book, (saith he) I find that near two hundred of the name have been added; besides about as many more of the blood of the Stouts, who had lost the name by marriages. The present (1790) two deacons and four elders, are Stouts; the late Zebulon and David Stout were two of its main pillars; the last lived to see his offspring multiplied into an hundred and seventeen souls." **The origin of this Baptist family is no less remarkable; for they all sprang from one woman**, and she as good as dead; her history is in the mouths of most of her posterity, and is told as follows: "She was born at Amsterdam, about the year 1602; her father's name was Vanprincis; she and her first husband, (whose name is not known) sailed for New York, (then New Amsterdam) about the year 1620; the vessel was stranded at Sandy Hook; the crew got ashore, and marched towards the said New York; but Penelope's (for that was her name) husband being hurt in the wreck, could not march with them; therefore, he and the wife tarried in the woods; they had not been long in the place, before the Indians killed them both, (as they thought) and stripped them to the skin; however, Penelope came to, though her skull was fractured, and her left shoulder so hacked, that she could never use that arm like the other; she was also cut across the abdomen, so that her bowels appeared; these she kept in with her hand; she continued in this situation for seven days, taking shelter in a hollow tree, and eating the excrescence of it: the seventh day she saw a deer passing by with arrows sticking in it, and soon after two Indians appeared, whom she was glad to see, in hope they would put her out of her misery; accordingly, one made towards her to knock her on the head, but the other, who was an elderly man, prevented him; and throwing his matchcoat about her, carried her to his wigwam, and cured her of her wounds and bruises; after that he took her to New York, and made a present of her to her countrymen, namely an "Indian" present, expecting ten times the value in return. It was in New York, that one Richard Stout married her: he was a native of England, and of a good family; she was now in her 22d year, and he in his 40th. She bore him seven sons and three daughters, namely Jonathan, (founder of Hopewell) John, Richard, James, Peter, David, Benjamin, Mary, Sarah, and Alice; the daughters married into the families of the Bounds, Pikes, Throckmortons, and Skeltons, and so lost the name of Stout; the sons married into the families of Bullen, Crawford, Ashton, Traux, etc. and had many children. The mother lived to the age of 110, and saw her offspring multiplied into 502 in about 88 years."

Kingwood. -- This church is the next in point of age. It was constituted in 1742, but I conclude has now either changed its name or become extinct. From it originated the following ministers, namely William Lock, Elkanah Holmes, now at Niagara, Upper Canada, Thomas Runyon, William Tims, James Drake, and David Stout.

Hightstown. -- This church was formerly called Cranbury, because the first meeting house stood in that township. Their present house of worship, built in 1785, 40 feet by 30, stands in a village from which the church takes its name, in the township of Windsor, and county of Middlesex, about 46 miles northeast of Philadelphia. The church was constituted in 1745 of 17 members. The first pastor was **James Carman**, who was almost as remarkable as Samuel Huntington for living by faith. He was born at Cape May in 1677, was baptized at Staten Island, near New York, by Elias Keach, in the 15th year of his age, after this went first among the Quakers, then with the New Light Presbyterians, whom he permitted to baptize one of his children. But in process of time, he came back to his first principles, united with the church in Middleton, began to preach in the branch of it at Cranbury, and was ordained its pastor at the time it was constituted. Here he died at the age of 79.

For many years after his death this church had only occasional supplies, and had nearly become extinct, when Mr. **Peter Wilson**, their present pastor, came amongst them in 1782. In nine years from his settlement, over 200 persons were added to the church by baptism; upwards of 800 have been baptized by this successful pastor, during the whole of his ministry here. The church is scattered over a wide extent of territory, and Mr. Wilson in his more active days, not unfrequently rode 15, sometimes 20 miles, and preached four times on a Lord's Day.

From this church originated the one at Trenton, now under the care of Mr. William Boswell. The church in Nottingham is also a branch of this body, and from it a great many other churches besides have received many of their members.

Scotch Plain. -- This is a branch of the ancient church at Piscataway; it was constituted with fifteen members from that body in 1747; their meeting house stands on the north border of the large and fertile tract of land, from which the church is named, in the township of Elizabeth, and county of Essex, between twenty and thirty miles from the city of New York. This house is 50 feet by 50, built before, but enlarged to this size in 1759.

From this church have originated the First in New York, Lyon_s Farms, Mount Bethel and Samptown.

The first pastor at Scotch Plain was Mr. **Benjamin Miller**, a native of the place. He was ordained in 1748, and continued in office here till 1781, when he died in the 66th year of his age. "All that can be said of a good, laborious and successful minister will apply to him. His frequent companion in travels was Reverend Isaac Stelle; lovely and pleasant were they in their life, and in death they were not much divided, the one having survived the other but 85 days. He also traveled much with Mr. Peter P. Vanhorn and John Gano. Mr. Miller is said to have been a wild youth; but met with a sudden and surprising change under a sermon of Reverend Gilbert Tennent, a Presbyterian minister. Mr. Tennent, it is said, christened him, and encouraged him to study the languages, to qualify him for the ministry. However that may be, Mr. Miller did spend some time at learning, under the tuition of Reverend Mr. Biram. It was there he embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, owing to the discourse of Mr. Biram at the christening of a child, and a conversation that followed between him and his pupil."

Mr. Miller_s funeral sermon was preached by his affectionate friend John Gano. Between these two ministers, there had long been a private agreement, that the funeral sermon of the first who died should be preached by the survivor, provided he had word of the death; and Providence so ordered matters that this promise was fulfilled. Mr. Gano was now a chaplain in the American army, and soon after Lord Cornwallis_ surrender he was going to visit his family, when he heard of Mr. Miller_s death, "Never, (said Mr. Gano) did I esteem a ministering brother so much as I did Mr. Miller, nor feel so sensibly a like bereavement, as that which I sustained by his death."

The next pastor of this church was **William Vanhorn**, A.M. He was a son of the evangelical Peter P. Vanhorn; was born in 1746, and ordained at Southampton, in Pennsylvania, where he continued 13 years; and in 1785, settled at the Scotch Plains, where he continued until 1807, when he resigned his pastoral care here, and set out with his family, on a journey into the State of Ohio, with a view of settling on a plantation, which he had purchased in that country, near the town of Lebanon, between the Miami rivers. Previous to the commencement of his journey, Mr. Vanhorn had been languishing for some time under a dropsical complaint, which, on his reaching Pittsburg, confined him to his bed; a mortification of the parts ensued, and he died on the 1st of October, 1807, in the 61st year of his age. This mournful event was peculiarly distressing, in a strange place, to his widow and only son, and six daughters, who were witnesses of his afflictions and exit. The attentions paid them by the inhabitants of the town were generally kind and sympathetic. The family after a few days, pursued their journey and safely arrived at the place of destination, where they are now agreeably settled.

Mr. Vanhorn received his education at Dr. Samuel Jones_s Academy at Pennepek, and afterwards received the honorary degree of Master of Arts, from the Rhode Island College. During the revolutionary war he was chaplain to one of the brigades of the State of Massachusetts. **He was also a member for Buck_s county, Pennsylvania, of the convention which met in Philadelphia for the purpose of framing the first civil constitution of the State.**

Successor to Mr. Vanhorn was Mr. Thomas Brown, a native of Newark, not far distant.

This church has a commodious parsonage house, with a small estate adjoining. It has lately received a legacy from the late James Brown, one of its deacons, of about 1400 dollars. From this body originated James Manning, D. D. the first President of Brown University.

At **Newark**, nine miles from the city of New York, a church was formed in 1801, mostly of members from Lyon_s Farms. They have a new house of worship 68 feet by 48. They have had to preach for them Messrs. Charles Lahatt, Peter Thurston, Daniel Sharp, and John Lamb, but are at present destitute, unless Dr. Rogers of Philadelphia has accepted their invitation to become their pastor, which has been some expected.

In the northern part of this State are a number of other churches, whose dates, pastors, etc. will be exhibited in the General Table.

At a place called **Dividing Creek**, fifty-six miles southwest of Philadelphia, a church arose in 1761, under the ministry of Mr. **Samuel Heaton**, whose history furnishes some interesting anecdotes, and is as follows: "He was born at Wrentham, Massachusetts, and was bred a Pedobaptist, he came to Jersey with three brothers about the year 1734, and settled near Black River, in the county of Morris, and there set up iron works; while there he had a son born, whom he was anxious to have "christened" by Reverend Samuel Sweesy, a Presbyterian minister of the Separate order; to which "christening" the wife stood averse, adding, "if you show me a text* that warrants christening a child, I will take him to Mr. Sweesy." The husband offered several texts; the wife would not allow that infant baptism was in either of them; then the husband went to Mr. Sweesy, not doubting but a thing so old and so common as infant baptism, must be in the Bible; Mr. Sweesy owned there was no text which directly proved the point; but that it was provable by deductions from many texts; this chagrined Mr. Heaton, as he had never doubted but that infant baptism was a gospel ordinance; he went home with a resolution to act the part of the more noble Bereans, and soon met with convictions; after that he went to Kingwood and was baptized by Mr. Bollham; and so satisfied was he with what he had done, that he began to preach up the baptism of repentance in the mountains of Schooly; he labored not in vain; for some of his proselytes went to Kingwood to receive believer_s baptism. **This was the beginning of the Baptist church at Schooly.** In 1751, Mr. Heaton was ordained, and then went the next year to Millcreek in Virginia, where he continued a short time; and from thence to Konoloway, in Pennsylvania, where he founded another church; being driven from thence by the Indians, he settled next year at Capemay; from thence he came to Dividing Creek to settle a third church; in the care of which he died in the 66th year of his age, September 26, 1777."

[* This transaction coming to the knowledge of Robert Calver, a Rogerene Baptist, induced him to publish an advertisement in the newspaper, offering twenty dollars reward to any that would produce a text to prove infant baptism. Reverend Samuel Harker took him up, and carried a text to the advertiser; Calver would not allow that infant baptism was in it; Harker sued him; it seems the courts were of Mr. Calver_s mind, for Harker was cast and had court charges to pay. After that, Calver published another advertisement, offering a reward of forty dollars for such a text; but none took him up, as Mr. Harker_s attempts failed." Infant baptism has been ten thousand times condemned by argument, but this is probably the first time it was ever condemned in a court of law.]

In **Salem**, 36 miles southwest of Philadelphia, a church was constituted of members from Cohansey in 1755. But Baptists, particularly the Killingsworths and Holmeses, had settled in the place before the year 1700.

The first pastor here was Job Shephard, a descendant of David Shephard from Ireland. His ministry was short, abut respectable. Since him they have had, in succession, John Sutton, now in Kentucky, if alive, Abel Griffiths, Peter P. Vanhorn, and Isaac Skillman, D. D. It is now under the care of a young man, by the name of Joseph Shephard, who was educated in the University of Pennsylvania.

Most of the foregoing sketches are taken from Morgan Edwards_ Materials, etc. for this state, published in 1792 at which time the number of churches was twenty-three; since then they have increased to over thirty. Of the temporalities of a number of churches, formerly in possession of good estates, no information has been obtained, and of course none can be given.

NEW JERSEY ASSOCIATION

For about a hundred years, most of the churches in the state belonged to the Philadelphia Association. Since the one at New York was formed, the churches near the city have associated with that body. In 1811,

a number of the Philadelphia churches were dismissed, and the same year were organized into a body by the name above mentioned. Nothing yet has occurred to furnish materials for an historical narrative. It was formed in perfect agreement with the mother body, from motives of convenience.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

PENNSYLVANIA

Most of the Baptists in this state, except the Tunkers and Mennonists, for a great number of years from their beginning, were either emigrants from Wales or their descendants; but the **first church of the denomination in the country was formed at a place called the Coldspring, in Buck_s county, between Bristol and Trenton, by Thomas Dungan, who removed thither from Rhode Island in 1684**, only three years after William Penn obtained his patent of Charles II. [Respecting Mr. Dungan, Morgan Edwards has the following note in his history of the Baptists in Pennsylvania: "Of this venerable father, I can learn no more than that he came from Rhode Island about the year 1684; that he and his family settled at Coldspring, where he gathered a church, of which nothing remains but a graveyard and the names of the families which belonged to it, namely the Dungans, Gapduets, Woods, Deyles, etc. that he died in 1688, and was buried in said graveyard; that his children were five sons and four daughters, namely William, who married into the Wing family, of Rhode Island, and had five children; Clement, who died childless; Thomas, who married into the Drake family, and had nine children; Jeremiah, who married into the same family, and had eight children; Elizabeth, who married into the West family, and had four children; Mary, who roamed into the Richards_ family, and had three children; John, who died childless; Rebecca, who married into the Doyle family, and had three children; Sarah, who married into the family of the Kerrels and had six children; in all 38. To mention the names, alliances, and offspring of these, would tend towards an endless genealogy. Sufficeth it, that the Reverend Thomas Dungan, the first Baptist minister in the provinces now (1770) existeth in a progeny of between six and seven hundred.]

Pennepek, or Lower Dublin Church. -- This is now the oldest church in Pennsylvania, as the one gathered by Mr. Dungan was broken up in 1702. "The history of this church will lead us back to the year 1686, when one John Eaton, George Eaton, and Jane his wife, Sarah Eaton, and Samuel Jones, members of a Baptist church residing in Llanddewi and Nautmel, in Radnorshire, whereof Reverend Henry Gregory was pastor; also, John Baker, member of a church in Kilkenny, in Ireland, under the pastoral care of Reverend Christopher Blackwell, and one Samuel Vans, from England, arrived and settled on the banks of Pennepek, formerly written Pemmapeka. In the year 1687, Reverend Elias Keach, of London, came among them, and baptized one Joseph Ashton and Jane his wife, William Fisher and John Watts, which increased their number to 12 souls, including the minister. **These 12 did by mutual consent, form themselves into a church in the month of January, 1688**, choosing Mr. Keach to be their minister, and Samuel Vaus to be deacon. Soon after, the few emigrated Baptists in this province and West Jersey joined them; also those, whom Mr. Keach baptized at the Falls, Coldspring, Burlington, Cohansey, Salem, Penn_s Neck, Chester, Philadelphia, etc. They were all one church, and Pennepek the center of union, where, as many as could, met to celebrate the Lord_s Supper; and for the sake of distant members, they administered the ordinance quarterly at Burlington, Cohansey, Chester, and Philadelphia; which quarterly meetings have since been transformed into three yearly meetings and an association: Thus, for some time, continued their Zion with lengthened cords, till the brethren in remote parts set about forming themselves into distinct churches, which began in 1699. By these detachments it was reduced to narrow bounds, but continued among the churches, as a mother in the midst of many daughters. At their settlement, and during the administration of Mr. Keach, they were the same as they are now, with respect to faith and order; but when their number increased, and emigrants, from differing churches in Europe; incorporated with them, divisions began to take place about various things, such as absolute predestination, laying-on-of-hands, distributing the elements, singing psalms, seventh-day sabbath, etc. which threw the body ecclesiastic into a fever. In the year 1747, a tumult arose about the choice of a minister, which issued in a separation. But this, and the other maladies were healed, when the peccant humours had been purged off, and the design of Providence accomplished, which design is expressed in these notable words, _There must be divisions among you, that they who are approved may be made manifest._ 1 Corinthians 11:19.

"The first minister they had was the Reverend **Elias Keach**. He was son of the famous Benjamin Keach, of London; arrived in this country a very wild youth, about the year 1686. On his landing, he dressed in black, and wore a band, in order to pass for a minister. The project succeeded to his wishes and many

people resorted to hear the young London Divine. He performed well enough, till he had advanced pretty far in the sermon; then stopping short, he looked like a man astonished. The audience concluded he had been seized with a sudden disorder; but on asking what the matter was, received from him a confession of the imposture, with tears in his eyes, and much trembling. Great was his distress, though it ended happily; for from this time he dated his conversion. He heard of Mr. Dungan. To him he repaired to seek counsel and comfort, and by him he was baptized and ordained. From Coldspring, Mr. Keach came to Pennepek, and settled a church there as before related; and thence traveled through Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, preaching the Gospel in the wilderness with great success, insomuch that he may be considered as the chief apostle of the Baptists in these parts of America. He and his family embarked for England, early in the spring of the year 1692, and afterwards became a very famous and successful minister in London. Sometime before his embarkation, he had resigned the care of the church to

"Reverend **John Watts**, who was born November 3, 1661, at Lydd or Leed in the county of Kent; came to this country about the year 1686; was baptized at Pennepek, November 21, 1687; called to the ministry in 1688; took on him the care of the church in 1690; continued in the care thereof to August 27, 1702, when he died of the small pox, and was buried at Pennepek, having had Mr. Samuel Jones to his assistant. Mr. Watts was a sound divine, and a man of some learning, as appears by a book he wrote, entitled, *Davis Disabled*. There was an order for printing this book, dated August 3, 1705, but it was not executed. He also composed a Catechism, or little system of divinity, which was published in 1700. Mr. Watts was succeeded by

"Reverend **Evan Morgan**, who came to this country very early, and was a man of piety and parts. He broke off from the Quakers along with many others of Mr. Keith's party in 1691; was baptized in 1697, by one Thomas Butter, and the same year, renouncing the reliques of Quakerism, was received into the church. In 1702, he was called to the ministry, and ordained October 23, 1706, by Reverend Messrs. Thomas Griffith and Thomas Killingsworth. He died February 16, 1709, and was buried at Pennepek, after having had the joint care of the church for upwards of two years. Mr. Morgan's successor, who had also been his colleague, was the

"Reverend **Samuel Jones**, who was born, July 9, 1657, in the parish of Llauddewi, and the county of Radnor; came to this country about 1686; called to the ministry in 1697; ordained, October 23, 1706, at which time he took part of the ministry with Mr. Evan Morgan. He died February 3, 1722, and was buried at Pennepek. He had Mr. John Hart and others to his assistants. The ground on which the meeting house stands was given by him. He also gave for the use of the church *Pool's Annotations*, 2 volumes, *Burkit's Annotations*, 1 volume. Keach on the Parables, and *Bishop's Body of Divinity*, etc. His successor, who also had been his colleague, was

"Reverend **Joseph Wood**, who was born in the year 1659, near Hull, in Yorkshire; came to this country about 1684; baptized by Mr. Keach, at Burlington, July 24, 1691; ordained September 25, 1708, at which time he took part of the ministry with Mr. Evan Morgan and Mr. Samuel Jones. He died, September 15, 1747, and was buried at Coldspring. Mr. Wood was succeeded by

"Reverend **Abel Morgan**. He was born in the year 1657, at a place called Alltgoch, in the parish of Llanwenog, and county of Carmarthen; entered on the ministry in the 19th year of his age; was ordained at Blaenewent, in Monmouthshire. He arrived in this country, February 14, 1711; resided some time at Philadelphia, and then removed to Pennepek; took on him the care of the church as soon as he landed; and continued therein to his death, which came to pass, December 16, 1722. He was buried in the graveyard of Philadelphia, where a stone is erected to his memory. Mr. Morgan was a man of considerable distinction. He compiled a folio Concordance to the Welch Bible printed at Philadelphia in 1750; he also translated the *Century Confession* to Welsh, and added thereto article the thirteenth and thirty-first. Several other pieces of his are yet extant in manuscripts. His successor was

"Reverend **Jenkin Jones**, who became minister of this church in the year 1725, which was near three years after Mr. Morgan's decease; and had Mr. William Kinnersley to his assistant. Mr. Wood was yet alive, but not very capable of serving the church. He continued in the care thereof for upwards of twenty years, and then resigned it, to become the minister of Philadelphia church, where we shall say more of him. The next in office here was

"Reverend **Peter Peterson Vanhorn**. He was born, August 24, 1719, at Middletown in Bucks county, and was bred a Lutheran; embraced the principles of the Baptists, September 6, 1741; ordained, June 18, 1747; continued in the oversight of the church to 1762, when he resigned, and settled at the Newmills, in the Jersey. His assistant was Mr. George Eaton. His wife is Margaret Marshall, by whom he has children, William, Gabriel, Peter, Aaron, Thomas, Elizabeth, Marshal, Charles. His successor is

"Reverend **Samuel Jones**, D.D. who yet continues the pastor of this ancient and respectable church, although he is almost 80 years old. He was born January 14, 1735, at a place called Cefen y Gelli in Bettus parish in Glamorgan-shire; came to America in 1787; was bred in the college of Philadelphia; was ordained, January 8, 1763, at which time he commenced minister of Pennepek and Southampton; but he resigned the care of the Southampton church in 1770, in favor of Erasmus Kelly" [Edward's Materials for Pennsylvannia, p. 6-17]. This church is now called Lower Dublin, from the name of the township in which it is situated.

Their first meeting house was a neat stone building, 33 feet by 30, erected in 1707, on a lot of one acre, the gift of Reverend Samuel Jones. This house was taken down in 1805, to make room for the more spacious one, which was immediately erected on the spot, and was built of stone, 55 feet by 45.

This church has about 600 dollars at interest, which is accumulating yearly. In addition to this, Dr. Jones has given them a handsome sum in his Will, to be for their use when he is gone.

PHILADELPHIA First, or Second Street Church -- This church is in reality nearly as old as Pennepek, and its history will lead us almost to the founding of the city.

"In the year 1686, one John Holmes, who was a Baptist, arrived and settled in the neighborhood. He was a man of property and learning, and therefore we find him in the magistracy of the place in 1691, and was the same man who refused to act with the Quaker magistrates, against the Keithians. He died Judge of Salem Court. In 1696, John Farmer and his wife, members of a Baptist church in London, then under, the pastoral care of the famous Hansard Knollis, arrived and settled in the place. In 1697, one Joseph Todd and Rebecca Woosoncroft came to the same neighborhood, who belonged to a Baptist church at Limmington, in Hampshire, England, where Reverend John Rumsay was pastor. The same year one William Silverstone, William Elton and wife, and Mary Shepherd, were baptized by Thomas Killingworth. These nine persons, on the second Sunday **in December, 1698, assembled at a house in Barbadoes lot, and coalesced into a church** for the communion of saints, having Reverend John Watts to their assistance. From that time to the year 1746, they increased partly by emigrations from the old country, and partly by the occasional labors of Elias Keach, Thomas Killingworth, John Watts, Samuel Jones, Evan Morgan, John Hart, Joseph Wood, Nathaniel Jenkins, Thomas Griffiths, Elisha Thomas, Enoch Morgan, John Burrows, Thomas Selby, Abel Morgan, George Eglesfield, William Kinnersley, and others. From the beginning to the last mentioned time, (1746) they had no settled minister among them, though it was a period of 48 years. The first, that might be properly called their own, was Jenkin Jones; the rest belonging to other churches. They did, indeed, in 1723, choose George Eaglesfield to preach to them, contrary to the sense of the church at Pennepek; but in 1725, he left them and went to Middleton. About the year 1746, a question arose, whether Philadelphia was not a branch of Pennepek and consequently, whether the latter had not a right to part of the legacies bestowed on the former? This, indeed, was a groundless question; but for fear the design of their benefactors should be perverted, the church, then consisting of 56 members, was formally constituted, May 15, 1746. "The place where these people met, at first, was the corner of Second Street and Chesnut Street, known by the name of Barbadoes lot. The building was a storehouse; but when the Barbadoes company left the place, the Baptists held their meetings there. So also did the Presbyterians, when either a Baptist or Presbyterian minister happened to be in town; for as yet neither had any settled among them. But when Jedidiah Andrews, from New England, came to the latter, the Baptists, as has generally been their lot, were, in a manner, driven away. Several letters passed between the two societies on the occasion, which are yet extant. There was also a deputation of three Baptists appointed to remonstrate with the Presbyterians, for so unkind and rightless a conduct; but to no purpose. From that time forth, the Baptists held their worship at a place near the drawbridge, known by the name Anthony Morris_ brew-house; here they continued to meet till March 15, 1707, when by invitation of the Keithians, they removed their worship to Second Street, where they hold it to this day. The Keithian meeting house was a small wooden building, erected in 1692. This the Baptists took down, in 1731, and raised on the same spot, a

neat brick building, 42 feet by 30. This house was also taken down in 1762, and a more spacious one was erected on the spot, 61 feet by 42, which was also built with brick at the expense of 2,200 pounds." This house was enlarged about 1808, so that their place of worship now is 61 feet by 75. The old lot was 43 feet front on Second Street, and 303 feet deep towards Third Street.

The additional ground purchased for the recent enlargement of the house, extends 37 feet from the old lot to a court called Fremberger_s, on which it has a front of 150 feet. This, with the enlargement of the house, cost 18,000 dollars.

But to return: "An accident, in 1754, had like to have deprived the church, both of their house and lot; for then one Thomas Pearl died, after having made a conveyance of the premises to the church of England. The vestry demanded possession, but the Baptists refused, and a lawsuit commenced, which brought the matter to a hearing before the Assembly. The Episcopalians being discouraged, offered to give up their claim for 50 pounds. The offer was accepted, and contention ceased.

"This church experienced a painful division in 1711, occasioned by the turbulent spirit of an Irish preacher, who was among them, along with Mr. Burrows. His name was Thomas Selby. When he had formed a party, he shut Mr. Burrows and his friends out of the meeting house, who thenceforth met at Mr. Burrows_ house in Chesnut Street. This was the situation of affairs when Mr. Abel Morgan arrived in 1711. But his presence soon healed the breach, and obliged Selby to quit the town, which he did in 1713, and went to Carolina, and there died the same year, but not before he had occasioned much disturbance. The ministers which this church have had from the beginning to the year 1746, are mentioned above, and some of them have been already characterized. The following are the ministers they have had since that time.

"Reverend **Jenkin Jones**. He was born about 1690 in the parish of Llanfarnach, and county of Pembroke, and arrived in this country about 1710. He was called to the ministry in Welsh Tract in 1724; removed to Philadelphia in 1725, and became the minister of the church at that place, only, at the time of its reconstitution, May 15, 1746; for, theretofore, he had the care of Pennepek also. He died at Philadelphia, July 16, 1761, and was there buried, where a tomb is erected to his memory. Mr. Jones was a good man and did real services to this church, and to the Baptist interest. He secured to them the possession of their valuable lot, and place of worship before described. He was the moving cause of altering the direction of licenses, so as to enable dissenting ministers to perform marriages by them. He built a parsonage house, partly at his own charge. He gave a handsome legacy towards purchasing a silver cup for the Lord_s Table, which is worth upwards of 60 pounds. His name is engraven upon it" [Edwards_ Materials, etc. p. 41-7].

"Reverend **Ebenezer Kinnersly**, A.M. was contemporary with Mr. Jones. He was born, November 30, 1711, in the city of Gloucester, and arrived in this country, September 12, 1714; was ordained in 1743, and preached at Philadelphia and elsewhere to 1754, when he obtained a Professor_s chair in the College of Philadelphia. **Mr. Kinnersley was a companion of Dr. Franklin in philosophical researches, and has immortalized his name on account of his improvements in electricity.** He died in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and was buried in the Baptist cemetery at Lower Dublin.

It has been asserted that this eminent man "left the Baptist communion, laid aside his clerical character, and joined the Episcopal church" [Retrospect of the 18th Century, note, vol. ii. p 354]. That he declined preaching after he engaged in the duties of his professorship is not denied, but that he joined the Episcopalians, Dr. Rogers declares, is incorrect: "Mr. Kinnersley," says he, "continued a firm Baptist till his death, and was a constant attendant and communicant in the First Baptist church in Philadelphia till he removed to the country." His wife was all Episcopalian, and probably his sometimes waiting on her to church, gave rise to the groundless report above mentioned.

The next pastor to Mr. Jones was **Morgan Edwards**, A.M. for whose character the reader is referred to his biography.

Successor to Mr. Edwards was **William Rogers**, D.D. who served the church about three years. During his pastoral labors a revival took place in which between forty and fifty were added. Dr. Rogers was born in Newport, Rhode Island, July 29, 1751, and was educated in Rhode Island College, being the very first

student that entered that institution, was baptized by the late Gardiner Thurston of Newport, who was his uncle, in 1770, was sent into the ministry by the church of which he was pastor in 1771, and the same year removed to Philadelphia, where he has since resided. During five years of the Revolutionary War, he was a chaplain in the American army. In 1789, he was appointed a Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, which office he held till 1812, when he resigned it. Dr. Rogers has long maintained an extensive correspondence, and is extensively known among the Baptists in America, Europe, and India.

This church remained destitute of a pastor, during the Revolutionary War, but in 1782, Reverend **Thomas Ustick**, A.M. was inducted into the pastoral office. Mr. Ustick was born in the city of New York, August 30, 1755. He was baptized by the Reverend John Gano, in that city, when he was but little more than 13 years of age. At his baptism, Mr. Gano gave out the 138th hymn, first book, Dr. Watts, and in the second verse he parodied thus:

"His honor is engag_d to save
The *youngest* of his sheep," etc.

"Why did you not give the words as they are?" said Mr. Ustick, _The meanest of his sheep,_ for truly I am so."

Mr. Ustick was educated at Rhode Island College, where he graduated in 1771. About three years after he left college, he was called to the ministry by the church in the city of New York, and on the 5th of August, 1777, was ordained at Providence, Rhode Island, by President Manning, Reverend Job Seamans, of Attleborough, and Reverend William Williams, of Wrentham. Previous to his ordination, Mr. Ustick preached awhile at Stamford, in Connecticut, and soon after he was settled at Ashford, in the same state. From that place he removed to Grafton, in Massachusetts, and from Grafton he removed to Philadelphia, as above related. In this city he continued his ministry, with much reputation, for almost 21 years. But his work in the church militant being finished, he was, we trust, removed to the church triumphant, April, 1803, in the 50th year of his age.

During his confinement, the Gospel, which he had delivered to others, he assured a worthy friend, who visited him a day or two before his death, afforded him the greatest consolation. On Lord_s day, being visited by several brethren, he proposed to them after prayer, to sing the 138th hymn, first book:

"Firm as the earth thy Gospel stands," etc.

the same that was sung at his baptism. The night which closed the scene of life, (his son sitting up with him) sensible, no doubt, of his approaching dissolution, he was heard distinctly to say, "The Lord is my shield and my buckler." It pleased God to grant him an easy passage into eternity; departing without a groan, he fell asleep in Jesus. A funeral sermon was delivered on the next Lord_s Day, by Dr. Rogers, who furnished this biography, from John 11:11. Our Friend Lazarus sleepeth.

Successor to Mr. Ustick was **William Staughton**, D.D. He was invited to the pastoral care of this church early in 1805, and continued with them about six years, when he resigned his charge to become the pastor of the new church in Sansom Street. Under his ministry the meeting house was enlarged, and nearly 300 added to the church by baptism.

Next to him was their present pastor **Henry Holcombe**, D.D. He was born in Prince Edward county, Virginia, February 22, 1762; was carried when a child to South Carolina; **was a Captain in the latter part of the Revolutionary War, and when the United States Constitution was adopted by South Carolina, Mr. Holcombe was a member of the Convention.** Before this he had begun to preach, and was settled in the pastoral care of the church on Pipe Creek, in that State. In 1791, he settled at Euhaw, afterwards was pastor of the church, which arose under his ministry at Beaufort, from which place he removed to Savannah in 1799, planted a church in that city soon after, which he served about eleven years, and then removed up the country to Mount Enon, where he intended to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. From this place he received two calls, one from the first church in Boston, the other from the one which he now serves, with the pastoral care of which he was invested in 1811. This church has the

most ample endowments of any of our connection in America. Their property appropriated expressly for the support of their poor members is, first, three small three-story brick houses, the gift of Mrs. Sarah Branson, which now rent for 900 dollars a year. Second, three hundred pounds Pennsylvania currency, or 800 dollars, the gift of Mrs. Sarah Smith; the interest of two thirds of this legacy is designed for the poor, the other is for the minister. Third, \$13.60 per annum, the gift of John Morgan, to be distributed by the pastor at his discretion, May 8, every year. The property for the general benefit of the church is two brick houses, which now rent for 720 dollars a year, one of them was formerly the parsonage. In addition to these possessions, they have a lot of large dimensions on the river Schuylkill, on which, a few years since, they erected a building for baptismal occasions. It is of brick two stories high, 36 feet by 18. The lower story is fitted up in the form of a vestry, with a pulpit and seats, in which the minister discourses previous to baptism. The upper story is divided into two rooms for the convenience of candidates. This lot and building cost 1600 dollars. The rent of their pews, as now rated, amounts to about 2000 dollars a year, which is appropriated to the minister and sexton. [This, with much other information, was communicated by Dr. Rogers.]

Second Church. -- This church is situated in that part of the city called the Northern Liberties. It was constituted of twenty members from the First Church in 1803. They have a commodious brick meeting house 66 feet by 46, built soon after they were constituted. It stands on a lot 220 feet by 200. The building and lot cost about 11,000 dollars. About nine months after this body was organized, Mr. **William White** became its pastor, which office he still sustains. He was born in New York in 1768, began preaching in the church at Roxbury near this city in 1792, the year after was ordained at the same place, and for some years before he came to his present station, was pastor of the church at New Britain.

From this church originated that at Frankfort, a few miles to the north of it, in 1807.

African Church. -- This is the next in point of age, and was formed of twelve members from the First church, in June, 1809. They were supplied for a time by Mr. Henry Cunningham of Savannah, Georgia, but have now for their pastor Mr. John King, from Virginia. He joined the church before he began to preach, and was ordained to the pastoral office in 1812. This church has erected a small neat building 37 feet by 26, which they intend for a vestry, whenever they shall be able to build one of larger dimensions.

Third Church was constituted of 30 members, mostly from the first, in August, 1809. It is situated in Southwark, some distance from the other churches, and is under the care of Mr. **John P. Peckworth**, one of the constituent members. He was born in Chatham, Kent county, England, about 1770, came to Philadelphia at the age of thirteen, four years after was baptized in Wilmington, Delaware, by Mr. Thomas Fleeson, came back to this city soon after, joined the church then under the care of Mr. Ustick, by which he was approbated to preach in 1802.

This church has erected a ripe stone meeting house 60 feet by 50, which was opened for public worship February, 1811. It stands on South Second Street. Their lot has 68 feet front, is 200 feet deep, and 84 feet on the back side. This, with their house, cost about 16,000 dollars.

Sansom Street Church. -- This also originated from the ancient community in Second Street. Its constituent members were 91, and received the fellowship of their brethren as a distinct church, January, 1811. Soon after they were organized, **Dr. Staughton** resigned his former charge, and became their pastor. He was born in January 4, 1770, at Coventry, Warwickshire, England. His parents are both members of Dr. Rippon's church in London, his father was many years deacon of the church in Coventry, of which the late Mr. Butterworth, the author of the Concordance, was pastor. Dr. Staughton had his education at the Bristol Academy, under Dr. Evans, came to America and landed at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1798, spent some time in Georgetown in that state, where he planted the church now under the care of Mr. Botsford, came to the northward in 1795, spent a short time in New York and its vicinity, was afterwards settled at Bordenton, then at Burlington, New Jersey, and in the last place set in order the church, whose present pastor is Burgiss Allison, D.D. From Burlington he removed to Philadelphia, to succeed Mr. Ustick, as we have before related.

The church under consideration has erected a house of worship of an uncommon size and somewhat singular form. It is a circular building, 90 feet diameter, and with the lot on which it stands cost about

40,000 dollars. It is incumbered with a debt of no small amount, which however, individuals of the church have assumed in the form of a fund, until means shall be found for its liquidation. Their income from pew-rents and collections is said to be between four and five thousand dollars a year, and their prospect is fair soon to clear their great estate. None of their pews are sold or intended to be, and no society-men have any control of their house or affairs. As some readers may wish for a more particular description of the Sansom Street meeting house, I shall for their gratification transcribe it in the note below.

[The plan of this house within is a rotundo, ninety feet diameter, surmounted by a dome, crowned with a lantern or cupola, upwards of twenty feet diameter. The walls, with the dome, are elevated upwards of fifty feet above the ground, built of brick, and the dome constructed of short pieces of plank, upon the principle adopted in that of the Halle de Bled, at Paris. From the top of the walls, three steps encircle the building before the swell of the dome appears, the rise of which is at an angle of forty-five degrees. In front and rear of the rotundo, square projections, of sixty feet extent, come forward; that in the rear to provide space for vestry rooms; rising only one story; that in the front, to accommodate the stair cases of the galleries, rising on a marble basement to the common height of the walls. The front projection comes to the line of the street, in form of wings, separated by a colonnade, and are crowned by two belfries or cupolas. "The principal entrance, into the house is by a flight of marble, steps into an Ionic colonnade; on either hand are doors leading to the staircases of the galleries; from this colonnade you pass into the grand aisle, leading direct to the baptistery and pulpit; two other aisles run parallel with this, and one main aisle crosses the whole in the diameter of the house. At the termination of all these aisles, are doors of outlet from the building. The baptistery is situate in the center of the circle, in view of every part of the gallery, and is surrounded by an open balustrade, and when not in use for the ordinance of baptism closed over by a floor to accommodate strangers. The galleries, which are described concentric with the great circle, circumscribe the nave of the building, except in that section occupied by the pulpit, and are supported by twelve columns. The pulpit, which is placed to front the grand aisle, is a continual, on of the galleries, and comes forward supported by a screen of columns. The space under the pulpit is closed and thrown into the vestry rooms behind, but may at any time be opened, the screen being constituted of folding doors. The circumference of the building is lighted by large square windows below, and a ring of semi-circular windows above the galleries. The great lantern of the dome, immediately over the baptistery, lights the center and ventilates the whole house, being encircled with sashes, which open and shut; at pleasure. The height to the apex of this lantern, from the floor, is upwards of fifty feet. The foot of the dome is encompassed by a broad moulded band, above which two other bands run round. The lantern has its soffit enriched with mouldings. The pews below are so disposed as to run parallel with the transverse diameter of the room, the number of which, together with those in the galleries, exceed three hundred and twenty, and with the public seats contain, with comfort, upwards of two thousand five hundred people. The design of this building was furnished by Mr. Mills, a pupil of Mr. Letroble, and as the direction of the execution of his design has been wisely committed to him, the building does credit to his talents, and proves an ornament to the city. "Mr. Mills is the first American architect, regularly educated to the profession in his own country." *Picture of Philadelphia*, p. 326-8.]

In the neighborhood of Philadelphia, a number of churches arose in early times, of which we shall give some brief accounts. Of those which have been formed of late years, but little information has been obtained.

Great Valley. -- This church was planted by people from Wales in 1711. Its seat is 18 miles westward from Philadelphia. It was once handsomely endowed with lands and funds; what is the present state of its temporalities I have not been informed. The first pastor at the Valley was Mr. Hugh Davis, a native of Wales. After him was John Davis from the same country; their present pastor, Mr. David Jones, is also of Welsh extraction.

Montgomery. -- This church was also founded by Welsh Baptists, and was constituted in 1719. Two of its pastors, namely Benjamin Griffiths and John Thomas were born in the Principality, the first in the county of Cardigan, 1688, the other in that of Radnor in 1703. Who have been pastors of this body since Mr. Thomas does not appear; it is now under the care of Dr. Silas Hough.

South Hampton was the seventh church which arose in the province of Pennsylvania, and was constituted in 1746. It was founded by some members of the church at Pennepek, and by the remains of a society of

Keithians, who settled in the neighborhood about 1700. The first pastor was Mr. Joshua Potts, who was ordained the same year the church was constituted, and continued in office till his death in 1761. Since Mr. Potts, this church has had in succession for its pastors or supplies, Thomas Davis, once at Oyster Bay, New York, Dr. Samuel Jones, now of Lower Dublin, Erasmus Kelly, who died at Newport, Rhode Island, the late William Vanhorn, David Jones, now at the Great Valley, Thomas Memmenger, and Thomas B. Montanye, who is still with them, but talks of leaving his pleasant situation for the attracting, ultramontane regions of the west. Mr. Montanye was born in New York, 1769, was settled a number of years in Warwick in that state, and came to South Hampton in 1801. This church has a valuable estate, the gift of John Morris, one of its ancient members.

It is pleasant to find that so many brethren and sisters in the old churches through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, had the cause of Zion so much at heart, that they made provision for its support after they were gone. If more now would think of this matter, and if churches would see that all their members did their proportion, or else turn them out of fellowship, they would not have occasion so often to go down to Egypt for help.

From the South Hampton church originated those eminent ministers, Isaac Eaton and Oliver Hart.

The church at New Britain arose out of a division of the Montgomery, and was formed in 1754. Their three first pastors were Joseph Eaton, William Davis, and Joshua Jones, all from Wales.

The Hilltown Church also sprang from the ancient community at Montgomery, of which it was formerly a branch. It was constituted a distinct body in 1781, had for its first pastor Mr. John Thomas, next to him Mr. James M_Laughlin, now pastor at Piscataway, and after his removal, Mr. Joseph Mathias, one of their number, began to preach, and was ordained their pastor in 1806.

PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATION

Where a particular account of churches is previously given, the less remains to be said of the associations which they compose. We have already mentioned in Epoch Second, that this ancient Association was formed in 1707. It begun with five churches, but in process of time became a numerous body, and for many years extended from Ketockton in Virginia to Northeast-town in New York, a distance of about 400 miles. From it originated the Ketockton, Baltimore, and Delaware Associations in the south; on the north, those of New York, Warwick, and New Jersey. Its ministers were sent for, and traveled to assist in regulating churches in trouble, in the lower parts of Virginia and even to the Carolinas. Its influence was exerted with good effect among the turbulent churchmen of Virginia, and also among the fleeing Pedobaptists of New England. It being the oldest institution of the kind in America, was looked up to as a pattern of imitation by those which succeeded, and by it were given rules, and even doctrine, to many and indeed most of the first associations in the southern and western states. This body has long maintained a correspondence with her sister communities in both extremes of the Union, with a number in England, and lately with the brethren in India. In it originated the design for the Rhode Island College, and by it have been projected many other plans, which had particularly in view the welfare of the Baptist interest in America. It has now been in operation 106 years, and I do not find that it was ever complained of for infringing on the independence of any church in its connection, a convincing proof that associations, when skillfully conducted, are altogether harmless on this point.

About 200 miles west of Philadelphia, in and near to the Alleghany mountains, are the following churches belonging to the Baltimore Association, namely Konoloway, Sideling Hill, Huntington and Tuscarora Valley.

In the county of Luzerne, near the line of New York on the Susquehannah River, a small association was formed in 1807 by the name of ABINGTON

Its churches, in 1811, were only three in number. Its ministers were William Purdy, Elijah Peck, John Miller, and Samuel Sturdivant, and its total number of members about 250.

CHEMUNG ASSOCIATION

This body is situated in a region settled mostly since the last war in Pennsylvania and New York. The churches in Pennsylvania are in the counties of Luzerne, Northumberland and Lycoming. Those in New York are in the adjoining parts, the counties are not known. It was formed of five churches, namely Chemung, Romulus, Fredericktown, New Bedford, and Brantrim, in 1796. Its principal ministers appear to be Roswell Goff and Thomas Smiley. The oldest church, and the mother of a number of the rest, is the one called Chemung, which was founded in 1791, in the following manner. Soon after the war, Mr. Ebenezer Green and others from the Warwick church in New York, settled on the west branch of the Susquehannah, at a place called the Black-hole. There they kept up a meeting till they were visited by James Finn, who baptized some among them. Being disappointed about their lands, they soon removed in a body to the Chemung Flats, then just beginning to be settled. Here they were soon joined by many others from different parts, among whom was Mr. Roswell Goff who began to preach among them and under whose ministry they were gathered into a church at the time above mentioned. Mr. Goff was born in Spencertown, New York, in 1763, and was baptized at Deer Park, at the age of 25.

Mr. Smiley was born in Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, May 29, 1759, was brought up a Seceder, a rigid sect of Scotch Presbyterians, was baptized by James Finn in 1792, at Wyoming. In the contentions about lands in this region, about the year 1800, Mr. Smiley, on account of having some governmental papers about him, was dragged out of his bed, in the dead of the night, by a band of what were called the Wild Yankees, with their faces blacked, and who, with pistols at his breast, compelled him first to burn his papers, and then **tarred and feathered him**. Besides this they threatened his life on account of his adhering to the Pennsylvania side, which led him to flee for safety to White Deer Valley, on the west branch of the Susquehannah, now in the county of Northumberland. Here he founded a church in 1808, over which he still presides, but travels much as a missionary in the surrounding parts under the patronage of the Philadelphia Association.

In the neighborhood of this association is a large church founded by Elder Jacob Drake, from Canaan, New York, in 1796. They have become large and are scattered along the Susquehannah River to the distance of many miles. They have three Elders, whose names are David Dimock, Griffin Lewis, and Joel Rogers. They hold church meetings in eight different places every month. Their number of communicants is not stated, but it must probably amount to three hundred. They are said by their neighbors to be Arminians in every point of doctrine, except that of falling from grace. Their own account of their sentiments is as follows: "The Arminian principles we deny, believing salvation to be wholly and totally by grace; on the other hand, we deny particular election, and special vocation," etc. The reader must judge for himself how much these brethren have mended the matter.

THE RED STONE ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1776. It is situated in the western part of this state, adjoining Ohio. Some few of its churches are in that state, and others are in Virginia. The center of the association is no great distance south of Pittsburg. One of its oldest churches was gathered in 1770, under the ministry of Elder **John Sutton**. It was at first called Great Bethel, now Uniontown, and is upwards of 50 miles south of Pittsburg, in the county of Fayette. This church was the mother of many others, which arose around it. Mr. Sutton was a native of New Jersey, and was one of five brothers, who were Baptist preachers. He settled in the Red Stone country, when it was in a wilderness state, and was long a laborious and much respected preacher throughout all extensive circle of churches, which were planted either wholly or in part by his means. The time of his death is not known, but it is believed to have been not far from the year 1800. Contemporary with this evangelical servant of God, was the pious and successful **John Corbly**, who was made to drink deep of the cup of affliction. Mr. Corbly was a native of Ireland, and while young agreed to serve four years for his passage to Philadelphia. After the expiration of that term he settled in Virginia, in or near Culpepper county, where he was converted under the ministry of the renowned James Ireland. **While persecution raged in that state, he was, among others, thrown into Culpepper gaol, where he remained a considerable time.** This was, probably, previous to 1770, for about that date he settled in the region now under consideration, and in conjunction with Mr. Sutton, planted the first churches in it. Mr. Corbly was probably educated a Catholic, as his first wife was of that persuasion, and was a thorn in his side during her life. After her death he married an amiable woman of his own sentiments, by whom **he had seven**

children, four of whom with their mother, were taken from him in a barbarous and most afflicting manner. The Indians, at that time, were extremely troublesome in this county, and often committed terrible ravages among the inhabitants. Mr. Corbly and his family set out on a Lord's Day to walk to meeting, less than half a mile from his house. After going a short distance, it was found that his Bible which had been given to his wife, had been forgotten, which obliged him to go back. On his return to overtake his family, he saw two Indians run, one of whom gave a direful yell. Suspecting evil he ran to a fort or block-house a short distance off, and obtained assistance. When he came to the place, he found his wife killed with a tomahawk; her infant, after having its brains dashed out against a tree, was thrown across her breast. Three other children lay dead on the spot, two more were terribly wounded, and scalped, and apparently dead, but afterwards recovered. Only one out of the seven children remained unhurt; she was a little girl, an Indian caught hold of her and was about to dispatch her, but being seized by a large dog, she escaped and hid herself in the bushes. It was afterwards ascertained that seven Indians were engaged in this barbarous transaction. The feelings of the bereaved husband and father may better be conceived than described. For a while he remained inconsolable; but reflecting on the signal act of Providence in preserving his own life, he recovered his spirits, recommenced his ministerial labours, which, from excess of grief, were for a time suspended, married a third time, and continued a zealous and successful minister till 1805, when he finished his course in peace. One of his sons is now a Baptist minister in the Indiana Territory.

Two other incidents befel this good man, which were peculiarly distressing: The first was the conduct of a base woman, who accused him of making frequent criminal propositions her, which she offered to confirm on oath. When cited before a magistrate, she was taken with a fit of trembling, and for some time remained speechless. Some were for excusing the vile accuser, and letting the matter pass off; but Mr. Corbly insisted on her making oath -- which she did, and expressly declared, that he was altogether innocent, adding, at the same time, that it was a plot laid by certain persons, whom she named.

In the Whiskey Insurrection, so called, Mr. Corbly was suspected of aiding and abetting the insurgents, and on that suspicion was suddenly arrested, carried to Philadelphia, conducted in disgrace through the streets, and lodged in gaol, where he remained some time in great affliction. While there, he was comforted and supplied by Dr. Rogers and other friends in the city. His case was never tried, and of course it was not legally determined whether he was accused falsely or not. In the opinion of his friends he by no means deserved the treatment he received.

At Beulah, in the county of Cambria, in the midst of the Alleghany mountains, a church was founded by emigrants from Wales in 1797, under the direction of the late Morgan J. Rees. The original members of this body set sail from Milford Haven, South Wales, March 8, 1796, and landed in New York the May following. They soon went to Philadelphia, where they united in church fellowship with a number of their countrymen of the Independent and Calvinistic Methodist persuasions. Their minister was Mr. Simon James. After tarrying in Philadelphia a few months, a number of the members of this mixed communion church removed about 200 miles westward, and began a settlement, to which they gave the name of **Beulah**, hoping to experience the divine favor, which the term imports. This was in October, 1796. Others of their company followed them the ensuing spring, by which time the number of Baptists amounted to twenty-four, who, being dissatisfied with their plan of church building, in August, 1797, separated from their Pedobaptist brethren, and formed a community of baptized believers only.

Since that time, they have been visited by a number of ministers from their native country, some preachers have also been raised up among them, but many both of preachers and members, have traveled on to the State of Ohio, where they have founded two or three churches. Thomas Powel settled in Licking county, Henry George at Owl Creek, David Kimpton has lately gone to a place in the New Purchase, and settled near Wooster, where he has gathered a church. Beulah appears to have been a stopping place for many Welsh brethren, who have removed to more distant regions. The present pastor here is Mr. Timothy Davis, and besides him they have two preachers, whose names are William Williams and John Jones. They sometimes preach in English, but mostly in their mother tongue.

Mr. Rees died among this people in December, 1801; he had traveled much, not only in his native country, but in England, France, and America. His widow now lives in Philadelphia.

Beulah is about 80 miles east of the Redstone country, some distance north of the main road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. Of the remaining churches and ministers in this Association but a little information has been obtained.

Mr. **David Philips**, pastor of Peter's Creek church, is a native of Wales, came to America when a child, lived in Chester county in this State, till 36 years of age, when he removed to his present situation, and was one of the early settlers of the country.

Mr. **Henry Spears**, pastor of the Enon church, also settled in this quarter, when it was but a little more than a wilderness. He is a native of Dunmore county; Virginia, is of Dutch descent, and has a very large, luxuriant plantation on the Monongahela river, about 26 miles from Pittsburg. The church at Connollsville on the Yohogany River was founded in 1796. Its principal promoters were two brothers by the name of Trevor, namely Samuel and Caleb, natives of Leicestershire, England. Dr. James Estep was the pastor of this church in 1809; whether he still remains with them I have not ascertained. He, with others, proposed forwarding additional information, which has never been received.

The doctrine of the laying-on-of-hands became a subject of dispute among the Redstone churches a number of years ago, most of them had, from their beginning, practiced the rite, but some were for making it a term of communion; it was, however, finally determined, that all should be left to act according to their respective opinions on the subject.

A church was formed in **Pittsburg** in 1812, which has probably united with the Association under consideration. In that year two Presbyterian ministers were baptized in Washington county, and another minister of the same denomination was to be baptized soon after at Chenango in Ohio, not far distant. [*Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* vol iii p 205]

In the neighborhood of this association, a small collection of churches, some of whom were formerly members of it, have formed a Confederacy under the name of the **Covenanted Independent Baptists**. Their principal leader appears to be Dr. Thomas Hersey, a native of Massachusetts, who began preaching in the state of Ohio. These churches are, as they say, called by some Semi-Calvinists, by others, Semi-Arminians. From the best information it appears, that the principal difference between them and the Redstone Association turns upon the doctrine of the atonement as stated by Gill and Fuller. [Those who may wish for a further account of the sentiments of these Independent Baptists, may find them expressed in a Word, published by Dr. Horsey in 1810, entitled, "Experimental Views," etc.]

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN DELAWARE

Delaware became an independent State in 1776; it contains three little counties, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex; **in the first there was a Baptist society as early as 1703**; they settled near Iron Hill; from them, their sentiments took a spread northward, as far as London Tract, in Pennsylvania; northeast, to Wilmington; east, to Bethel; west, to Elk-river, in Maryland; southward, to Duck-creek in this State; and to the Pedee-river in South-Carolina.

This society was from Wales, and about the year 1733, eight or ten families more, from the same country, made a settlement at Duck-creek, in Kent county, from whence their sentiments spread to Cowmarsh, and Mispillion, and to Georgetown in Maryland.

About the year 1788, Elijah Baker and Philip Hughes, who had been laboring on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay, in Maryland and Virginia, came to the county of Sussex, and made many proselytes, and planted two or three churches.

Delaware, at present, contains seven or eight churches, and one small association, which bears the name of the State.

The histories of three of the churches, viz. Welsh Tract, Duck Creek or Brynson, and Wilmington, will be related.

The **Welsh Tract church** is thus distinguished from a large tract of land of the same name, surrounding the place of worship in Pencader, county of New-Castle. The house is a neat brick building, 40 feet by 30; it was erected in 1746, and is situated 42 miles, in a south. western direction from Philadelphia.

To come to the history of this church, we must cross the Atlantic and land in Wales, where it had its beginning in the following manner. "In the spring of the year 1701, several Baptists, in the counties of Pembroke and Caermarthen, resolved to go to America; and as one of the company, Thomas Griffith, was a minister, they were advised to be constituted a church; they took the advice; the instrument of their confederation was in being in 1770, but is now lost or mislaid; the names of the confederates follow: Thomas Griffith, Griffith Nicholas, Evan Edmond, John Edward, Elisha Thomas, Enoch Morgan, Richard David, James David, Elizabeth Griffith, Lewis Edmond, Mary John, Mary Thomas, Elizabeth Griffith, Tennet David, Margaret Mathias, Tennet Morris: these sixteen persons, which may be styled a church emigrant, met at Milfordhaven in the month of June, 1701, embarked on board the good ship William and Mary; and on the 8th of September following, landed at Philadelphia. The brethren there treated them courteously, and advised them to settle about Pennepek; thither they went, and there continued about a year and a half; during which time their church increased from 16 to 37. But finding it inconvenient to tarry about Pennepek, they, in 1703, took up land in NewCastle county, from Messrs. Evans, Davis, and Willis, (who had purchased said Welsh Tract from William Penn, containing upwards of 30,000 acres) and thither removed the same year, and built a little meeting-house on the spot where the present stands."

This removal left some of their members near Pennepek, and took some of the Pennepek members to Welsh Tract, yet neither would commune with their neighbors, on account of a difference about laying-on-of-hands; for the church of Pennepek had grown indifferent about the rite; but that at Welsh Tract deemed it a prerequisite to the communion of saints. To remedy this inconvenience, the churches appointed deputies, to the number of twenty-four from both, to compromise matters as well as they could; who met for the purpose, June 22, 1706. The following history, translated from the Welsh Tract church-book, will give the reader a view of this whole transaction, and the happy termination of these disputes.

"We could not be in fellowship, at the Lord's Table, with our brethren in Pennepek and Philadelphia, because they did not hold to the laying-on-of-hands, and some other particulars [some of those particulars are said to have been Church covenants; ruling elders, etc.] relating to a church: true, some of them believed in the ordinance, but neither preached it up, nor practiced it; and when we moved to Welsh Tract, and left twenty-two of our members at Pennepek, and took some of their members down with us, the difficulty increased: we had many meetings in order to compromise matters, but to no purpose till June 22, 1706: then the deputies, who had been appointed for the purpose, met at the house of brother Richard Miles, in Radnor, and agreed, that a member in either church might transiently commune with the other; that a member who desired to come under the laying-on-of-hands, might have his liberty without offense; that the votaries of the right might preach or debate upon the subject with all freedom, consistent with brotherly love. But three years after this meeting, we had reason to review this transaction, because of some brethren, who arrived from Wales, and one, among ourselves, who questions whether the first article was warrantable. But we are satisfied that all was right, by the good effects which followed; for from that time forth, our brethren held sweet communion together at the Lord's Table; and our minister (Thomas Griffith) was invited to preach and assist at an ordination at Pennepek, after the death of our brother Watts. He proceeded from thence to the Jersey, where he enlightened many in the good ways of the Lord, insomuch that in three years after, all the ministers, and about fifty-five private members had submitted to the ordinance."

The Welsh Tract church was the principal, if not the sole means of introducing singing, imposition of hands, church covenants, etc. among the Baptists in the middle States. The Century Confession was in America, before the year 1716, but without the articles which relate to these subjects; that year they were inserted by Rev. Abel Morgan, who translated the confession to Welsh, about which time it was signed by one hundred twenty-two members of this church. These articles were inserted in the next English edition, and adopted with the other articles by the Philadelphia Association in 1742.

The pulpit of this church was filled by great and good men of Welsh extraction, for about 70 years.

The first minister was **Thomas Griffith**, who emigrated with the church. All we can learn of him, is, that he was born in Lauvernach parish, in the county of Pembroke, in 1645, and after faithfully serving this church twenty-four years, died at Pennepek, July 25, 1725.

Mr. Griffith was succeeded by **Elisha Thomas**, who was born in the county of Caermarthen, in 1674. He emigrated from Wales with the church whereof he was one of the first members, and died, November 7, 1750, and was buried in this church-yard, where a handsome tomb is erected to his memory: the top-stone is divided into several compartments, wherein open books are raised, with inscriptions and poetry both in Welsh and English.

Mr. Thomas's successor was **Enoch Morgan**. He was brother to Abel Morgan, author of the Welsh Concordance. Their father was Morgan Ryddarch, a famous Baptist minister in Wales; but it was a common thing, in that country, for the children to take the personal name of their father instead of the surname, only joining to it the names of their progenitors, by a string of *aps* [I remember, says Morgan Edwards, to have seen a Bible of my grandfather's with the following title page; Fiddo Edwards ap William, ap Edward, ap Davydd, ap Evan. MS. Hist. of the Baptists in Delaware, p. 241]. Mr. Morgan was born in 1676, at a place called Alltgach, in the parish of Lanwenrog, in the county of Cardigan. He arrived in America with the Welsh Tract church, whereof he was one of the constituents; he took on him the care of the church at Mr. Thomas's decease, and died in 1740, and was buried in this graveyard, where a tomb is erected to his memory.

The next pastor of this church was **Owen Thomas**. He was born in 1676, at a place called Gwrgodllys, in Cilmanllwyd, and county of Pembroke. He came to America in 1707; took the pastoral care of the church at Mr. Morgan's death, in which office he continued until 1748, when he resigned it, to go to Yellow Springs, where he died, November 12, 1760. Mr. Thomas left behind him the following remarkable note; "I have been called upon three times to anoint the sick with oil for recovery; the effect was surprising in every case, but in none more so, than in the case of our brother Rynallt Howel: he was so sore with the bruises which he received by a cask falling on him from a wagon, that he could not bear to be turned in bed: the next day he went to meeting."

The next in office here was **David Davis**. He was born in the parish of Whitechurch, and county of Pembroke, in the year 1708, and came to America when a child, in 1710; was ordained in this church in 1734, at which time he became its pastor; he continued in this office 35 years, viz. until 1769, when he died. He was an excellent man, and is held dear in remembrance by all who knew him. Two of his sons were preachers. Jonathan was a seventh-day Baptist, and John was some time pastor of the 2d Baptist church in Boston, Mass.

Thus it appears, that hitherto the pastors of this church were all Welshmen. Those who have succeeded were native Americans, and the first was **John Sutton**, whose biography may be found in the history of the Emancipating Baptists, in Kentucky. He took on him the oversight of this church in 1770, and resigned it in 1777, to go to Virginia.

The next to him was **John Boggs**, who was ordained to the pastoral office here in 1781. He was born in East-Nottingham, in 1741; was bred a Presbyterian, but embraced the Baptist sentiments in 1771. He died at Welsh Tract, of a paralytick stroke, in 1802, and was succeeded by **Gideon Ferrell**, the present pastor. Mr. Ferrell is a native of Maryland, and was born in Talbot county, in 1763. He was bred a Quaker, but was baptized by Philip Hughes, in 1770. As Mr. Boggs, his predecessor, was much inclined to itinerate in the surrounding country, for which employment he was well qualified, Mr. Ferrell had preached for the church once a month, and sometimes oftener, for the space of about seven years, before he was invested with the pastoral care of it. The Welsh Tract church is very handsomely endowed; for after all the casualties which have befallen its temporalities, it has about thirteen hundred and thirty dollars in funds, at interest, and a lot of six acres, on which the meeting-house stands, and a plantation, the bequest of Hugh Morris, on which its pastor resides.

This church is the oldest in the State, and has now existed upwards of 100 years. It has been the mother of the Welsh Neck church in South-Carolina, the London Tract, the Duck Creek or Brynsion, and, in some measure, of Wilmington, Cowmarsh, and Mispillion, and was one of the five churches which formed the Philadelphia Association, in 1707.

DUCK-CREEK, OR BRYNSION

This church, which was formerly distinguished by the first name, but now altogether by the latter, is situated about 70 miles to the south-west of Philadelphia. The meeting-house was built of brick in 1771, on a lot of one acre, the gift of John and Philemon Dickinson.

The tract of land which was called Duck Creek Hundred, was settled in the year 1755, by a number of Welsh families, some of the Independent and some of the Baptist denominations. The Independents built a meeting-house on the lot where the Baptist house now stands, and called it Brynsion, viz. Mount-Sion. They had divine service performed in it by Presbyterian ministers, viz. Rev. Messrs. Thomas Evans, Rees Lewis, David Jenison, etc. But in process of time this Independent society dwindled away, partly by deaths, and partly by emigrations; and the Baptists made use of their house while it stood. The Independents neglected to have the lot conveyed over to them; for which reason it reverted to the Dickinsons, and continued in their hands, till conveyed to the Baptists at the time above specified.

The Baptists who settled here were about 8 or 10. The names of the heads of them follow, viz. James Hyatt, Nathaniel Wild, David Evan, Evan Rees, David Rees, James Howel, Evan David Hugh, Joshua Edwards, etc. This last was an exhorter among them, until he went to Pedee, in South-Carolina. These Baptists emigrated hither, chiefly from Pencader, in Newcastle county, and were members of Welsh Tract church. In May 18, 1735, Rev. Hugh Davis, of the Great Valley, preached to them at Brynsion meeting-house; otherwise they held their worship at the house of James Hyatt. In September 18, 1737, Rev. David Davis, of Welsh Tract, administered ordinances here; worship was then held at the house of Evan David Hugh; in 1749, Rev. Griffith Jones settled at Duck Creek, and continued among these people to his death, in 1757. In the spring of 1766, Rev. William Davis, from New-Britain, settled here; but he died the 25th of September following. After him, Rev. Messrs. David Davis, John Sutton, John Boggs, etc. ministered to them, till their number increased to thirty. Then they petitioned Welsh Tract for leave to become a distinct church. These thirty persons were constituted a church by Messrs. Boggs and Fleeson, November 24 1781; and in 1786 were received into the Association of Philadelphia.

The ministers who officiated at Duck Creek, while it was a branch of Welsh Tract, have already been mentioned. The first pastor, which it had after it became a separate church, was Eliphaz Dazey, who continued with them a short time, and then resigned, and was succeeded by James Jones, their present pastor.

WILMINGTON

This church is of later date than some other churches in Delaware, which are at present less distinguished.

There were a number of individuals in this town for about twenty years before the denomination began much to flourish and prevail.

About the year 1769, Baptist ministers began to preach in Wilmington, in a transient way, but without any apparent success; and the few members began to despair of seeing a church arise in the town. And the first time that a prospect opened to the contrary, was in 1782, when Rev. Philip Hughes came to print a volume of hymns. He preached here, and gained some attention. In the month of April following, Mr. Thomas Ainger and family settled in the town; he was a member of the Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, but his wife a professed Baptist; he constantly maintained family worship without any uncommon effect for a time. One Lord's-day evening, he read the 20th chapter of Revelation, and found a strong impulse to comment upon it, particularly on the 12th verse. This diffused seriousness through the family, and laid a foundation for a religious society, in which good was done. Two of his apprentices and some others, attribute their conversion to this society. It quickened four more, who had been converted long before; these were baptized by Rev. John Boggs, May 25, 1784; their names were Thomas Ainger, Rachel Ainger, Noah Cross, and Mrs. Ferries. The same year, 1784, Rev. P. Hughes came to town to print his book on baptism, which detained him near two months; he preached all the while, sometimes at a Presbyterian meeting-house, and sometimes at the town school-house, which collected many hearers. By him were baptized four persons who had been awakened at the said society, viz. Robert Smith, John Redman, James M. Laughlin, and Henry Walker. Messrs. Fleeson and Boggs continued to visit the place alternately every week. More were baptized by them, insomuch that a sufficient number of materials for a church were soon prepared, and in October, 1785, Messrs. Fleeson and Boggs, with Abel Griffith and Eliphaz Dazey, met and gave them fellowship as a Gospel Church. The names of the constituents were, Thomas Ainger, James M. Laughlin, Thomas Williams, Henry Walker, Joseph Tomlinson, John Redman, Robert Smith, John M. Kim, Curtis Gilbert, Sarah Stow; Elizabeth Hopkins, Mary Mattson; to these twelve, must be added four more; who had been baptized elsewhere, viz. John Stow, Elizabeth Way, Thomas Stow, Abigail Ainger. The church was received into the Association of Philadelphia the year following.

Thomas Ainger, who began the domestic meetings already mentioned, commenced preaching in this church the next year after it was constituted, and was ordained the pastor of it in 1788, by Dr. Samuel Jones, David Jones, and Eliphaz Dazey. This office he filled with reputation, until his death, which happened in 1797.

For a few years after Mr. Ainger's death, the church was supplied by the occasional labors of Mr. John Boggs, sen. Gideon Ferrel, John Ellis, and Joseph Flood. Mr. Flood did, indeed, exercise the pastoral care of it, for a short time, when he was excluded for immoral conduct, and afterwards went to Norfolk, in Virginia, and was the cause of much evil and confusion. But during the ministry of Mr. Flood, notwithstanding the blemishes of his character, there was a very considerable revival, and many were added to the church.

After remaining in a measure destitute for about five years, this church had the happiness to settle, for its pastor, Rev. **Daniel Dodge**, under whose ministry they have been prosperous and happy.

Mr. Dodge, whose father was a native of Ipswich, in Massachusetts, was born in Annapolis Royal, Nova-Scotia, in 1775; but the most of his days have been spent in the United States. He professed religion at the age of 18, and united with the church in Woodstock, Vermont, then under the pastoral care of Elder Elisha

Ransom. In 1797, he went to Baltimore, and preached in various places in Maryland and Virginia, before he settled in Wilmington.

Mr. Dodge has baptized 115 persons, who have united with this church since he became its pastor. The sisters of this church collected in about twelve months upwards of three hundred dollars towards paying the expense of finishing the meeting-house.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

MARYLAND

This State was at first settled by Roman Catholics, who are still considerably numerous in it; but as the government gave free toleration to all religious sects, in process of time it was settled by protestants of various denominations, and among them were some Baptists, the most noted of whom was Henry Sator, who removed hither from England about the year 1709, and settled in the northern parts near Chesnut Ridge. Soon after his settlement, he invited Baptist ministers to preach in his house, by which means a number were, from time to time: proselyted to his sentiments, and after many years, a church was formed in his neighborhood.

The Baptists gained ground but slowly in Maryland, for more than half a century, after the first emigrants arrived here; and, indeed, there is now the smallest number of the denomination in this State of any in the Union, except that of Delaware. In 1779, except the Tunkers and Mennonists, it contained but two Baptist churches, and both of these were in the county of Baltimore, one of which were, in their doctrinal sentiments, General, and the other Particular Baptists; the former had for its minister, though an unprofitable one, Henry Loveall; the other was under the pastoral care of the late much-respected John Davis. [M. Edwards's Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Maryland.] There were, however, at this time, two little societies of Baptists near the Potomack, which were branches of churches in Virginia.

In 1794, (*Asplund's Register*) Maryland contained 17 churches, in which were about 950 members. There has been a gradual increase of the denomination since, so that now, as near as can be ascertained, there are in this State, two Associations, viz. the Baltimore and Salisbury, about 23 churches, and about 12 or 1400 communicants.

The Methodists have had great success in this State, and in it their community is now considerably large. In 1785, they constituted Cokesbury College, at Abington, Harford county, which was so called in honor of Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury, bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church, which, after existing a few years, was unfortunately consumed by fire, and has never been rebuilt.

The commencement of the General Baptist church at Chesnut Ridge, has already been suggested. It appears that George Eglesfield, from Pennsylvania, was the first minister that Mr. Sator obtained to preach in his house, after his settlement in Maryland. After him, Paul Palmer came into the neighborhood, and baptized nine persons; he was succeeded by Henry Loveall, who baptized forty-eight more, and in 1742 formed them into a church, which, at the time of its constitution, contained 57 members. The instrument of their confederation, which is somewhat singular, and which was laid before the Governor and Court in 1742, when the society was taken under the protection of the toleration laws, is as follows:

"We, the humble professors of the Gospel of Christ, baptized upon a declaration of faith and repentance, believing the doctrine of general redemption, (or the free grace of God, extended to all mankind) do hereby seriously, heartily, and solemnly, in the presence of the Searcher of all hearts, and before the world, covenants agree, bind, and settle ourselves into a church, to hold, abide by, and contend for the faith once delivered to the saints, owned by the best reformed churches in England, Scotland, and elsewhere, especially as published and maintained in the forms and confessions of the Baptists in England; differing in nothing from the articles of the church of England and Scotland, except in infant baptism, modes of church government, the doctrine of absolute reprobation, and some ceremonies. We do also bind ourselves hereby, to defend and live up to the protestant religion, and abhor and oppose the whore of Rome, pope, and popery, with all her anti-christian ways. We do also engage with our lives and fortunes, to defend the crown and dignity of our gracious sovereign, King George, to him and his issue for ever, and to obey all his laws, humbly submitting ourselves to all in authority under him, and giving custom to whom custom, honor to whom honor, tribute to whom tribute is due. We do further declare, that we are not against taking oaths, nor using arms in defense of our king and country, when legally called thereto; and that we do approve and will obey the laws of this province. And further, we do bind ourselves to follow the patterns of our brethren in England, to maintain order, government, and discipline in our church, especially that excellent directory of Rev. Francis Stanley, entitled "The Gospel's Honour, and the Church's Ornament," dedicated to the churches in the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Cambridge. We also engage, that all persons upon

joining our society, shall yield consent to and subscribe this our solemn league and covenant. Subscribed by us whose names are underwritten, this 10th day of July, 1742."

Mr. Sator bore an excellent character, and may be considered not only the founder of this society, but of the Baptist interest in Maryland. His assistance in building the place of worship, and his gift of land to the minister, are mentioned as peculiar marks of his liberality.

This church immediately increased very fast, and began to spread over the country, and soon extended over to Opeckon and Ketockton in Virginia; insomuch that in four years the number of communicants amounted to 181.

Mr. Loveall became the pastor of the church at its beginning, and continued still to act in that capacity; but by many accounts, he was a man of great blemishes of character, and his misconduct soon checked the growth of the church at Chesnut Ridge, and caused it to disperse and dwindle away. He was a native of Cambridge, England; came to America when young; and was baptized in New England in 1725; probably in Newport; for it appears by Mr. John Comer's Journal, that he was in that town in 1729, and had then begun to preach. And being desirous of traveling into the Jerseys, he, by his request, received a letter of introduction to the churches there, signed by James Clark, Daniel Wightman, and John Comer, who certified that they then "knew nothing, but that his conduct and conversation was agreeable to the Gospel of Christ." But it was not long after that he was found to be a man of bad character, having been guilty of some shameful acts of uncleanness, a sin which most easily beset him; and that his real name was Desolate Baker. [John Comer's Diary, a letter from Nathaniel Jenkins to the church at Piscataqua dated Dec. 1730.] He was ordained at Piscataqua, New-Jersey, 1730, but never officiated there in a pastoral capacity; for the foul blemishes of his character were soon discovered by the church, which had been too hasty in ordaining him. After causing much confusion at Piscataqua, he came to Maryland in 1742, and the same year became the minister of the church whose history we are now relating. In 1746 he went to Virginia, and raised the Mill-Creek church, from which he was shortly after excommunicated for his misconduct, and returned to Chesnut Ridge, where he resided in 1772, in the 78th year of his age, an unhappy proof, that ministerial gifts and a good life and conversation do not always go together.

The church of Particular Baptists was at first called **Winter Run**, which appellation has since been exchanged for **Harford**, the name of the county in which it is situated. In 1772, besides the main establishment at Winter Run, it consisted of three other branches, one near Chesnut Ridge, which met for worship in the house belonging to the General Baptists, the second was at Petapsco, and the third near Winchester. These branches have, probably, since become distinct churches, although they do not bear the names which are here given them. In this church, which was so extensive in its bounds, there were, at the date above mentioned, 138 communicants. It originated from the General Baptist church at Chesnut Ridge, in the following manner: About the year 1747, some of the members of that church, being inclined to the sentiments of the Particular Baptists, invited their ministers to preach amongst them, who continued their visits until fourteen persons had embraced their sentiments, and these were constituted into a church in 1764, by the assistance of Benjamin Griffiths and Peter P. Vanhorn, and was the same year received into the Philadelphia Association. It is an old and respectable church, and was, for upwards of 50 years, under the pastoral care of the late venerable **John Davis**. Mr. Davis was born in Pennepeck, in Pennsylvania, Sept. 10 1721; was called to the ministry and ordained at Montgomery in the same State, 1766, and the same year came to Maryland, and took on him the pastoral care of this church, where he continued until his death, which happened in 1809, when he was in the 88th year of his age. He was own cousin to the late famous Benjamin Francis, of England. All that I can learn of him is, that he was a man of peculiar piety and usefulness, and no one who knew him, mentions his name without affixing some appellation expressive of his peculiar excellence. When he first arrived in Maryland, he was very roughly treated; for the people of the neighborhood, the magistrates and the court, publicly affronted him, and used indirect arts to drive him out of the country; but in a short time, the men who were his bitterest enemies became his affectionate friends, and treated him with honor and respect. The Harford church has been the mother of a number of others; for the churches which bear the following names, 1st Baltimore, Taney Town, Gunpowder, and Sator's, were taken from it.

About 1770, some preachers from Virginia, particularly Richard Major and the Fristoos, William and Daniel, began to preach in the south-west borders of the State; their labors were attended with success;

many were baptized, who united with the churches in Virginia, belonging to the Ketockton Association, and in this way the foundations were laid for the oldest churches in that region.

Respecting the remaining churches, in that part of Maryland, which, by way of contradistinction, is called the Western shore, I have obtained no information worth detailing, excepting of those in the city of **Baltimore**. The 1st church in Baltimore was constituted in 1785, with 11 members, all of whom, excepting Mr. Richards, were dismissed from the Harford church. The constituents were Rev. Lewis Richards, David Shields and wife, George Prestman and wife, Richard Lemmon, **Alexander M_Kim, (now a member of Congress,)** Thomas Coal and wife, William Hobby, and Eleanor Thomas. These members had kept up a meeting in Baltimore, for a number of years before the church was organized, and were regularly supplied with preaching once a month, by Mr. Davis, the pastor of the church with which they stood connected, until their present pastor removed and settled in the city.

Mr. Richards was born in 1752, in the parish of Llanbardamvowr, Cardiganshire, South-Wales. He made a publick profession of religion at the age of 19, and joined a society of Independents, and was shortly after introduced to the attention of the famous Lady Huntington, and studied a short time in the college which was under the patronage of that remarkable woman. He, however, suspended his studies there, with a view of pursuing them at the Orphan House in Georgia, and embarked for America with a number of his fellow students, the names of whom, and many particulars respecting them, are related in the biography of Rev. Joseph Cook. Mr. Richards was baptized by Dr. Richard Furman, at the High Hills of Santee, South-Carolina, in 1777, and was ordained the same year, in Charleston, by Rev. Messrs. Hart and Cook; and after traveling about a year in different parts of South Carolina and Georgia, removed to Northampton county, Virginia, on the Eastern shore of the Chesapeak Bay. From this place he removed to his present station in 1784, a few months before the church over which he presides was constituted.

Some time before the constitution of this church, a number of persons had purchased a lot in the city, containing half an acre, on which the congregation have since erected their present place of worship, which is a neat brick building without galleries, 60 feet by 40. They have also erected, on the same lot a very commodious brick dwelling-house, two stories high, for the use of their minister.

The origin of the 2d church in Baltimore, is somewhat singular, and is thus related by Rev. John Healey, their present pastor:

In 1794, Mr. Healey and wife, Matthew Hulse and wife, and William Lynes and wife, all members of the General Baptist church of Friar Lane, Leicester, England, having resolved to go to America, covenanted, before their departure, to remain together as a religious society, and to maintain the worship of God among themselves, in the distant country to which they were bound. They landed in New-York, in October, 1794, and tarried in that city through the following winter. The succeeding spring they removed to Baltimore, and immediately commenced their meetings in a warehouse, which had been occupied as a place of worship by the Episcopalians. In this, and in other places, they continued to assemble until 1797, when they had acquired sufficient ability to erect a decent brick building 40 feet by 27, with a vestry 10 feet wide, which is attached to one end of it. It stands in that part of the city called Fell_s Point.

About the time the meeting-house was built, there remained of the constituents of the church, only Mr. Healey and his wife; for Lynes and his wife went off to the Methodists soon after they came to Baltimore, and Hulse and his wife had died with the yellow fever. But others had united with the little establishment, which, in the same year the meeting house was built, began to travel in a church capacity.

As Mr. Healey and his associates were General Baptists, they were, on that account, for a time, exposed to many suspicions and much embarrassment; for the Baptists, in these parts, are, generally speaking, strongly Calvinistick. And between this church and the first in the city, there was no fellowship for a number of years. But the differences between them have gradually subsided, and a full and happy union has been formed.

This church, in 1809, had some peculiar trials with a number of its members who went off from them in a manner which they considered disorderly, and united in forming a church which was founded that year by

Rev. **William M_Pherson**. Mr. M_Pherson was formerly one of Mr. Haldane_s connection, in Scotland; but he became a Baptist soon after he came to America. Some further account of the church, which he founded in this city, will be given in the history of the community, with which it is connected.

BALTIMORE ASSOCIATION

This body was organized in 1792, and includes all the associated churches in Maryland, on the western side of the Chesapeake Bay, excepting the church of Nanjemoy, which belongs to the Ketoc-ton Association. It also includes three churches in Pennsylvania, which have been noticed in the history of that State, and two in the city of Washington. It was at first known by the name of the Association on the western shore of Maryland. The churches of which it was, at its constitution, composed, were those of Harford, Fredericktown, Seneca, Taney Town, Huntington, and Hammond_s Branch. The only ministers present, or at least, who belonged to it, were John Davis, Samuel Lane, and Absalom Bainbridge, the last of whom has since removed to Kentucky, and the number in all the churches was but 253.

The first church in Baltimore, at that time, belonged to the Philadelphia Association, from which it did not see fit to obtain a dismission until 1795, when it united with this little establishment, which, after that time, assumed the name, which it at present bears.

As the churches in the city of Washington belong to this Association, and being in the **District of Columbia**, do not properly belong to any State, we shall give their history a place here.

The 1st church in this city was constituted in 1802, and arose in the following manner. When the General Government was removed from Philadelphia to this newly established metropolis, a few Baptist members, some of whom were in its employment, belonging to different churches, removed hither, about the same time. These persons had frequent conversations on the advantages which might result to them, from church fellowship; and having made previous arrangements for the purpose, were, on the 7th of March, 1802, in the Hall of the Treasury Department, constituted into a church by the assistance of Messrs. Jeremiah More, Lewis Richards, William Parkinson, and Adam Freeman. Their number was only six, viz. Charles P. Polk, from Baltimore, John Burchan, from New-York, Charles Rogers, from Maryland, Cephas Fox, from Virginia, and Joseph Barrows and wife, from Philadelphia.

A few days after the church was constituted, the brethren began to solicit the aid of the citizens, towards erecting for them a place of worship: in their attempts they were greatly assisted by Rev. **William Parkinson, who was then officiating as Chaplain to Congress**; and so successful were their exertions, that they soon obtained sufficient means to purchase a lot in the west end of the city, 75 feet by 37, and to build a handsome house, 42 feet by 32, in which the first sermon was preached by Mr. Parkinson, on the 14th day of November, 1802.

Previous to this event, the church had received the addition of five members, and continued gradually to increase for a number of succeeding years. It was supplied with preaching pretty frequently by the neighbouring ministers, both in Virginia and Maryland, but had no pastor until 1807, when Rev. **Obadiah B. Brown**, a native of Newark, New-Jersey, and who was then preaching in that town, by the call of the church, removed amongst them, and assumed the pastoral office, which he still continues to fill with reputation and success. **Mr. Brown also generally officiates as Chaplain to one branch of the National Legislature, during its sessions.** [Mr. Polk. who furnished the substance of the above articles, adds the following note: "Mr. Benedict will, it is believed, do much service, by recommending to traveling Baptist ministers, or those of them who wish to remove south, to visit Maryland; for, perhaps, no part of the Union has more need of Gospel preachers than it has; I mean the country parts of it."]

The 2d church in Washington, was formed at the Navy Yard, in 1810, partly of members dismissed from the first.

SALISBURY ASSOCIATION

This Association lies wholly on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay, and by this Bay is separated from the other churches in Maryland.

Baptist sentiments were first propagated in this region, by the pious and laborious Elijah Baker, as related in his biography. Soon after he began to preach in these parts, he was joined by Philip Hughes, whose ministry was also crowned with much success. These two ministers labored on the eastern shore, both in Maryland and Virginia, rather as evangelical itinerants, than as stationed pastors, and often visited the churches they had planted, as fathers do their children. A number of ministers and exhorters were raised up in the churches which they had established, who were instrumental in forwarding the work which they had begun. Mr. Baker, it appears, first visited these parts in 1776; and in 1782 [M. Edwards's Materials, etc. for Delaware, p. 246] a sufficient number of churches having been organized, they met at Salisbury, and formed themselves into an Association, which, from that circumstance, received its name. For 26 years from its establishment, viz. until 1808, it progressed without any special occurrence, but gradually increased, and was in circumstances moderately prosperous. It was now thought proper that a division should be made; and as the churches of which it is composed were in the two States of Maryland and Virginia, the State line was fixed upon as the line of division, and the churches in Virginia were dismissed and formed a new Association, which was called Acomack.

The preachers in the Salisbury Association have, from the first, been distinguished rather for their piety than their parts.

Dr. **Robert Lemon**, at whose house the venerable Elijah Baker died, appears to have been a man of note in this body, and has, from the commencement of its sessions, almost uniformly officiated as Moderator. **John Asplund**, the author of the *Baptist Register*, was drowned from a canoe, in 1807, in Fishing Creek, which gives name to one of the churches in this Association.

The churches now belonging to it, are in the counties of Caroline, Dorset, Somerset, and Worcester, and are all in the State of Maryland, except the one called Bethel, which is in Sussex county, in the State of Delaware. The Baptists in Maryland have never endured any thing from the civil power, which may properly be called persecution. There appears to have been a considerable outcry against them in 1741, and also in 1746, which was occasioned by the misconduct of Loveall and Palmer, two very disreputable preachers of their society; but the clamor and violence ceased, when it was found that the Baptists abhorred their conduct as much as any other society could do.

At a very early period, the Assembly of this State, (then a province) enacted, "that no persons, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, should be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the exercise of any other religion, against their consent; so that they be not unfaithful to the proprietary, or conspire against the civil government. That any person molesting another in respect of his religious tenets, should pay treble damages to the party aggrieved, and twenty shillings to the proprietary; that those, reproaching any with opprobrious names of religious distinction, should forfeit ten shillings to the person injured; that any one speaking reproachfully against the Blessed Virgin, or the Apostles, should forfeit ten pounds. But blasphemy against God, should be punished with death." This act passed 1649, and was confirmed in 1676, among the perpetual laws of the province.

Virginia, at this period, animated by a very different spirit, passed several laws against the Puritans, whose ministers were not suffered to preach. This occasioned numbers to emigrate to Maryland.

"Extraordinary scenes were, at this time, exhibited on the colonial theatres. In Massachusetts, the Congregationalists intolerant towards the Episcopalians, and every other sect; the Episcopal church retaliating upon them in Virginia; and the Roman Catholics of Maryland, tolerating and protecting all." (Morse's *Geography*.)

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

ORIGIN OF THE BAPTISTS IN VIRGINIA, AND A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST COMPANY OF THE DENOMINATION, WHO SETTLED IN IT.

Virginia is famous for being the oldest State in the Union, for always containing the largest number of inhabitants, for producing many distinguished statesmen; and, for about thirty years, it has been distinguished for containing within its bounds a larger number of the Baptist denomination, than any of the other States.

"The first settlers of this country were emigrants from England, of the English church, just at a point of time, when it was flushed with complete victory over the religious of all other persuasions. Possessed as they became, of the powers of making, administering, and executing the laws, they shewed equal intolerance in this country, with their Presbyterian brethren, who had emigrated to the northern government. The Episcopalians retained full possession of the country about a century. Other opinions began to creep in; and the great care of the government to support their own church, having begotten an equal degree of indolence in its clergy, two thirds of the people had become dissenters at the commencement of the revolution. The laws indeed were still oppressive on them; but the spirit of the one party had subsided into moderation, and of the other, had risen to a degree of determination which commanded respect" [Morse's *Geography*, vol 1, 3d ed. p. 625].

We cannot learn that any of the original settlers of Virginia were Baptists, nor do we find any of this denomination in the country, until more than a century after its settlement. The accounts of their origin in the State, vary in dates and some other little matters; but the following statement, I believe, is the most correct: and circumstantial which can be obtained at this late period.

In consequence of letters from Virginia, Robert Nordin and Thomas White were ordained in London, in May, 1714, and soon sailed for Virginia. But White died by the way, and Nordin arrived in Virginia, and gathered a church at a place called Burley, in the county of the Isle of Wight. **There were, probably, a number of Baptists settled in this place before the arrival of Nordin, by whose request, and for the service of whom, he and White were ordained, and undertook the distant voyage; but who, or how many these were, or how long they had been there, are inquiries which we cannot answer.**

Mr. Nordin continued preaching at Burley and other places, until he died in a good old age in 1725. Two years after his death, viz. in 1727, Casper Mintz and Richard Jones, both preachers, arrived from England, and settled with the church at Burley, and Jones became their pastor. Both of these ministers were living in 1756, as appears by a letter which this church sent at that time, to the Philadelphia Association.

In the year 1729, as appears by a letter sent by Rev. Paul Palmer, from North. Carolina, to Rev. John Comer, of Newport, Rhode-Island, there was, besides the church at Burley, another in the county of Surry. Respecting these churches, Mr. Palmer wrote as follows: "There is a comely little church in the Isle of Wight county, of about thirty or forty members, the Elder of which is one Richard Jones, a very sensible old gentleman, whom I have great love for. We see each other at every Yearly Meeting, and sometimes more often. There is another church in Surry county, where my brother Jones lives, I suppose of about thirty more."

How long these churches continued in existence, I cannot exactly learn. Respecting the one in the county of Surry, no information can be obtained, except what is found in Mr. Palmer's letter. The one in the Isle of Wight, we have good reason to believe continued on the ground where it was established between forty and fifty years, when, according to Morgan Edwards's account, it was broken up, partly by sickness, and partly by the removal of families from hence to North-Carolina, where they gained many proselytes, and in ten years became sixteen churches. They were all General Baptists; but in a few years after their settlement in North-Carolina, they began to embrace the Calvinistick sentiments, as will be seen in the history of the Baptists in that State. In 1756, the church at Burley sent the following letter to the Philadelphia Association:

"The church of Jesus Christ in Isle of Wight county, holding adult baptism, etc. to the Reverend and General Assembly or Association at Philadelphia, send greeting. We the abovementioned church, confess ourselves to be under clouds of darkness, concerning the faith of Jesus Christ, not knowing whether we are on the right foundation, and the church much unsettled; wherefore, we desire alliance with you, and that you will be pleased to send us helps, to settle the church, and rectify what may be wrong; and subscribe ourselves, your loving brethren in Christ, Casper Mintz, Richard Jones, Randal Allen, Joseph Mattgum, Christopher Atkinson, Benjamin Atkinson, David Atkinson, Thomas Cafer, Samuel Jones, William Jordan, John Allen, John Powell, Joseph Atkinson. - Dec. 27, 1756."

This is the last account I can find of this church; what was done by the Association in their case I do not find. Messrs. Miller, Vanhorn, and Gano, traveled frequently into Virginia and North-Carolina, about this time, for the purpose of regulating the disordered churches, and it is probable, that in some of their journies, they visited this one which made such an honest confession of their deplorable state.

It does not appear that this company of Baptists suffered any persecution or civil embarrassments, from the time of their settlement in Virginia to that of their dispersion. They probably obtained legal licenses for their assemblies, in conformity to the act of toleration.

As this community appears to have been transferred from Virginia to North-Carolina, the reader is referred to the history of the Baptists in that State, where a more particular account of them will be given.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

HISTORY OF THE SECOND COMPANY OF BAPTISTS, IN VIRGINIA, WHO EMIGRATED HITHER FROM MARYLAND; TOGETHER WITH A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE REGULAR BAPTISTS, FROM THEIR COMMENCEMENT IN VIRGINIA TO THE PRESENT TIME.

The next appearance of the Baptists in this State, was in the northern parts of it, in the counties of Burkley, Rockingham, and Loudon, on the ground, which was afterwards occupied by the Regular Baptists. Between the years 1743 and 1756, three churches were gathered in these counties, by the names of Opeckon, which was afterwards called Millcreek, Smith_s and Lynville_s creek, and Ketockton. A brief account of the origin of these churches will now be given.

The church on Opeckon creek appears to have been the oldest of the three, and was gathered and renovated in the following manner. In the year 1743, a number of the members of the General Baptist church at Chesnut Ridge, in Maryland, removed to Virginia, and settled in this place; the most noted of whom were Edward Hays and Thomas Yates. Soon after their removal, their minister, Henry Loveall, followed them, and baptized about fifteen persons, whom he formed into a church on the Arminian plan. Mr. Loveall, becoming licentious in his life, was turned out of the church [*Life of Gano*, pp. 40 and 50], and returned to Maryland; and the church was broken up, or rather transformed into a church of Particular Baptists, in 1751, by the advice and assistance of Messrs. James Miller, David Thomas, and John Gano, who was, at that time, very young. Mr. Miller had visited this church in some of his former journies, and had been instrumental of much good among them; and when they, in their troubles occasioned by Loveall_s misconduct, petitioned the Philadelphia Association for some assistance, he and Mr. Thomas were appointed by the Association for the purpose.

Mr. Gano, though not appointed, chose to accompany them. The account of this transaction is thus given by Mr. Gano: "We examined them, and found that they were not a regular church. We then examined those who offered themselves for the purpose, and those who gave us satisfaction, we received, and constituted a new church. Out of the whole who offered themselves, there were only three received. **Some openly declared, they knew they could not give an account of experiencing a work of grace**, and therefore need not offer. Others stood ready to offer, if a church was formed. The three beforementioned were constituted, and six more were baptized and joined with them. After the meeting ended, a number of old members went aside and sent for me. They expressed their deplorable state, and asked me if I would meet with them that evening, and try to instruct them. They were afraid the ministers blamed them. They had been misled, but it was not their fault, and they hoped I would pity them. I told them I would with all my heart, and endeavoured to remove their suspicion of the ministers. They met, and I spoke to them from these words, "They, being ignorant of God_s righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." I hope I was assisted to speak to them in an impressive manner; and they to hear, at least some of them, so as to live. They afterwards professed, and became zealous members, and remained so, I believe, until their deaths" [*Gano_s Life*, p. 49, 50].

It was in the bounds of this church, that Stearns and Marshal met on their way to North-Carolina. At this time, Samuel Heaton was their pastor, and acted in that capacity until 1754, when he removed to Konolowa, Pennsylvania, and was succeeded by Mr. **John Garrard**, who is supposed to have been a native of Pennsylvania, and who became the most distinguished pastor the church had hitherto enjoyed. The Opeckon church united with the Philadelphia Association, soon after its renovation in 1751. They became very warm and animated in their religious exercises, and more particularly so, after Mr. Marshal and the zealous Separates came amongst them; and they soon went to such lengths in their New-Light career, that some of the less engaged members lodged a complaint against them in the Association to which they belonged. Mr. Miller was again sent for the purpose of adjusting their difficulties. When he came, he was highly delighted with the exercises, Joined them cordially, and said, if he had such warm-hearted

christians in his church, he would not take gold for them. He charged those who had complained, rather to nourish than complain of such gifts. The work of God revived among them, and considerable additions were made to the church. The country, in which they had settled, was but thinly inhabited, and was subject to the inroads of the Indians. Some of these savage eruptions took place not long after Mr. Garrard had settled among them; in consequence of which, he and many of the church removed below the Blue Ridge, and resided for some time in Loudon county, on Ketockton creek. This evil was overruled for good; for by the labors of Mr. Garrard in his new residence, to which, by the barbarous intruders, he was obliged to repair, many were brought to a knowledge of salvation, and a church was formed, which was called Ketockton, in 1766, and Mr. Garrard became their pastor.

The Smith_s and Lynville_s creek church, afterwards called **Smith_s creek**, is said to have been constituted also in 1756. There were some Baptist families in this place as early as 1745, eleven years before the church was organized, but from what place they emigrated, we are not informed; only it is stated that one John Harrison, wishing to be baptized, went as far as Oyster bay, on Long-Island, in the State of New-York, to obtain an administrator. As there were Baptist churches and ministers much nearer, the presumption is, that he, if no others, had removed from that place. [I have followed Mr. Semple with regard to the time of the constitution of the Ketockton and Smith_s creek churches. But according to Mr. Gano_s account, one of them must have been formed at least five or six years before; which of them I cannot tell, for his account is very indefinite. But it appears to be certain, that before the year 1751, there was a young church which had been constituted somewhere in this region by David Thomas, which had no pastor, and which in that year "applied to the Philadelphia Association for some one to administer the ordinances amongst them." Mr. Gano also mentions, in his account of his journey to the southward, immediately after his ordination in 1754, that the church at Blue Ridge applied to the Philadelphia Association, etc. Gano_s life, pp. 40-55.]

We must date the origin of the Regular Baptists in Virginia about the year 1760, but it was not until ten years after, that they began to flourish and prevail to any considerable extent. In 1760, **David Thomas**, who had often visited the State before, in his evangelical excursions, now removed from Pennsylvania, and became a resident in it, where he acted a most distinguished part for thirty years; when he removed to Kentucky, where he was living, but almost blind, in 1809. As this eminent servant of God, if yet living, must be eighty years old, and can therefore be but little affected by the praises or censures of men, we shall take the liberty of saying more about him in the following narrative, than we generally intend to say of the living.

Mr. Thomas was born August 16, 1732, at Loudon Tract, Pennsylvania, and had his education at Hopewell, New-Jersey, under the famous Isaac Eaton, and so considerable were his literary acquirements, that the Rhode-Island College (now Brown University) conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts.

Mr. Thomas made his first stand in Virginia, in Berkley county, with, or in the neighborhood of the Opeckon or Millcreek church; but in 1762, he removed to the county of Fauquier, and became the pastor of the Broadrun church, which was gathered soon after he removed to the place.

The origin of the Broadrun church, and the manner in which Mr. Thomas was introduced among them, are related as follows. A short time previous to his removing to Virginia, two men in this region, without any publick preaching, became much concerned about their souls and eternal things, were convinced of the reality of vital religion, and that they were destitute of it. While laboring under these convictions, they heard of the Baptists, (New-Lights, as some called them) in Berkley county, and set out in search of them; and after traveling about sixty miles over a rough and mountainous way, they arrived amongst them, and by their preaching and conversation were much enlightened and comforted, and were so happy as to find what had hitherto to them been mysterious, how a weary and heavy laden sinner might have rest. The name of one of these men was Peter Cornwell, who afterwards lived to a good old age, and was so eminent for his piety, as to receive from his neighbors and acquaintance the title of "Saint Peter" [Fristoe_s Hist. of the Ketockton Assoc. p. 100]. It is related by Mr. Edwards, "that this Peter Cornwell induced Edmund Hays (the same man who removed from Maryland to Virginia, in 1743) to remove and settle near him, and that interviews between the families of these two men were frequent, and their conversation religious and devout; insomuch that it soon began to be talked of abroad as a very strange thing. Many came to see them, to whom they related what God had done for their souls, exhorted, prayed, and read the Bible, and

other good books, to the spreading of seriousness through the whole neighborhood." Cornwell and his companion, (whose name is not mentioned) in a short time made a second visit to Berkley, and were baptized; and Divine Providence had so ordered matters, that in this visit they met with Mr. Thomas, whom they invited to go down and preach amongst them. He accepted the invitation, and settled with them, as before related, and soon became the instrument of diffusing gospel light in Fauquier and the adjacent counties, where ignorance and superstition had long prevailed.

Mr. Thomas is said to have been a minister of great distinction in the prime of his days; for besides the natural endowments of a strong and vigorous mind, and the advantages of a classical and refined education, he had a melodious and piercing voice, pathetic address, expressive action, and, above all, a heart filled with love to God and his fellow-men, whom he saw overwhelmed in sin and misery. But **for a few of the first years of his ministry in Virginia, he met with much rustick persecution from the rude inhabitants**, who, as a satirical historian observes, "had not wit enough to sin in a genteel manner." (from Morgan Edwards)

Outrageous mobs and individuals frequently assaulted and disturbed him. Once he was pulled down as he was preaching, and dragged out of doors in a barbarous manner. At another time a malevolent fellow attempted to shoot him, but a bystander wrenched the gun from him, and thereby prevented the execution of his wicked purpose. "The slanders and revilings," says Mr. Edwards, "which he met with, are innumerable; and if we may judge of a man's prevalency against the devil, by the rage of the devil's children, Thomas prevailed like a prince." But the gospel flourished and prevailed; and Broadrun church, of which he was pastor, in the course of six or eight years from its establishment, branched out, and became the mother of five or six others. The Chappawomsick church was constituted from that at Broadrun, in 1766. **The Baptists in this church met with the most violent opposition.** One Robert Ashly and his gang, (consisting of about 40) combined against them, with the most determined and envenomed hostility. Once they came to harass them at their worship, and entered the house with violence; but some stout fellows, not able to bear the insult, took Ashly by the neck and heels, and threw him out of doors. This infernal conspiracy continued to vent their rage against the Baptists, by throwing a live snake into the midst of them at one time, and a hornet's nest at another, while they were at worship; and at another time they brought fire-arms to disperse them. But Ashly dying, soon after, in a miserable manner, struck a damp on their mischievous designs, and procured quietness for a while to the poor sufferers, whom the civil powers left to the mercy, or rather to the rage and insolence of such an infuriated banditti.

But to return to Mr. Thomas. He traveled much, and the fame of his preaching drew the attention of people throughout an extensive circle; and they traveled, in many instances, fifty and sixty miles to hear him. It is remarkable, that about this time, there were multiplied instances, in different parts of Virginia, of persons, who had never heard any thing like evangelical preaching, who were brought, through divine grace, to see and feel their want of vital godliness. Many of these persons, when they heard Mr. Thomas and other Baptist preachers, would travel great distances to hear them, and to procure their services in their own neighbourhoods. By this means, the gospel was first carried into the county of Culpepper. Mr. Allen Wyley, a man of respectable standing in that county, had been thus turned to God; and not knowing of any spiritual preacher, he had, sometimes, gathered his neighbors, and read the Scriptures, and exhorted them to repentance; but hearing, after a while, of Mr. Thomas, he and some of his neighbours traveled to Fauquier to hear him. As soon as he heard him, he knew the joyful sound, submitted to baptism, and invited him to preach at his house. He came; but the opposition from the wicked was so great that he could not preach. He went into the county of Orange, and preached several times, and to much purpose. Having, however, urgent calls to preach in various other places, and being much opposed and persecuted, he did not attend here as often as was wished. On this account it was, that Mr. Wyley went to Pittsylvania, to procure the labors of Samuel Harris; an account of which will be given in the history of the Separates. Mr. Thomas and Mr. Garrard, sometimes together and sometimes apart, traveled and propagated the pure principles of Christianity in all the upper counties of the Northern Neck; but Mr. Thomas was far the most active.

The priests and friends of the establishment, viewed with a jealous eye these successful exertions of the Baptists, and adopted various methods to embarrass and defeat them. The clergy often attacked the preachers from the pulpit; called them false prophets, wolves in sheep's clothing, and many other hard names equally unappropriate and slanderous. But unfortunately for them, the Baptists retorted these charges, by professing to believe their own articles; at least, the leading ones, and charged them with

denying them; a charge which they could easily substantiate: for the doctrines most complained of, as advanced by the Baptists, were obviously laid down in the common prayer-book.

When they could not succeed by arguments, they adopted more violent measures. Sometimes the preachers, and even some who only read sermons and prayed publicly, were carried before magistrates, and though not committed to prison, were sharply reprimanded, and cautioned not to be righteous overmuch.

In two instances only, does it appear, that any person in these parts, was actually imprisoned on account of religion, although they suffered much abuse and persecution from outrageous mobs and malicious individuals. The one, it seems, was a licensed exhorter, and was arrested for exhorting at a licensed meeting-house. The magistrate sent him to jail, where he was kept until court; but the court, upon knowing the circumstances, discharged him. The other was James Ireland, who was imprisoned in Culpepper jail, and in other respects treated very ill. At the time of his imprisonment, Mr. Ireland was a Separate Baptist, but he afterwards joined the Regulars. The reasons why the Regular Baptists were not so much persecuted as the Separates was, that they had, at an early date, applied to the General Court, and obtained licenses for particular places of preaching, under the toleration law of England; but few of their enemies knew the extent of these licenses; most supposing, that they were by them, authorized to preach any where in the county.

The Regulars were considered less enthusiastick than the Separates. They were frequently visited by a number of eminent and influential ministers from the Philadelphia Association, and they also had, at their head, the learned and eloquent David Thomas, who, after stemming the torrent of prejudices and opposition for a few years, acquired an extensive fame and great weight of character, even in the eyes of his enemies; and was the means of procuring a degree of quietude and respectability for his reproached and persecuted brethren. But in the most persecuting times, the Baptist cause still flourished, and the work of grace progressed. New churches were constituted, and young preachers were raised up. Of these, none were more distinguished than **Richard Major**, although he was past the meridian of life before he embarked in the ministry. He seems to have made such good use of his time that he did more in the vineyard than many who had toiled all the day. Daniel and William Fristoe, Jeremiah Moore, and others, were early fruits of Elder Thomas's ministry. These young heralds, uniting their endeavours with those of the more experienced, became zealous laborers in the vineyard of the Lord.

Before the year 1770, the Regular Baptists were spread over the whole country, in the Northern Neck above Fredericksburg. Between 1770 and 1780, their cords still continued to be lengthened. Mr. Lunsford, a young but extraordinary preacher, carried the tidings of peace downwards, and planted the Redeemer's standard in those counties of the Northern Neck which are below Fredericksburg. Messrs. Corbley, Sutton, and Barnet, had moved over the Allegheny, and had raised up several churches in the northwest counties, as early as 1775. Mr. John Alderson had gone, in 1777, to Greenbrier, and in a few years raised up a people for God in that region. Besides these, there were some others, who moved more southward, and raised up a few churches.

During the time of the great declension of religion among the Virginia Baptists, which prevailed soon after the close of the war, the Regulars were under the cloud as well as their brethren the Separates; and they also participated in the great revival in 1786, and some years following.

An account of the present state of religion amongst the churches and people who were formerly called Regular Baptists, will be given in the general observations with which we shall conclude the history of this State. But before we close this chapter, it is proper to give a brief history of the Ketockton Association, together with those Associations which have originated from it.

The Ketockton Association was formed in 1768, and was the fifth Association of Calvinistick Baptists in America. The Philadelphia, the Charleston, Sandy-creek, and Kehukee Associations were formed before it; and besides these was the Rhode-Island Yearly Meeting of Arminian Baptists. This Association contained but four churches at the time of its organization, viz. the Mill-creek, the Smith's-creek, the Ketockton, and Broadrun; the three first of which were dismissed from the Philadelphia Association, with which body they united soon after they were constituted. These churches held Yearly Meetings for a number of years before they were organized into an Association. [Asplund and Edwards date the beginning of this Association in

1765; but by Semple_s account, the churches were in this year dismissed from the Philadelphia, and organized the year after.]

Very few things appear to have transpired in the progress of this body, worthy of being detailed. It adopted the Philadelphia confession of faith at its commencement, and progressed with order, regularity, and propriety. It also experienced an annual increase of churches and members, during what may be termed the rise of the Baptists, in the region in which it was situated, although it did not increase so rapidly as many new Associations have done.

In 1789 a temporary division of this body was made, and a new Association, called Cappawamsick, was taken from it; but for some cause, which is not related, both bodies re-united in 1792. The union with the Separate Baptists, which the Regulars long sought and desired, and which was happily effected in 1787, by delegates from this Association, will be mentioned in the history of that community.

It is said by Rev. William Fristoe, the historian of this Association, that about 40 churches have joined it from first to last, and that at one time the churches were scattered over an extent of country, about 300 miles in length, and 100 in breadth. [Fristoe_s Hist. of the Ketockton Assoc. p. 13.] But as a number of churches have been dismissed to unite with other Associations, its bounds are now much contracted.

In 1775, four churches were dismissed from this Association, for the purpose of forming the Redstone Association, in the back parts of Pennsylvania, whose history has already been given; and in 1795, a number of churches more were dismissed to unite with some others, who originated from the Separates, in forming an Association, which was called Greenbrier, which lies in the back and mountainous parts of Virginia. Mr. **John Alderson**, whose father removed from New-Jersey, and became the first pastor of the Smith_s-creek church, began, in 1775, to visit the region in which the Greenbrier Association is now situated, when the country was in a wilderness condition, both in a natural and spiritual sense. Having met with some success and encouragement, he, in 1777, removed his family into those parts, and in a few years had the happiness of being instrumental in planting a number of churches. What appears to be the most remarkable event in his history in this region is, that although he traveled much throughout an extensive circle, yet for seven years after his settlement here, he never saw nor heard any Baptist preacher but himself. The inhabitants of this uncultivated wilderness were interrupted by the ravages of the Indians, soon after Mr. Alderson settled among them, and were obliged to keep shut up in forts, for the space of four years. During which time, this laborious minister, generally attended by a small guard, **traveled through the dangerous wilds from one fort to another, continually exposed to the lurking savages, to preach the gospel** to the self-confined prisoners.

Mr. Josiah Osbourne is one of the ministers of this Association, who is remarkable for having published a piece in defense of the peculiar sentiments of the Baptists, in the colloquial strain, under the title of *David and Goliath*. This piece, written by an obscure and almost altogether illiterate man, is considered by many, as one of the best treatises on baptism that has ever been published, and for perspicuity and force of argument, certainly excels many of the elaborate productions of learned divines.

The Union Association lies wholly in Virginia, and in the northwest part of the State, and is in what were formerly the bounds of the Ketockton Association; but all the churches which formed it were dismissed from the Redstone Association. The names and numbers of these churches, their number of members, their pastors, and the counties in which they are situated, will be given in the table of Associations.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

GENERAL HISTORY OF ALL THE SEPARATE BAPTISTS IN VIRGINIA, NORTH-CAROLINA, SOUTH-CAROLINA, AND GEORGIA, FROM THE TIME OF THEIR SETTLEMENT AT SANDY-CREEK, NORTH-CAROLINA, 1755, TO THE DIVISION OF THEIR EXTENSIVE CONNEXION, IN 1770.

The appellation of **Separates** first began to be given to a set of Pedobaptist reformers, whose evangelical zeal was produced by the instrumentality of the famous George Whitefield, and other eminent itinerant preachers of that day, and who began their extraordinary career about the year 1740. Soon after these reformers, who were at first called **New-Lights**, and afterwards Separates, were organized into distinct Societies, they were joined by **Shubael Stearns**, a native of Boston, (Mass.) who, becoming a preacher, labored among them until 1751, when he embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, as many others of the Pedobaptist Separates did about this time, and soon after was baptized by Rev. Wait Palmer. Mr. Stearns was ordained the same year in Tolland, (Conn.) the town in which he was baptized, by the said Wait Palmer and Joshua Morse, the former being pastor of the church in Stonington, and the latter of New-London, in Connecticut.

Mr. Stearns and most of the Separates had strong faith in the immediate teachings of the Spirit. They believed, that to those who sought him earnestly, God often gave evident tokens of his will. That such indications of the divine pleasure, partaking of the nature of inspiration, were above, though not contrary to reason, and that following these, still leaning in every step upon the same wisdom and power by which they were first actuated, they would inevitably be led to the accomplishment of the two great objects of a Christian's life, the glory of God and the salvation of men. Mr. Stearns, listening to some of these instructions of Heaven, as he esteemed them, conceived himself called upon by the Almighty to move far to the westward, to execute a great and extensive work. Incited by his impressions, in the year 1776 he and a few of his members; took their leave of New England. He halted first at Opeckon, in Berkley county, Virginia, where he found a Baptist church under the care of the Rev. John Garrard, who received him kindly. Here also he met his brother-in-law, the Rev. Daniel Marshall, who was also a Separate, and of whom much will be said in the history of the southern Baptists, just returned from his mission among the Indians, and who, after his arrival at this place, had become a Baptist. They joined companies, and settled for a while on Cacapou, in Hampshire county, about 30 miles from Winchester. Here, Stearns not meeting with his expected success, felt restless. Some of his friends had moved to North-Carolina; he received letters from these, informing him, that preaching was greatly desired by the people of that country; that **in some instances they had rode 40 miles to hear one sermon**. He and his party once more got under way, and, traveling about 200 miles, came to Sandy-creek, in Guilford county, North-Carolina. Here he took up his permanent residence. The number of families in Stearns's company were 8, and the number of communicants 16, viz. Shubael Stearns and wife, Peter Stearns and wife, Ebenezer Stearns and wife, Shubael Stearns, jun. and wife, Daniel Marshall and wife, Joseph Breed and wife, Enos Stimson and wife, Jonathan Polk and wife.

As soon as they arrived, they built them a little meeting-house, and these 16 persons formed themselves into a church, and chose Shubael Stearns for their pastor, who had, for his assistants at that time, Daniel Marshall and Joseph Breed, neither of whom were ordained.

The inhabitants about this little colony of Baptists, although brought up in the Christian religion, were grossly ignorant of its essential principles. Having the form of godliness, they knew nothing of its power. Stearns and his party, of course, brought strange things to their ears. To be born again, appeared to them as absurd as it did to the Jewish doctor, when he asked, if he must enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born. Having always supposed that religion consisted in nothing more than the practice of its outward duties, they could not comprehend how it should be necessary to feel conviction and conversion; and to be able to ascertain the time and place of one's conversion, was, in their estimation, wonderful indeed. These points were all strenuously contended for by the new preachers. But their manner of

preaching was, if possible, much more novel than their doctrines. The Separates in New-England had acquired a very warm and pathetic address, accompanied by strong gestures and a singular tone of voice. Being often deeply affected themselves when preaching, correspondent affections were felt by their pious hearers, which were frequently expressed by tears, trembling, screams, and acclamations of grief and joy. All these they brought with them into their new habitation, at which the people were greatly astonished, having never seen things on this wise before. Many mocked, but the power of God attending them, many also trembled. In process of time, some of the inhabitants became converts, and bowed obedience to the Redeemer's scepter. These uniting their labors with the others, a powerful and extensive work commenced, and Sandy-creek church soon swelled from 16 to 606 members.

Daniel Marshall, though not possessed of great talents, was indefatigable in his labors. He sallied out into the adjacent neighbourhoods, and planted the Redeemer's standard in many of the strong holds of Satan. At Abbot's-creek, about thirty miles from Sandy-creek, the gospel prospered so largely, that they petitioned the mother church for a constitution, and for the ordination of Mr. Marshall as their pastor. The church was constituted; Mr. Marshall accepted the call, and went to live among them. His ordination, however, was a matter of some difficulty. It required, upon their principles, a plurality of elders to constitute a presbytery. Mr. Stearns was the only ordained minister among them. In this dilemma, they were informed, that there were some Regular Baptist preachers living on Pedee river, (S.C.) To one of these [this minister was, probably, Rev. Nicholas Bedgegood, at that time pastor of the church at Welsh Tract], Mr. Stearns applied, and requested him to assist him in the ordination of Mr. Marshall. This request he sternly refused, declaring that he held no fellowship with Stearns's party; that he believed them to be a disorderly set; suffering women to pray in public, and permitting every ignorant man to preach that chose; and that they encouraged noise and confusion in their meetings. Application was then made to Mr. Leadbetter, who was then pastor of the church on Lynch's creek, Craven county, South-Carolina, and who was a brother-in-law of Mr. Marshall. He and Mr. Stearns ordained Mr. Marshall to the care of this new church. The work of grace continued to spread, and several preachers were raised in North-Carolina. Among others was James Read, who was afterwards very successful in Virginia. When he first began to preach he was very illiterate, not knowing how to read or write. His wife became his instructor, and he soon acquired learning sufficient to enable him to read the Scriptures.

The gospel was carried by Mr. Marshall into the parts of Virginia, adjacent to the residence of this religious colony, soon after their settlement. He baptized several persons in some of his first visits. Among them was **Dutton Lane**, who, shortly after his baptism, began to preach. A revival succeeded, and Mr. Marshall at one time baptized 42 persons. **In August, 1760, a church was constituted, and Mr. Lane became their pastor. This was the first Separate Baptist church in Virginia**, and in some sense the mother of all the rest. The church prospered much under the ministry of Mr. Lane, aided by the occasional visits of Mr. Marshall and Mr. Stearns. They endured much persecution, but God prospered them, and delivered them out of the hands of all their enemies.

Soon after Mr. Lane's conversion, the power of God was effectual in the conversion of **Samuel Harris**, a man of great distinction in those parts. But upon being honored of God, he laid aside all worldly honors, and became a laborer in the Lord's vineyard. In 1759, he was ordained a ruling elder. From the commencement of his ministry, for about seven years, his labors were devoted chiefly to his own and the adjacent counties. Being often with Mr. Marshall in his ministerial journies, he caught the zeal, diligence, and indeed the manners of this zealous evangelist. His labors were crowned with the blessing of Heaven wherever he went. Stearns, though not as laborious as Marshall, was not idle. He seems to have possessed the talent of arranging the materials when collected, and well understood discipline and church government.

Marshall's impressions led him to travel farther south. Accordingly, after prosecuting his successful ministry a few years in North-Carolina, and the neighboring parts of Virginia, he took an affectionate leave of the church over which he presided, and of his friends in that region, and settled on Beaver-Creek, in South-Carolina, not far from 200 miles to the north-west of Charleston. Marshall, after tarrying a few years at different places in South-Carolina, and having been the instrument of raising up a number of churches, and laying the foundation for many others, in 1771 removed to Georgia, and settled on the Hioka creek, about 18 miles to the west of Augusta, where a church was soon gathered by his means, as some of his brethren had removed into that place before him. Mr. Marshall was accompanied by a few of the North-Carolina Separates, on his removal from them, and was soon followed by others, among whom were some

ministers, particularly Joseph Breed and **Philip Mulky**, the last of whom was, for many years, a very famous and successful preacher in South-Carolina; and by the labors of those preachers and some others, who were soon raised up in the parts, seven churches were gathered by the year 1770, some of which were very large, and consisted of a number of branches, which were shortly after formed into distinct churches.

While Marshall was sojourning southward, and planting churches in the various places where he pitched his frequent habitations, Harris bent his course to the northward, amongst his rude and insolent countrymen the Virginians; and while his brethren were thus engaged to the north and south of him, Stearns maintained his station at Sandy-creek, where his labors were greatly blessed; he however often traveled a considerable distance in the country around, to assist in organizing and regulating the churches which he and his associates were instrumental in raising up. **Thus the Separate Baptists were headed by three most distinguished men; distinguished not for human acquirements, but for purity of life, and godly simplicity**, which they, amidst the shipwrecks of many, maintained to the end; and for a pious ardor and invincible boldness and perseverance in their Master's service. Other preachers were soon raised up under their ministry, whose zealous and abundant labors were crowned with great success; so that the Separates, in a few years became truly a great people, and their churches were scattered over a country whose whole extent from north to south, was about 500 miles; and Sandy-creek church, the mother of them all, was not far from the center of the two extremes.

"Very remarkable things (said Morgan Edwards, in 1775) may be said of this church, worthy a place in Gillis's book, and inferior to no instance he gives of the modern success of the gospel in different parts of the world. It began with 16 souls, and in a short time increased to 606, spreading its branches to Deep-river and Abbot's-creek, which branches are gone to other provinces, and most of the members of this church have followed them; insomuch, that in 17 years it is reduced from 606 to 14 souls. The cause of this dispersion was the abuse of power which too much prevailed in the province, and caused the inhabitants at last to rise up in arms, and fight for their privileges; but being routed, May 16, 1771, they despaired of seeing better times, and therefore quitted the province. It is said 1,500 families departed since the battle of Alamance, and, to my knowledge, a great many more are only waiting to dispose of their plantations, in order to follow them. This is to me an argument, that their grievances were real, and their oppression great, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary.

"The church at Little-river was no less remarkable than the one already mentioned; for this was constituted in 1760, five years after the Sandy-creek, and in three years it increased from 5 to 500, and built five meeting-houses; but this church was also reduced by the provincial troubles and consequent dispersion of the inhabitants, mentioned above.

"But to return. **Sandy-creek church is the mother of all the Separate Baptists. From this Zion went forth the word, and great was the company of them who published it. This church, in seventeen years, has spread her branches westward as far as the great river Mississippi; southward as far as Georgia, eastward to the sea and Chesapeake Bay; and northward to the waters of Potomack; it, in seventeen years, is become mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother, to 42 churches, from which sprang 126 ministers, many of which are ordained, and support the sacred character as well as any set of clergy in America;** and if some have turned out bad, where is there a set of clergy that can throw the first stone, and say, 'We all are good?' As for the outcries, epilepsies, and ecstasies attending their ministry, they are not peculiar to them; the New-England Presbyterians had these long before; and in Virginia, it is well known that the same effects attend the ministry of some clergymen of the church of England, particularly Rev. Messrs. Derreaux Garret, and Archibald M. Roberts. The enchantment of sounds, attended with corresponding actions, have produced greater effects than these; though I believe a preternatural and invisible hand works in the assemblies of the Separate Baptists, bearing down the human mind, as was the case in primitive churches. 1 Corinthians 14:25."

But Virginia, in about ten years after their settlement, became, to the Separates, their principal scene of action, of suffering, and success. Their movements here, we shall now proceed to state; being prepared, from Semple's *History*, to give a more extensive and circumstantial account of them, in this, than in the other States.

[Samuel] Harris seemed destined of God to labor more extensively in Virginia than in any other State. And having done much good in his own neighborhood, in the year 1765, the time arrived for him to extend his labors. In January of this year, Allen Wyley, an inhabitant of Culpepper, and who had been baptized by David Thomas, hearing of the Separate Baptist preachers, traveled as far as Pittsylvania, in order to get one or more of them to come and preach in his own county. He traveled on, scarcely knowing whither he went but an unseen hand directed his course. He providentially fell in with one of Mr. Harris's meetings. When he came into the meeting-house, Mr. H. fixed his eyes upon him, being impressed

previously that he had some extraordinary message. He asked him whence he came, etc. Mr. W. told him his errand. Upon which, after some deliberation, believing him to be sent of God, Mr. H. agreed to go. Taking three days to prepare, he set out with Wyley, having no meetings on the way, yet exhorting and praying at every house where he went.

Arriving in Culpepper, his first meeting was at Wyley's own house. He preached the first day without interruption, and made appointments for the next. But when he began his meeting, such violent opposition was made by a company, who appeared with whips, sticks, clubs, and other rustick weapons, as to hinder his labors; in consequence of which, he went, that night, over to Orange county, and preached with much effect. He continued many days preaching from place to place, attended by great crowds, and followed throughout his meetings by several persons who had been either lately converted, or seriously awakened, under the ministry of the Regular Baptists, and also by many who had been alarmed by his own labors. When Mr. Harris left them, he exhorted them to be steadfast and advised some in whom he discovered talents, to commence the exercise of their gifts, and to hold meetings among themselves. In this ministerial journey, Mr. Harris sowed much good seed, which yielded afterwards great increase. The young converts took his advice, and began to hold meetings every Sabbath, and almost every night in the week, taking a tobacco-house for their meeting-house. After proceeding in this way for some time, they applied to Mr. David Thomas, who lived somewhere north of the Rappahannock, to come and preach for them, and teach them the ways of God more perfectly; he came, but in his preaching expressed some disapprobation of the preaching of such weak and illiterate persons. This was like throwing cold water upon their flaming zeal; they took umbrage, and resolved to send once more for Mr. Harris. Some time in the year 1766, and a short time after Mr. Thomas's preaching, three of the party, viz. Elijah Craig and two others, traveled to Mr. Harris's house in order to procure his services in Orange and the adjacent parts, to preach and baptize the new converts. They found, to their surprise, that he had not been ordained to the administration of the ordinances. To remedy this inconvenience, he carried them about 60 miles into North-Carolina to get **James Read**, who was ordained.

There is something singular in the exercise of Mr. Read about this time. He was impressed with an opinion that he had frequent teachings from God; and indeed, from the account given by himself, we must either doubt his veracity, or admit that his impressions were supernatural. He declares that respecting his preaching in Virginia, for many weeks, he had no rest in his spirit. Asleep or awake, he felt his soul earnestly impressed with strong desires to go to Virginia, to preach the gospel. In his dreams he thought that God would often shew him large congregations of Virginians assembled to hear preaching. He was sometimes heard by his family to cry out in his sleep, "O Virginia! Virginia! Virginia!" Mr. Graves, a member of his church, a good man, discovering his anxiety, and believing his impressions to be from God, offered to accompany him. Just as they were preparing to set out, Mr. Harris and the three messengers mentioned above, came for him to go with them. The circumstances so much resemble Peter's call from Joppa to Caesarea, that we can hardly for a moment hesitate in placing implicit confidence in its being a contrivance of Divine Wisdom.

Mr. Read agreed to go, without much hesitation. One of the messengers from Spottsylvania went on to appoint meetings on the way. The two preachers, after filling up some appointments in their own parts, pursued their contemplated journey, accompanied by Mr. Graves and the other two. In about two weeks they arrived in Orange, within the bounds of Blue-Run Church, as it now stands. When they came in sight, and saw a very large congregation, they were greatly affected. After a few minutes of prayer and reflection, they recovered their courage, and entered upon their great work. They preached with much effect on that day. The next day they preached at Elijah Craig's, where a vast crowd attended. David Thomas and John Garrard, both preachers of the Regular Order, were at this meeting. The ministers on both sides seemed desirous to unite, but the people were against it; the larger part siding with the Separates. As they could not unite, the next day being Sabbath, both parties held meetings but a small distance from each other. Baptism was administered by both. These things widened the breach. Messrs. Read and Harris, however, continued their ministrations. Mr. Read baptized 19 the first day, and more on the days following. They went through Spottsylvania into the upper parts of Caroline, Hanover, and Goochland, sowing the seeds of grace and peace in many places. So much were they inspirited by these meetings, that they made appointments to come again the next year. In their second visit, they were accompanied by the Rev. Dutton Lane, who assisted them in constituting and organizing **the first Separate Baptist church between the Rappahannock and James-river. This took place on the 20th of November, 1767.** The

church was called Upper Spottsylvania, and consisted of 25 members, including all the Separate Baptists north of James-river. This was a mother to many other churches.

Read and Harris continued to visit these parts for about three years, with wonderful effect. In one of their visits, they baptized 75 at one time, and in the course of one of their journies, which generally lasted several weeks, they baptized upwards of 200. **It was not uncommon, at their great meetings, for many hundreds of men to encamp on the ground, in order to be present the next day.** The night meetings, through the great work of God, continued very late; the ministers would scarcely have an opportunity to sleep. **Sometimes the floor would be covered with persons struck down under the conviction of sin.** It frequently happened, that when they would retire to rest at a late hour, they would be under the necessity of arising again, through the earnest cries of the penitent. **There were instances of persons traveling more than one hundred miles to one of these meetings; to go forty or fifty was not uncommon.**

On account of the great increase of members, through the labors of Messrs. Read and Harris, aided by a number of young preachers, it was found necessary to constitute several other churches.

Read and Harris, particularly the latter, were men of great zeal and indefatigable diligence and perseverance in their Master_s cause. Their spirit was caught by many of the young prophets in Orange and Spottsylvania. Lewis and Elijah Craig, John Waller, James Childs, John Burrus, and others, animated by an ardent desire for the advancement of their Master_s kingdom, sallied forth in every direction, spreading the tidings of peace and salvation wherever they went. Most of them illiterate, yet illumined by the wisdom from above, they would defend and maintain the cause of truth, against the arguments of the most profound. Without visible sword or buckler, they moved on steady to their purpose, undismayed by the terrific hosts of Satan, which were backed by the strong arm of civil authority. **Magistrates and mobs, priests and sheriffs, courts and prisons, all vainly combined to divert them from their object.** Their labors were not limited to their own counties. In Goochland, Messrs. Harris and Read had baptized several; among whom was Reuben Ford, who had professed vital faith about seven years before, under the ministry of the renowned Whitefield and Davis. Mr. Ford was baptized in the year 1769, by James Read.

These plants were watered by the labors of the Spottsylvania preachers, particularly J. Waller, who, early in his visits to **Goochland**, baptized William Webber and Joseph Anthony, who, with Reuben Ford, had been exhorting, etc. previous to their being baptized. By the united labors of these several servants of God, the work of godliness progressed in Goochland and round about. These young preachers were no sooner captivated by the King of Zion, than they immediately began to fight under his banner. Their success was equal to their diligence; many believed, and were baptized in Goochland; insomuch that they thought themselves ripe for an independent government, and were accordingly constituted as a church, towards the last of the year 1771, which received the name of the county in which it was situated, and contained about 76 members. This was the mother church of those parts, for from it have been since constituted several others, particularly Dover and Licking-hole. William Webber became pastor of Dover church, which office he held until his death in 1808. Reuben Ford administered the word and ordinances to Goochland and Licking-hole.

One **William Mullin**, afterwards an useful preacher, had moved from Middlesex and settled in the county of Amelia. When the gospel reached his neighborhood, Mr. Mullin cordially embraced it. Going afterwards, in 1769, on a visit to his relations in Middlesex and Essex, by arguments drawn from the scripture, he convinced his brother John, and his brother-inlaw James Greenwood, with several others, of the necessity of being born again. Of these, some found peace in believing, before they ever heard the gospel publicly preached. November, 1770, John Waller and John Burrus came down and preached in Middlesex. They continued preaching at and near the same place for three days; great crowds came out. Waller baptized five; but persecution began to rage. Some said they were deceivers; others that they were good men. On the second day, a magistrate attempted to pull Waller off the stage, but the clergyman of the parish prevented it. The next day a man threw a stone at Waller while he was preaching; but the stone missed him, and struck a friend of the man who threw it. James Greenwood and others now began to hold publick meetings by day and by night; much good was done by them. Many believed, and only waited an opportunity to be baptized, there being no ordained preacher nearer than Spottsylvania.

In the mean time, the laborers had not been idle in that part of the vineyard south of James-river. The two Murphies, viz. William and Joseph, aided by the indefatigable Samuel Harris, had carried the gospel into some of the counties above Pittsylvania, where Robert Stockton and some other preachers were raised up. Mr. Harris, James Read, Jeremiah Walker, and others, had proclaimed the tidings of peace in Halifax, Charlotte, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Amelia, and almost all the counties to the west of Richmond, on the south side of James-river. In these gatherings, there were many useful and several eminent ministers of the gospel brought in, particularly John Williams, John King, James Shelburne, Henry Lester, with some others. The gospel was first carried to these places much in the same way as it was into Culpepper and Spottsylvania, viz. in consequence of a special message to the preachers from some of the inhabitants. They constituted the first church in 1769, with about forty members, which was called Nottoway. Jeremiah Walker soon moved and took the pastoral care of it: he had been preaching some time before this, in North-Carolina, his native State; but now moving to Virginia, he for several years acted a conspicuous part in the concerns of the Virginia Baptists.

In the year 1758, three years after Stearns and his company settled at Sandy-creek, a few churches having been constituted, and these having a number of branches which were fast maturing for churches, Stearns conceived that an Association composed of delegates from them all, would have a tendency to forward the great object of their exertions. For this purpose he visited each church and congregation, and explaining to them his contemplated plan, induced them all to send delegates to his meeting-house in January, 1758, when an Association was formed, which was called Sandy-creek, and which continues to the present time; but it has experienced many vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity; and at one time, **on account of exercising too much power over the churches**, it became much embarrassed in its movements, and very near to extinction. For twelve years, all the Separate Baptists in Virginia and the two Carolinas, continued in connection with this Association, which was generally held at no great distance from the place where it originated. All who could, traveled from its remote extremities, to attend its yearly sessions, which were conducted with great harmony, and afforded sufficient edification to induce them to undertake with cheerfulness these long and laborious journies. By the means of these meetings, the gospel was carried into many new places, where the fame of the Baptists had previously spread; for great crowds attending from distant parts, mostly through curiosity, many became enamoured with these extraordinary people, and petitioned the Association to send preachers into their neighborhoods. These petitions were readily granted, and the preachers as readily complied with the appointments. These people were so much engaged in their evangelical pursuits, that they had no time to spend in theological debates, nor were they very scrupulous about the mode of conducting their meetings. When assembled, their chief employment was preaching, exhortation, singing, and conversing about their various exertions in the Redeemer's service, the success which had attended them, and the new and prosperous scenes which were opening before them.

These things so inflamed the hearts of the ministers, that they would leave the Association with a zeal and courage, which no common obstacles could impede.

"At our first Association, (says the MS. of James Read, who was present) we continued together three or four days. Great crowds of people attended, mostly through curiosity, the great power of God was among us. The preaching every day, seemed to be attended with God's blessing. We carried on our Association with sweet decorum and fellowship to the end. Then we took leave of one another, with many solemn charges from our reverend old father Shubael Stearns, to stand fast unto the end."

At their next Association they were visited by Rev. **John Gano**, who at that time resided in North-Carolina, at a place called the Jersey settlements. Mr. Gano was received by Stearns with great affection; but as there was at that time an unhappy shyness and jealousy between the Regulars and Separates, by the others he was treated with coldness and suspicion; and they even refused to invite him into their Association. But Mr. Gano had too much knowledge of mankind, humility and good nature, to be offended at this treatment. He continued a while as a spectator of their proceedings, and then retired with a view of returning home. Stearns was much hurt and mortified with the shyness and incivility of his brethren, and, in the absence of Mr. Gano, expostulated with them on the matter, and made a proposition to invite him to preach with them. All were forward to invite him to preach, although they could not invite him to a seat in their Assembly. With their invitation he cheerfully complied, and his preaching, though not with the New-Light tones and gestures, was in demonstration of the Spirit and with power. He continued with them to the close of their session, and preached frequently, much to their astonishment, as well as edification. Their

hearts were soon opened towards him, and their cold indifference and languid charity were, before he left them, enlarged into a warm attachment and cordial affection. And so superior did his preaching talents appear to them, that the young and illiterate preachers said they felt as if they could never attempt to preach again.

This Association continued to progress with great harmony and prosperity, without any special occurrence, until 1769, when the Ketockton association of Regular Baptists, desirous of effecting an union with them, (which had before been unsuccessfully attempted) by compromising those little matters of difference, which had unhappily prevented their communion with each other, sent, as messengers for the purpose, the Rev. Messrs. Garret, Major, and Saunders, with a letter of which the following is an extract:

"Beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ, The bearers of this letter can acquaint you with the design of writing it. Their errand is peace, and their business is a reconciliation between us, if there is any difference subsisting. If we are all Christians, all Baptists, all New-Lights, why are we divided? **Must the little appellative names, Regular and Separate, break the golden band of charity,** and set the sons and daughters of Zion at variance? "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity," but how bad and how bitter it is for them to live asunder in discord! To indulge ourselves in prejudice, is soon a disorder; and to quarrel about nothing, is irregularity with a witness. O, our dear brethren, endeavor to prevent this calamity for the future."

This excellent letter was presented to the Association, and after a lengthy debate, the proposal for an union was rejected by a small majority. Their answer to the Regulars was,

"Excuse us in love, for we are acquainted with our own order, but not so well with yours; and **if there is a difference, we might ignorantly jump into that which will make us rue it,** etc."

At the meeting of this body, in 1770, their harmony was interrupted and their assembly assumed a new and unpleasant appearance, and the division of the Association, which convenience would have dictated, was now effected from painful necessity. It had been usual with them to do nothing in Associations, but by unanimity. If in any measure proposed, there was a single dissentient, they labored first by arguments to come to unanimous agreement; when arguments failed, they resorted to frequent prayer, in which all joined. When both these failed, they sometimes appointed the next day for fasting and prayer, and to strive to bring all to be of one mind. At this session they split in their first business; nothing could be done on the first day. They appointed the next for fasting and prayer. They met and labored the whole day, and could do nothing, not even appoint a Moderator. The third day was appointed for the same purpose, and to be observed in the same way. They met early, and continued together until three o'clock in the afternoon, without having accomplished any thing. A proposal was then made, that the Association should be divided into three districts, that is, one in each State. To this there was an unanimous consent at once.

"The cause of this division, (says Mr. Edwards) was partly convenience, but it was chiefly owing to a mistake which this Association fell into, relative to their power and jurisdiction. **They had carried matters so high as to leave hardly any power in particular churches,** unfellow-shipping ordinations, ministers, and churches that acted independent of them; and pleading, that though complete power be in every church, yet every church _can transfer it to an Association;_ which is as much as to say, that a man may take out his eyes, ears, etc. and give them to another, to see, hear, etc. for him; for **if power be fixed by Christ in a particular church, they cannot transfer it; nay, should they formally give it away, yet is it not gone away.**"

The good old Mr. Stearns, who was not wholly divested of those maxims which he had imbibed from the traditions of his fathers, is said to have been the principal promoter of this improper stretch of associational power, which, however, was soon abandoned by those, who, for a time, tampered with it, to their embarrassment and injury.

How many communicants were comprehended in this Association, at the time of its division, I have not been able to ascertain; but they must have been considerably numerous. The division was made in the following manner. The churches in South-Carolina formed an Association by the name of Congaree; those in North-Carolina were still known by the name of Sandy-creek; while those in Virginia formed an Association which was at first called Rapid-ann, but was more commonly distinguished by the name of the General Association of Separate Baptists.

We are now prepared to treat wholly of **the Separates in Virginia**, as the history of those in the other States will be related under their respective heads.

The Association which originated in the manner above described, embraced all the Separate Baptists in Virginia, except a very few churches, which were dismissed from it in 1776, to form the Strawberry Association, for the space of twelve years, viz. until the year 1783, when it was by mutual consent divided. From this Association, as from a fruitful mother, have originated most of the present Associations in Virginia. And although there was one temporary division by mutual consent, and another occasioned by the discussion of an important subject, which will soon be mentioned; yet, generally speaking, it continued a united, prosperous, and even powerful body, through all the calamitous scenes of the revolutionary war; and to them, the more afflictive scenes of persecution, which for a number of years were carried to a high degree in Virginia, to which the Separates, more than the Regulars, were exposed.

A brief account of the proceedings of the General Association during the twelve years of its existing as such, will now be given.

It has already been observed, that the division of the Sandy-creek Association took place in the year 1770, and the next year, the one under consideration was organized; at which time it contained 14 churches, and 1335 members. These 14 churches were scattered in almost as many counties, and many of them were pretty high up in the State, both as it respected the sea-coast, and its southern boundary; the most of them, however, were situated on the south of James-river.

At the organization of this Association, they adopted a set of rules for the regulation of their body, which consisted of nine articles, and the first and most important of them, which restricted the Association within proper bounds, was as follows:

"It is unanimously agreed that this Association has no power or authority to impose any thing upon the churches, but that we act as an advisory council."

In 1773, the Association had increased to 34 churches, which contained 3195 members.

We are now about to relate an affair which took place in this body, which will probably produce mixed emotions in the mind of the reader. The following query, viz. "Are all the offices of Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, mentioned in Ephesians, 4th chapter, and 11th verse, now in use?" had been introduced at a previous session of the Association, when, after spending two days in debating upon it, they agreed to defer their decision on the subject, until their next session. During the recess of the Association, as well as when it was assembled, this novel subject was discussed by many, with no little warmth and interest. It appears to have been first agitated by **Jeremiah Walker**, who labored hard, both in publick and private, to defend and propagate his sentiments. He even wrote a piece upon the subject, entitled, *Free Thoughts*, etc. **in which he ingeniously maintained that APOSTLES, together with all the other offices enumerated in Ephesians, etc. were still to be maintained in the church.** Reuben Ford took an active part against Walker, and wrote a pamphlet in opposition to his scheme. Both of these men were followed by large and respectable parties, and both of their pamphlets were read before the Association in 1774, when the query was again introduced, and the debates upon it resumed. But the majority favoring Walker's speculations, an almost unanimous vote was obtained to carry them into practical operation. Having thus resolved, they, in the first place, proceeded to choose one from among them, to officiate in the dignified character of an Apostle. Walker had been suspected of vain and ambitious views in pleading so hard for the establishment of this office; but whatever were his desires and expectations, the venerable **Samuel Harris**, who was now about 50 years of age, was, by the unanimous voice of the Association, **elected an Apostle.** He accepted the appointment, and was immediately ordained to the Apostolic function. His ordination, as appears by their Minutes, was conducted in the following manner: "The day being set apart as a fast day, we immediately proceeded to ordain him, and the hands of every ordained minister were laid upon him. [It would seem by the above account, that those who had opposed the establishment of Apostles, had retired from the Association, before the offensive measure was adopted.] Publick prayer was made by John Waller, Elijah Craig, and John Williams. John Waller gave a publick charge, and the whole Association gave him the right hand of fellowship."

The work assigned to this Apostle, was to pervade the churches, for the purpose of performing, or at least of superintending the work of ordination, and to set in order the things that were wanting; and he was ordered to report the success of his mission, at the next Association. And for the discipline of this high officer, the following law was enacted, viz. "If our Messenger, or Apostle, shall transgress in any manner, he shall be liable to dealing in any church where the transgression was committed; and the said church is instructed to call helps from two or three neighboring churches; and if by them found a transgressor, a general conference of the churches shall be called, to restore, or excommunicate him." At this time there was a temporary division of this extensive Association, and James-river was the dividing line. The scene which we have been describing, was acted on that part which lay south of this river; but the northern section, in imitation of their southern brethren, not long after, in the same year, appointed for their Apostles, John Waller and Elijah Craig. Thus Virginia, whose ecclesiastical affairs were formerly governed by Bishops, now beheld within her bounds, three Baptist Apostles! But these Apostles made their first reports in rather discouraging terms, and no others were ever appointed. **They finally concluded, that the office of Apostles, like that of Prophets, was peculiar to the Apostolick age, and ceased with the cessation of that inspiration and those miraculous gifts, by which these characters were peculiarly distinguished.**

The reflecting reader will doubtless feel emotions of disgust and disapprobation, at these irregular sallies of zeal; he will also, probably, be provoked at the same time to smile at the weakness of those who promoted them; and the risibility of the affair may, in some measure, abate the severity of his censures.

In 1775, the two divisions of the Association, which had, for a short time, acted in separate capacities, now reunited, when it was found, that the whole number of churches amounted to 60; 31 on the north, and 29 on the south side of James-river. At this session the Association was most painfully agitated by the discussion of the following very serious and important question, viz. **"Is salvation by Christ made possible for every individual of the human race?"** This query was debated with much interest, and also with much ability; for notwithstanding the proceedings of the last meeting, by which their wisdom was so much impeached, there were, at this time, a number of preachers amongst the Virginia Baptists, who were men of considerable reading and theological knowledge, and they, in this interesting debate, exerted all their polemical powers. Those, who supported the affirmative of this question, were called Arminians, while those who maintained the opposite opinion were denominated Calvinists. But taking the spirit of the question, these appellations were not descriptive of the characters to whom they were applied; for many decided Calvinists hold, that the atonement of Christ is general in its nature, though particular in its application; and had these people been acquainted with the distinction made by Dr. Fuller and other modern divines, it might have relieved their embarrassments, and prevented their discord. But to avoid circumlocution, I shall, in relating the progress of this debate, make use of the term Arminian and Calvinist, as they were then applied, and as they are used in *Semple's History*.

This important query occupied the first attention of the Association. One whole day was spent in debating it, and most of the preachers spake more or less upon it. The weight of talents and influence seems to have been on the Arminian side. Samuel Harris, Jeremiah Walker, John Waller, and many other distinguished preachers, stood forward, and zealously as well as ably supported the argument in favor of universal provision. Talents and ingenuity were not wanting on the other side. William Murphy, John Williams, and Elijah Craig stood foremost in favor of a Calvinistick solution.

The preponderating weight was at last cast into the Calvinistick scale, and they, after a long and animated debate, finally obtained a small majority. This decision was on Monday afternoon, immediately before an adjournment. That evening the Arminian party holding a consultation, determined to bring on the subject again the next day, and to have a determination, whether their opinions upon this point should be a matter of bar to fellowship and communion. On Tuesday, when they met, the business became very distressing. The Arminian party having the Moderator with them, withdrew out of doors. The other side also withdrew, and chose John Williams as Moderator. Every thing was then done by message, sometimes in writing, and sometimes verbally. After some time was spent in this way, the following proposal was made by the Arminian party:

"Dear Brethren, A steady union with you makes us willing to be more explicit, in answer to your terms of reconciliation proposed. We do not deny the former part of your proposal, respecting particular election of

grace, still retaining our liberty with regard to construction. And as to the latter part, respecting merit in the creature, we are free to profess there is none. Signed by order, SAMUEL HARRIS, Moderator."

To which the other replied as follows.

"Dear Brethren, Inasmuch as a continuation of your Christian fellowship seems nearly as dear to us as our lives, and seeing our difficulties concerning your principles, with respect to merit in the creature, particular election, and final perseverance of the saints, are in a hopeful measure removing, we do willingly retain you in fellowship, not raising the least bar. But do heartily wish and pray, that God, in his providence, in his own time, will bring it about, when Israel shall all be of one mind, speaking the same things. Signed by order, JOHN WILLIAMS, Moderator."

These terms being acceded to on both sides, they again met in the meeting-house, and resumed their business. Their union was as happy, as their discord had been distressing.

This great Association, which the next year had increased to 74, churches, continued to meet together for the space of eight years from this period. But the revolutionary war coming on, the embarrassments and anxieties which it occasioned, in a great measure checked their progress and prosperity; their meetings generally were but thinly attended, and their principal transactions appear to have consisted in making exertions to free themselves from the civil grievances and oppressions, under which they, as a denomination, labored.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE IN VIRGINIA

This body succeeded the General Association, and was composed of delegates from all the Associations which could, with convenience, or were disposed to send messengers to it. But many of the Virginia Baptists were suspicious that this body would, in time, grow into something like a Synod or Dictating Council, and for that reason stood aloof from it for a time, and, indeed, those who sanctioned it, and assisted in promoting its measures, were so much afraid of horns, that they gave it scarcely any head or power. But with all its restrictions, most of which were probably necessary in order to secure the independency of the numerous churches, over whose affairs it presided, **it was a very useful body, and was instrumental in tearing off, one after another, the civil and ecclesiastical shackles, by which the Baptists, and other dissenters from the Episcopal Establishment in Virginia, had been sorely galled, until an entire and equal freedom was by law established.**

The General Committee was organized in 1784, and continued its operations fifteen years, viz. until 1799, when it was dissolved.

The object, which this body had in view, may be seen in the following articles, which contain the substance of their plan of government.

1. The General Committee shall be composed of delegates, sent from all the District Associations that desire to correspond with each other.
2. No Association shall be represented in the General Committee by more than four delegates.
3. The Committee thus composed, shall consider all the political grievances of the whole Baptist society in Virginia, and all references from the District Associations, respecting matters which concern the Baptist society at large.
4. No petition, memorial, or remonstrance shall be presented to the General Assembly from any Association in connection with the General Committee. All things of that kind shall originate with the General Committee.

The Virginia Baptists at this time, had got much in the spirit of sending petitions, etc. to the General Assembly; and having always met with a favorable reception, the Committee fearing that in their zeal for freedom, they would send to the General Assembly some unnecessary instrument of the kind, and thereby injure the cause which was now in such a promising way, thought proper to lay this restriction upon them for the purpose of preventing such an evil.

This Committee was much engaged, for a few years from its organization, in petitioning the General Assembly for a repeal of what was called the **vestry law**, and the old law which disqualified all dissenters from celebrating the **rites of matrimony**; but most of all, against the bill for a **general assessment**, etc. All these laws, which were so obnoxious to the Baptists, and which the struggling and expiring spirit of the old establishment was striving to maintain; and, indeed, every oppressive vestige of this establishment, the Committee finally had the happiness of seeing abolished.

Reuben Ford, John Williams, John Leland, and John Waller, appear to have been the most active in conducting the general affairs of the Virginia Baptists, in these times.

Jeremiah Walker, who had formerly been their secretary, their counsellor, and even their public champion, had fallen from his elevated station, and removed to Georgia. Mr. John Leland removed from New England,

and settled in Orange county, Virginia, in the year 1776: he continued about fourteen years in the State, and during the struggles for religious freedom, Mr. Leland took an active and successful part. But his exertions in this field were but a small part of his services in Virginia; for during his residence there, he traveled extensively, preached abundantly, and baptized between six and seven hundred persons.

The political grievances against which this Committee exerted their influence will be more particularly mentioned in the next chapter. The most remarkable acts which were performed by this body, besides their attention to these civil affairs, were their effecting an union with the Regular Baptists -- their proposing and making some progress towards the completion of A history of the Baptists in Virginia -- and their forming a plan, which, however, we are sorry to say has never been carried into effect, for establishing a Seminary of Learning for the advantage of the Baptists in the State.

The schism which took place among the Regular and Separate Baptists in 1766, soon after their rise in Virginia, had continued, without being completely healed, for about 20 years, although a very friendly intercourse had been occasionally kept up amongst them. But in 1787, the happy period arrived, in which all the disputes between these two bodies were compromised, buried, and forgotten. The adjustment of these disputes was conducted by the General Committee on the part of the Separates, and on that of the Regulars by delegates for the purpose from the Ketockton Association; and took place at the fourth session of the General Committee, which was held at Dover meeting-house, in Goochland county. At this meeting, delegates from six Associations of the Separates, and a number from the Ketockton, were assembled, when, pursuant to a previous appointment, the subject of the union between the Regulars and Separates was taken up, and after a brief and temperate discussion of their differences, a happy and effectual union was formed, and their party names dismissed and buried.

The objections on the part of Separates related chiefly to matters of trivial importance, such as dress, etc. and had been for some time removed, as to being a bar of communion. On the other hand, the Regulars complained, that the Separates were not sufficiently explicit in their principles, having never published or sanctioned any confession of faith; and that they kept within their communion many who were professed Arminians. [The reader must keep in mind, that this day, those were called Arminians, who held to the universal provision of the gospel, or that the atonement of Christ was general in nature.] To these things it was answered by the Separates, that a large majority of them believed as much in their confession of faith, as they did themselves, although they did not entirely approve of the practice of religious societies binding themselves too strictly by confessions of faith, seeing there was danger of their finally usurping too high a place: that if there were some among them, who leaned too much to the Arminian system, they were generally men of exemplary piety, and great usefulness in the Redeemer's kingdom; and they conceived it better to bear with some diversity of opinion in doctrines, than to break with men, whose Christian deportment rendered them amiable in the estimation of all true lovers of genuine godliness. Indeed, that some of them had now become fathers in the gospel, who, previous to the bias which their minds had received, had borne the brunt and heat of persecution, whose labors and sufferings God had blessed, and still blessed, to the great advancement of his cause -- to exclude such as these from their communion, would be like tearing the limbs from the body.

These and such like arguments, were agitated both in publick and private, so that all minds were much mollified, before the final and successful attempt for union was made. The terms of the union were entered on the minutes in the following words, viz.

"The committee appointed to consider the terms of union with our Regular Brethren, Reported, That they conceive the manner in which the Regular Baptist confession of faith has been received by a former Association, is the ground-work for such union."

The manner of this reception was, that they should retain their liberty with regard to the construction of some of its objectionable articles. After considerable debate, as to the propriety of having any confession of faith at all, the report of the committee was received with the following explanation:

"To prevent the confession of faith from usurping a tyrannical power over the conscience of any, we do not mean, that every person is bound to the strict observance of every thing therein contained; yet that it holds forth the essential truths of the gospel, and that the doctrine of salvation by Christ, and free and unmerited

grace alone, ought to be believed by every Christian, and maintained by every minister of the gospel. Upon these terms we are united, and desire hereafter, that the names Regular and Separate be buried in oblivion; and that from henceforth, we shall be known by the name of the **United Baptist Churches, in Virginia.**"

This union took place at a time when a revival of religion had commenced which soon burst forth on the right hand and on the left, throughout the State, "and nothing," says Mr. Semple, their historian, "could be more salutary than this conjunction of dissevered brethren, and the accommodating temper of the parties by which it was effected; and they have, from that period to the present time, most fully demonstrated, that it was an union of hearts as well as parties."

In the next year after this pleasing event, there originated in this committee the first proposal for publishing *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia*. A number of persons were chosen to engage in collecting materials; and the next year, a sufficient number having been collected for the purpose, Messrs. John Leland and John Williams were appointed to commence the work. The compilation of this proposed history devolved on different hands, by whom considerable progress was made, although much remained yet to be done, when it was finally and solely undertaken by the Rev. **Robert B. Semple**, by whom it was finished in a very acceptable manner, and presented to the publick in the year 1809.

The same year in which the first proposal for *A History*, etc. was made, the committee received a letter from Rev. James Manning, D. D. President of Providence College, (now Brown University) in Rhode-Island, recommending and encouraging the Baptists of Virginia to establish a Seminary of Learning, for the benefit of their growing interest. This suggestion of their learned and pious correspondent met the approbation of this board, who soon began to talk upon the subject, and who, after a few years, went so far as to form a plan, and appoint twenty-one Trustees, for the intended Seminary. But this institution, which was so much needed, and which, with suitable exertions, might have been so easily established, has hitherto only been talked of. It is hoped, however, that the day is not far distant, when something more efficient will be undertaken. The Virginia Baptists have been charged with "holding as an established maxim, that human learning is of no use." This charge they resent as slanderous and false, and, generally speaking, it doubtless is so. But for so large a community as there has been of the Baptist denomination in Virginia, for upwards of forty years, to remain so long without any literary establishment which they can call their own, gives occasion both for friends and enemies to say, that if they do not despise human learning, they have strangely neglected the means, which they so abundantly possess, of promoting it.

The General Committee having now accomplished the object for which it was organized, in 1799, was, from prudential motives, dissolved. During the period of its existence, an unreasonable jealousy, says their historian, of its exercising too much power, was often manifested both by Associations and individuals. This, added to some other causes, produced a gradual declension in the attendance of members, as well as unpleasant languor in the transaction of business. For these reasons, this body was dissolved at the date above mentioned, and was succeeded by one similar in its form, though somewhat different in its object, which was denominated

THE GENERAL MEETING OF CORRESPONDENCE.

This Meeting, like the General Committee, is formed of delegates from all the Associations which choose to promote it. It was organized in 1800, and has continued its anniversary sessions to the present time. The name of this body is sufficiently descriptive of its nature and design. Having, however, never had much business assigned it, its operations have hitherto been much circumscribed. But the advantages resulting from a general intercourse of the Associations in Virginia were so obvious, that the promoters of this Convention were willing to have a meeting on any terms which would accomplish that end.

The last account we have received from this Meeting was in 1809, when it was laudably engaged in devising plans "for the religious education of children, and the establishment of some seminary or publick school, to assist young preachers to acquire literary knowledge."

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF LEGAL, UNTIL THE ABOLITION OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

When the Baptists first appeared in North Carolina and Virginia, they were viewed by men in power as beneath their notice; none, said they, but the weak and wicked join them; let them alone, they will soon fall out among themselves, and come to nothing. In some places this maxim was adhered to, and persecution in legal shape was never seen. But in many others, alarmed by the rapid increase of the Baptists, the men in power strained every penal law in the Virginia code, to obtain ways and means to put down these disturbers of the peace, as they were now called. It seems by no means certain, that any law in force in Virginia authorized the imprisonment of any person for preaching. The law for the preservation of peace, however, was so interpreted as to answer this purpose; and, accordingly, whenever the preachers were apprehended, it was done by a peace-warrant.

The first instance of actual imprisonment, we believe, that ever took place in Virginia, was in the county of Spottsylvania. On the 4th of June, 1768, John Waller, Lewis Craig, James Childs, and others, were seized by the Sheriff, and haled before three magistrates, who stood in the meeting-house yard, and who bound them in the penalty of one thousand pounds, to appear at Court two days after. At Court they were arraigned as disturbers of the peace; on their trial, they were vehemently accused by a certain lawyer, who said to the Court, "May it please your worships, these men are great disturbers of the peace; they cannot meet a man upon the road, but they must ram a text of Scripture down his throat." Mr. Waller made his own and his brethren's defense so ingeniously, that they were somewhat puzzled to know how to dispose of them. They offered to release them, if they would promise to preach no more in the county, for a year and a day. This they refused, and therefore were sent into close jail. As they were moving on from the court-house to the prison, through the streets of Fredericksburg, they sung the hymn, "Broad is the road that leads to death," etc. This had an awful appearance. After four weeks confinement, Lewis Craig was released from prison, and immediately went down to Williamsburg, to get a release for his companions. He waited on the deputy governor, the Hon. John Blair, stated the case before him, and received the following letter, directed to the King's Attorney, in Spottsylvania:

"Sir, -- I lately received a letter signed by a good number of worthy gentlemen, who are not here, complaining of the Baptists; the particulars of their misbehaviour are not told, any farther than their running into private houses, and making dissensions. Mr. Craig and Mr. Benjamin Waller are now with me, and deny the charge. They tell me they are willing to take the oaths, as others have. I told them I had consulted the Attorney-General, who is of opinion, that the General Court only have power to grant licenses, and therefore I referred them to the Court; but, on their application to the Attorney-General, they brought me his letter, advising me to write to you: That their petition was a matter of right, and that you may not molest these conscientious people, so long as they behave themselves in a manner becoming pious Christians, and in obedience to the laws, till the Court, when they intend to apply for licenses, and when the gentlemen who complain may make their objections and be heard. The act of toleration, **(it being found by experience that persecuting dissenters increases their numbers)** has given them a right to apply, in a proper manner, for licensed houses for the worship of God, according to their consciences; and I persuade myself the gentlemen will quietly overlook their meetings till the Court. **I am told they administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper near the manner we do, and differ in nothing from our church, but in that of baptism, and their renewing the ancient discipline; by which they have reformed some sinners and brought them to be truly penitent;** nay, if a man of theirs is idle, and neglects to labor and provide for his family as he ought, he incurs their censures, which have had good effects. If this be their behavior, it were to be wished, we had some of it among us: but, at least, I hope all men may remain quiet till Court.

"I am, with great respects to the gentlemen, Sir, your humble servant, JOHN BLAIR. Williamsburg, July 16, 1768."

When the letter came to the Attorney, he would have nothing to say in the affair. **Waller and the others continued in jail forty-three days, and were then discharged without any conditions.** While in prison, they constantly preached through the grates. The mob without used every exertion to prevent the people from hearing, but to little purpose. Many heard, indeed, to whom the word came in demonstration of the Spirit and with power.

After their discharge, which was a kind of triumph, Waller, Craig, and their compeers in the ministry, resumed their labors with redoubled vigor, gathering fortitude from their late sufferings, thanking God they were counted worthy to suffer for Christ and his gospel. Day and night, and, indeed, **almost every day and night, they held meetings in their own and the adjacent neighborhoods.** The spread of the gospel and of Baptist principles was equal to all their exertions; insomuch, that in very few sections of Virginia did the Baptist cause appear more formidable to its enemies, and more consoling to its friends, than in Spottsylvania; and we may add, so it is to this day.

We have already observed the spread of the gospel in the county of Goochland, and that certain promising young preachers were thrust into the work. Animated as they were with strong desires for the welfare of souls, they could not restrain themselves within the limits of one county. In December, 1770, Messrs. William Webber and Joseph Anthony, two zealous young preachers, passed James-river, into **Chesterfield**, having been previously invited by some of the inhabitants. They, however, met with rigid treatment. The magistrates, finding that many were turning to righteousness, (to madness, as they would have it) and that these young laborers were likely to do them much harm, **issued warrants, and had them apprehended and cast into prison.** The Court requiring them to bind themselves to do what they could not in conscience comply with, they continued in jail until the March following. While in prison they did much execution by preaching through the grates; many people attended their ministry, and many professed faith by virtue of the labors of these, the Lord's persecuted servants. This was the beginning of God's work in the county of Chesterfield; **no county ever extended its opposition and persecution to the Baptists farther than this; and yet in few counties have Baptist principles prevailed more extensively.**

When Webber and Anthony were let go, they returned to Goochland, to their own company, and resumed their great work: Mr. Webber, however, enjoyed his liberty only a few months. He consented to travel with John Waller, on a course of meetings, to **Middlesex**, to the upper end of which place they arrived on the 10th of August, 1771. They soon found, however, there was no chance to proceed in their work. While Webber was preaching from these words, "Shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew you my faith by my works," a magistrate pushed up, and drew back his club, with a design to knock him down; some person behind him caught the club, and prevented the mischief. Having a warrant to apprehend all who preached, and being backed by two Sheriffs, he seized William Webber, John Waller, James Greenwood, and Robert Ware. On the same day, **Thomas Waford**, who had traveled from the upper country with the preachers, though no preacher himself, **was severely beaten by one of the persecutors with a whip**, the scar of which he will probably carry to his grave; he with the four above-named preachers, were tried by James Montague. They first searched their saddle-bags, to find treasonable papers; finding none, they proceeded to trial, taking them, one by one, into private rooms, proposing to them to give bond and security not to preach in the county again. Each of them expressly refused; Waford was discharged, not being a preacher; **the other four were ordered to prison**, and being conducted by two Sheriffs, they were safely lodged in close jail that night, about 9 o'clock. Having borrowed a candle of the jailer, and sung the praises of that Redeemer whose cross they bore, and from whose hands they expected a crown in the end -- and having returned thanks that it was a prison and not hell that they were in -- praying for themselves, their friends, their enemies, and persecutors, -- they laid down to sleep. The next day being Sabbath, many of their friends came to see them, and were admitted into the prison: James Greenwood preached to them; they were well supplied by their friends with the necessaries and comforts for living, which, added to the sense of divine goodness that they enjoyed, they had not, on the whole, an unpleasant season. They gave notice that they would preach every Wednesday and Sunday. Many came to hear them, insomuch that **their enemies began to be enraged, and would frequently beat a drum while they were preaching.**

On Monday the 24th, being Court day, they were carried to the court-house to be tried. A guard attended them, as if they had been criminals. They were not allowed to speak for themselves, but peremptorily required to give bond and security for good behavior, and not to preach in the county again for one year. **These terms they expressly refused, and were remanded to prison, and orders given that they should be fed on bread and water;** accordingly the next day they had nothing else, and not enough of bread. Thus it continued for four days, until the brethren and friends found it out; after that, they were furnished so plentifully that they bestowed much upon the poor inhabitants of the town. On September 10th, they were allowed the prison bounds, by which they were much relieved; yet they were frequently under the necessity of resorting to the jail, to avoid the rage of persecutors. The Lord daily opened the hearts of the people: the rich sent many presents, things calculated to nourish them in their sufferings, and

alleviate their sorrows. Mr. Webber fell sick; this excited the sympathy of their friends in a higher degree, and they paid him great attention. **The persecutors found that the imprisonment of the preachers tended rather to the furtherance of the gospel;** for they preached regularly in their prison, crowds attended to hear, and their preaching seemed to have a double weight when coming from the jail; many viewed it with superstitious reverence, so that their enemies became desirous to be rid of them. Accordingly, on the 26th day of September, after having been **thirty days in close confinement**, and sixteen days in the bounds, they were liberated, upon giving a bond for good behavior.

The rage of persecutors had in no wise abated; they seemed, sometimes, to strive to treat the Baptists and their worship with as much rudeness and indecency as was possible. They often insulted the preachers in time of service, and would ride into the water, and make sport, when they administered baptism. **They frequently fabricated and spread the most groundless reports, which were injurious to the characters of the Baptists;** and when a Baptist fell into any improper conduct, it was always exaggerated to the utmost extent. On one occasion, when Robert Ware was preaching, there came two sons of Belial, one named Davis and the other Kemp, and stood before him with a bottle, and drank, offering the bottle to him, cursing him. As soon as he closed his service, they drew out a pack of cards, and began to play on the stage where he had been standing, wishing him to reprove them, that they might beat him. But it is worthy of note, that these two men both died soon after, ravingly distracted, each accusing the other of leading him into so detestable a crime.

Notwithstanding these severe oppositions, the word of the Lord grew and multiplied greatly. Young preachers were ordained, and churches constituted; the first of which was Lower King and Queen church, constituted October 17, 1772, with seventeen members, and on the 11th February following, Robert Ware was ordained as pastor. Glebe Landing church was also constituted at the same time, and James Greenwood was ordained a lay-elder. Exol and Piscataway churches were constituted in no great while after this. These new churches, filled with young and inexperienced members, were visited frequently by John Waller, accompanied sometimes by one, and sometimes by another of the preachers of his own vicinity. His ministrations, on the one hand, were exceeding salutary and comfortable to his friends; but on the other, highly displeasing to the enemies of the Baptists. They viewed Waller as the ring-leader of all the confusion and disturbance that had befallen them. Great congregations of people attended the Baptist meetings, while very few went to the parish churches. The zealots for the old order were greatly embarrassed: If, say they, we permit them to go on, our church must come to nothing; and yet, if we punish them, as far as we can stretch the law, it seems not to deter them; for they preach through prison windows, in spite of our endeavours to prevent it. Sometimes the rector of the parish would give notice, that on a certain day, he would prove the Baptists to be deceivers, and their doctrines false. The attempt was often made, but they uniformly injured their own cause; their arguments were generally drawn from the extravagancies of the German Anabaptists; to this the Baptists in a word replied, that they disclaimed all connection with the Anabaptists, and felt themselves no more responsible for their irregularities, than the Episcopalians could feel for the fooleries of the Papists; **that the BIBLE was the criterion; by that they were willing to stand or fall.** Not unfrequently, their leading men would attend the Baptist meetings, and would enter into arguments with the preachers: they insisted that their church was the oldest, and consequently the best; that their ministers were learned men, and consequently most competent to interpret scripture; that the better sort and well-informed, adhered to them, whilst none, or scarcely any except the lower order, followed the Baptists; that they were all in peace and friendship before the coming of the Baptists, but now their houses and neighbourhoods were filled with religious disputes; that the Baptists were false prophets, who were to come in sheeps_ clothing.

To these arguments, Waller and the other preachers, boldly and readily replied, that if they were wolves in sheeps_ clothing, and their opponents were true sheep, it was quite unaccountable that they were persecuted, and cast into prison; it is well known that wolves would destroy sheep, but never, until then, that sheep would prey upon wolves; that their coming might, indeed, interrupt their peace; but certainly, if it did, it must be a false peace, bordering on destruction; and to rouse them from this lethargy, was like waking a man whose house was burning over him; that the effects of their coming was similar to those foretold by Christ, as arising from the propagation of his word, namely, "that there should be five in one house, three against two, and two against three;" that if the higher ranks in society did not countenance them, it was no more than what befel their Master, and his inspired Apostles; that rich men, in every generation, with some few exceptions, were enemies to a pure gospel; but that God had declared. that he had chosen the poor of this world to be rich in faith; that, it was true, most of their preachers were

unlearned, yet that they had evidences they were called to the ministry by the will of God; that this was the most essential qualification of a minister, the want of which, all the learning of all the schools could not supply.

The Baptist preachers would often retort their own inconsistencies upon them; that while they professed to be Christians, they indulged themselves in the violation of most of the Christian precepts; that their communion was often polluted, by the admission of known drunkards, gamesters, swearers, and revellers; that even their clergy, learned as they were, had never learned the most essential doctrine of Revelation, the indispensable necessity of the new birth, or being born again; that their publick discourses were nothing more than moral addresses, such as a pagan philosopher, unassisted by the Bible, could have composed.

Foiled in their arguments, and galled by the reproaches cast upon them, which, doubtless, were often done with too much acrimony, they again resorted to the civil power. In August, 1772, James Greenwood and William Loveall were preaching, not far from the place where Bruington meeting-house now stands, in the county of King and Queen, when **they were seized by virtue of a warrant, and immediately conveyed to prison.** After the first day and night, they were allowed the bounds. Having continued in prison sixteen days, until Court, they were discharged, upon giving bond merely for good behavior. At this season they received the most unbounded kindness from Mr. Harwood the jailer, and his lady. They preached regularly while in prison, and to much purpose.

On March 13th, 1774, the day on which Piscataway church was constituted, **a warrant was issued to apprehend all the Baptist preachers that were at meeting.** Accordingly, John Waller, John Shackelford, Robert Ware, and Ivison Lewis, were taken and carried before a magistrate. Ivison Lewis was dismissed, not having preached in the county; the other four were sent to prison. It appears from Waller_s journals, that while in prison, God permitted them to pass through divers and fiery trials; their minds, for a season, being greatly harassed by the enemy of souls. They, however, from first to last of their imprisonment, preached twice a week, gave much godly advice to such as came to visit them, read a great deal, and prayed almost without ceasing. In their stated devotion, morning, noon, and night, they were often joined by others. They continued in close confinement from the 13th to the 21st of March, which was Court day; being brought to trial, they were required to give bond and security for their good behavior for twelve months, or go back to prison. Ware and Shackelford gave bond, and went home; Waller, being always doubtful of the propriety of giving any bond whatever, determined to go back to jail. The trials of this man of God were now greater than ever. Deserted by his brethren, scoffed at, persecuted by his enemies, locked up with a set of drunken, profane wretches, he had no alternative but to commit himself to the hands of his God, and wait his deliverance. After remaining in prison fourteen days, he gained his own consent to give bond, and go home. We have thus stated a few instances of the sufferings of God_s ministers in those times; time and space would fail to enumerate them all. They used to preach to the people through the grates; to prevent which, some ill-disposed men would be at the expense of erecting a high wall round the prison; **others would employ half-drunken strolls to beat a drum round the prison, to prevent the people from hearing.** Sometimes matches and **pepper-pods were burnt at the prison door,** and many such afflictions the dear disciples went through. **About thirty preachers were honored with a dungeon, and a few others beside. Some of them were imprisoned as often as four times, besides all the mobs and perils they went through.** The dragon roared with hideous peals, but was not red -- the beast appeared formidable, but was not scarlet-coloured. Virginia soil has never been stained with vital blood for conscience sake. - Leland_s *Virginia Chronicle*.

From the beginning, the Baptists were unremitting in their exertions to obtain liberty of conscience; they contended that they could not be imprisoned by any existing law; that they were entitled to the same privileges that were enjoyed by the dissenters in England: their judges, however, decided otherwise; and as there was no regular appeal, the propriety of that decision has not been legally ascertained. The prevailing opinion in the present day is, that their imprisonment was unlawful. When they could not succeed in this way, they resorted to the General Court, for the purpose of obtaining licensed places for preaching, etc. agreeably to the toleration law in England.

On this subject Mr. Edwards has the following observations: "Some, who have allowed the sufferings of the Baptists in Virginia to be of the nature of persecution, have also said, "that they may blame themselves for them, because they refused to put themselves under the protection of the Toleration Act." To this it may be

replied, that the spread of the Baptists in Virginia is almost a new thing, and that among people, who, for the most part, knew little of law, and of the rights and privileges of protestant dissenters. However, it is not true that Baptists have either refused or neglected to claim their rights. Some have obtained licenses, others have been refused under various pretences; some alleging that the Toleration Act was not in force in Virginia, because it is of later date than their charter, and was never formally adopted by the Legislature; others, that they never would adopt it, but keep it out of the province as they did the Stamp Act; and some, that it was the business of the Assembly, and not of justices of inferior Courts, to grant licenses. By these means, the suits of the Baptists were deferred, and the clergy, magistrates, and mobs, in many places, continued to treat them despitefully. At last, the Baptists addressed the Assembly for their privileges as protestant dissenters. The Assembly, instead of adopting the Toleration Act as it was framed in England, drew up a bill something like it. When this made its appearance in the publick papers, the Baptists saw themselves under a necessity of remonstrating about it, and of renewing their claim to peace and impunity, in consequence of the Toleration Act, which, in their opinion, is co-extensive with the establishment of the Church of England."

It was in making these attempts, that they were so fortunate as to interest in their behalf the celebrated Patrick Henry; being always the friend of liberty, he only needed to be informed of their oppression; without hesitation, he stepped forward to their relief. From that time, until the day of their complete emancipation from the shackles of tyranny, the Baptists found, in Patrick Henry, an unwavering friend; after some difficulty they obtained their object, and certain places were licensed accordingly. But to a people, prompted as the Baptists were, with unwearied zeal for the propagation of the gospel, a few licensed places in each county was but a small acquisition; they thirsted for the liberty to preach the gospel to every creature.

In the mean time, every thing tended to favor their wishes; their persecution, so far from impeding, really promoted their cause; their preachers had now become numerous, and some of them were men of considerable talents. Many of the leading men favored them, some from one motive, and some from another; their congregations were large, and when any of their men of talents preached, they were crowded. The patient manner in which they suffered persecution, raised their reputation for piety and goodness, in the estimation of a large majority of the people. Their numbers annually increased in a surprising degree. Every month, new places were found by the preachers, whereon to plant the Redeemer's standard. In these places, although but few might become Baptists, yet the majority would be favorable. Many, who had expressed great hostility to them, upon forming a more close acquaintance with them, professed to be undeceived.

We have already seen that the first Separate Baptist Church, north of James river, was formed in 1767, and the second in 1769; so that, at the commencement of the year 1770, there were but two Separate churches in all Virginia, north of James-river; and we may add, there were not more than about four on the south side. In 1774, by referring to the History of the General Association, we find, that there were thirty on the south, and twenty-four on the north side, that sent letters, etc. to the Association; besides a probability of several that did not associate. By which it appears, that about fifty churches were gathered in about four years, which must be considered a most rapid and astonishing increase. But the Baptist interest increased in a much greater proportion. So favorable did their prospects appear, that towards the close of the year 1774, they began to entertain serious hopes, not only of obtaining liberty of conscience, but of actually overturning the church establishment, from whence all their oppressions had arisen. Petitions for this purpose were accordingly drawn, and circulated with great industry. Vast numbers readily and eagerly subscribed to them.

The great success and rapid increase of the Baptists in Virginia, must be ascribed primarily to the power of God working with them; yet it cannot be denied, but that there were subordinate and cooperating causes; one of which, and the main one, was **the loose and immoral deportment of the established clergy, by which the people were left almost destitute of even the shadow of true religion.** It is true, they had some outward forms of worship, but the essential principles of Christianity were not only not understood among them, but by many never heard of. Some of the cardinal precepts of morality were disregarded, and actions plainly forbidden by the New-Testament were often proclaimed by the clergy, harmless and innocent, or at worst, foibles of but little account. Having no discipline, every man followed the bent of his own inclination. It was not uncommon for rectors of parishes to be men of the loosest morals. The Baptist preachers were, in almost every respect, the reverse of the established clergy; without learning, without

patronage, generally very poor, plain in their dress, unrefined in their manners, awkward in their address; all of which, by their enterprising zeal and unwearied perseverance, they either turned to advantage, or prevented their ill effects. On the other hand, most of the ministers of the establishment were men of classical educations, patronised by men in power, connected with great families, supported by competent salaries, and put into office by the strong arm of civil power. Thus pampered and secure, the men of this order were rolling on the bed of luxury, when the others began their extraordinary career. Their learning, riches, power, etc. seemed only to hasten their overthrow, by producing an unguarded heedlessness, which is so often the prelude to calamity and downfall.

We are not to understand, that this important ecclesiastical revolution was effected wholly by the Baptists; it is true, they were the most active, but they were joined by other dissenters; neither was the whole dissenting interest united, at that time, equal to the accomplishment of such a revolution; but we must turn our eyes to the political state of the country, to find adequate causes for such a change.

The British yoke had now galled to the quick, and the Virginians, having the most tender necks, were the first to manifest uneasiness. Republican principles had gained much ground, and were fast advancing to superiority; the leading men on that side, viewed the established clergy and the established religion as inseparable appendages of Monarchy, one of the pillars by which it was supported. The dissenters, at least the Baptists, were republicans from interest, as well as principle; it was known that their interest was great among the common people; and the common people, in every country, are, more or less, republicans. To resist British oppressions effectually, it was necessary to soothe the minds of the people, by every species of policy. The dissenters were too powerful to be slighted, and too watchful to be cheated by an ineffectual sacrifice.

There had been a time, when they would have been satisfied to have paid their tithes, if they could have had liberty of conscience; but now the crisis was such, that **nothing less than a total overthrow of all ecclesiastical distinctions, would satisfy their sanguine hopes.** Having started the decaying edifice, every dissenter put to his shoulder, to push it into irretrievable ruin. The revolutionary party found that the sacrifice must be made, and they made it.

It is said, however, and probably not without truth, that many of the Episcopalians, who voted for abolishing the establishment, did it upon an expectation that it would be succeeded by a general assessment; and, considering that most of the men of wealth were on that side, they supposed that their funds would be lessened very little. This, it appeared in the sequel, was a vain expectation. The people having once shaken off the fetters, would not again permit themselves to be bound. Moreover, the war now rising to its height, they were in too much need of funds, to permit any of their resources to be devoted to any other purpose, during that period; and we shall see, that when it was attempted, a few years after the expiration of the war, the people set their faces against it. Having thus mentioned the establishment, it will be proper to treat more fully respecting the origin and nature of those laws, by which it arose and fell.

The first settlers of Virginia being chiefly emigrants from England, brought with them all that religious intolerance which had so long prevailed in the mother country. Thus we see, that the first care of the early Legislatures, was to provide for the Church of England, as established by the act of Parliament. By the first act of 1623, it is provided, that in every plantation or settlement, there shall be a house or room set apart for the worship of God. But it soon appears that this worship was only to be according to the canons of the Church of England, to which a strict uniformity was enjoined. A person absenting himself from divine service on a Sunday, without a reasonable excuse, forfeited a pound of tobacco; and he that absented himself a month, forfeited fifty pounds. Any minister, who was absent from his church above two months in a year, forfeited half his salary; and he who absented himself four months, forfeited the whole. Whoever disparaged a minister, whereby the minds of the parishioners might be alienated, was compelled to pay five hundred pounds of tobacco, and ask the minister's pardon publicly in the congregation. No man was permitted to dispose of any of his tobacco, till the minister was satisfied, under the penalty of forfeiting double his part of the minister's salary.

The first allowance made to the ministers was ten pounds of tobacco and a bushel of corn for each titheable: and every laboring person, of what quality or condition soever, was bound to contribute. In the year 1631, the Assembly granted to the ministers, besides the former allowance of ten pounds of tobacco and a bushel

of corn, the twentieth calf, the twentieth kid, and the twentieth pig. This was the first introduction of tythes, properly so called, in Virginia. But it did not continue long, for the law was repealed in 1633.

To preserve the "purity of doctrine, and unity of the church," it was enacted in **1643** that all ministers should be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England, and that **no others be permitted to teach or preach publickly or privately**. It was further provided, that the Governor and Council should take care, that all non-conformists departed the colony with all conveniency.

The statute of England of the 3d of James I against popish recusants, was also adopted in Virginia, in the year 1643. This statute declared, that no popish recusant should exercise the office of secret counselor, register, commissioner, (a term then used for justices of the peace) surveyor, or sheriff, or any other publick office. Nor should any person be admitted into any of those offices, before he had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The same act of Assembly, by which the statute of 3d James I was adopted, further declared, that if any person should assume the exercise of any of those offices, and refuse to take the said oaths, he should be dismissed, and moreover forfeit one thousand pounds of tobacco. No popish priest thereafter arriving in the colony, was permitted to remain more than five days, if wind and weather permitted his departure.

During the existence of the commonwealth of England, the church government of Virginia experienced an important change. Instead of enjoining obedience to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, no injunction in favor of any particular sect appears. Every thing relating to the affairs of the church, was left at the entire disposal of the vestry, who being elected by the people, it may, in effect, be said that the people regulated their own church government.

The Quakers were now flying from persecution in England. They cast their eyes on these new countries, as asylums of civil and religious freedom; but they soon found them free only for the reigning sect. **When they first made their appearance in Virginia, the utmost degree of persecution was exercised towards them.** Several acts of the Virginia Assembly of 1659, 1662, and 1663, had made it penal in their parents to refuse to have their children baptized; had prohibited the unlawful assembling of the Quakers; had made it penal for any master of a vessel to bring a Quaker into the State; and ordered those already here, and such as should come hereafter, to be imprisoned till they should abjure the country; provided a milder punishment for their first and second return, but **death for the third**; had inhibited all persons from suffering their meetings in or near their houses, entertaining them individually, or disposing of books which supported their tenets. If no capital execution took place here, as did in New-England, it was not owing to the moderation of the church, or spirit of the Legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself; but to historical circumstances, which have not been handed down to us.

This severe law against the Quakers passed during the commonwealth, when the people were unrestrained in matters of religion; but it happened in this case, as it generally has, where the civil power undertakes to interfere at all, that the ruling party in the State will tolerate no religion in the church, but their own.

A levy of fifteen pounds of tobacco per poll, was laid in the year 1655, upon all titheables; the surplus of which, after paying the minister's salary, was to be laid out in purchasing a glebe and stock for the minister. This law was re-enacted in the revisal of 1657. After the restoration of Charles II which happened on the 29th of May, 1660, a temporary provision was again made for the established church.

In the year 1661, the supremacy of the Church of England was again fully established. The first nine acts of the session, held in March, 1661-62, are devoted to that subject. A church was to be built in each parish, and vestries appointed. Glebes were directed to be procured for the ministers, and convenient houses built thereon; in addition to which, their salaries were fixed at 80 pounds per annum, at least, besides their perquisites. No minister was permitted to preach, unless he had received ordination from some bishop in England. If any person, without such ordination, attempted to preach publickly or privately, the Governor and Council might suspend and silence him; and, if he persisted, they were empowered to send him out of the country. In those parishes, where there was not a minister to officiate every Sunday, a reader was to be appointed, whose duty it was to read divine service every intervening Sunday. The Liturgy, according to the canons of the church of England, was to be read every Sunday by the minister or reader; and the administration of the sacraments was to be duly observed. No other catechism than that inserted in the

book of common prayer could be taught by the minister; nor could a reader attempt to expound that or the Scriptures. Ministers were compelled to preach every Sunday; one Sunday in a month at the chapel, if any, and the others at the parish church, and twice a year he was compelled to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Every person was compelled to go to church every Sunday, under the penalty of fifty pounds of tobacco. But Quakers and non-conformists were liable to the penalties of the statute of 23d Elizabeth, which was 20 pounds sterling for every month's absence, and, moreover, for twelve month's absence, to give security for their good behavior. Quakers were further liable to a fine of two hundred pounds of tobacco, for each one found at one of their meetings; and in case of the insolvency of any one of them, those who were able were to pay for the insolvents. [See Henning's statutes at large, vol. I and II for the above laws, as quoted by Mr. Semple.]

Various other laws passed between the above period and the commencement of the American revolution, by which the Episcopal establishment was protected. The salary of the ministers was first settled at sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco in the year 1696, to be levied by the vestry on the titheables of their parish, and so continued to the revolution. Any minister admitted into a parish, was entitled to all the spiritual and temporal rights thereof, and might maintain an action against any person who attempted to disturb him in his possession. The same acts provided for the purchase of glebes for the ministers.

Though the Toleration Law is not believed to have been strictly obligatory in Virginia, yet, as was frequently the case at that period, it was acted under in many instances. That it was doubtful whether acts of parliament respecting religion were in force in Virginia, appears by the act of October, 1776, chapter 2d, section 1st. Even this act of toleration is a most flagrant violation of religious freedom.

At the October session, 1776, the first law was passed suspending the payment of the salaries formerly allowed to the ministers of the Church of England. The preamble of this act is worthy of consideration, and **was, probably, drawn by Mr. Jefferson, who was then a member.** A number of memorials from different religious societies, dissenters from the Church of England, were presented to this Assembly, praying to be exempted from parochial dues to the Church of England, and for the abolition of the established church. In opposition to these, there was a memorial from the clergymen of the Church of England, praying that the establishment might be continued. These memorials formed the basis of the act of that session above mentioned. This act, "for exempting the different societies of dissenters from contributing to the support and maintenance of the church, as by law established, and its ministers," was preceded by a set of resolutions, recognizing the same principles which were afterwards engrafted into the act itself. It does not appear by what majority this act passed, as the ayes and noes were not taken on it. At the May session, 1777, the payment of the salaries, allowed to the clergy of the Church of England, was further suspended; and at the October session, 1779, so much of every act as related to the salaries formerly given to the clergy of the Church of England, was repealed.

The question, as to the propriety of a general assessment, had long been much agitated, and a great variety of opinions existed respecting it. By the 6th section of the act of October, 1776, which first suspended the payment of the salaries allowed to the clergy of the Church of England, this question as to a general assessment is expressly left undecided. In 1784, the subject of a general assessment was again revived. A bill, which had for its object the compelling of every person to contribute to some religious teacher, was introduced into the House of Delegates, under the title of "A bill, establishing provision for the teachers of the Christian religion;" but on its third reading, it was postponed till the fourth Thursday of November then next; ayes 45, noes 38. The following resolution was immediately afterwards adopted: "Resolved, that the engrossed bill, establishing a provision for the teachers of the Christian religion, together with the names of the ayes and noes on the question of postponing the third reading of the said bill to the fourth Thursday in November next, be published in hand-bills, and twelve copies thereof delivered to each member of the General Assembly, to be distributed in their respective counties; and that the people thereof be requested to signify their opinion respecting the adoption of such a bill to the next session of Assembly."

The above resolution drew forth a number of able and animated memorials from religious societies of different denominations, against the general assessment.

The General Committee of the Virginia Baptists took a decided stand against this bill, and at their annual session in 1785, thus expressed their sentiments: Resolved, that it be recommended to those counties, which have not yet prepared petitions to be presented to the General Assembly, against the engrossed bill for a general assessment for the support of the teachers of the Christian religion, to proceed thereon as soon as possible: That it is believed to be repugnant to the spirit of the gospel, for the Legislature thus to proceed in matters of religion: That no human laws ought to be established for this purpose, but that every person ought to be left entirely free, in respect to matters of religion: That the holy Author of our religion needs no such compulsive measures for the promotion of his cause: That the gospel wants not the feeble arm of man for its support: That it has made, and will again, through divine power, make its way against all opposition: And that, should the Legislature assume the right of taxing the people for the support of the gospel, it will be destructive to religious liberty: Therefore, this Committee agrees unanimously, that it will be expedient to appoint a delegate to wait on the General Assembly, with a remonstrance and petition against such assessment."

Accordingly, the Rev. Reuben Ford was appointed, who accomplished the object of his appointment to the satisfaction of his brethren. **But a paper drawn up by Col. James Madison (now President of the United States) entitled a Memorial and Remonstrance, was the most distinguished instrument.** The style is elegant and perspicuous, and for strength of reasoning and purity of principle, it has seldom been equalled, certainly never surpassed, by any thing on the subject in the English language. (See Appendix.)

The sentiments of the people appearing to be decidedly against a general assessment, the question was given up forever.

And here it is proper to remark, that **the suppression of the bill for a general assessment may, in a considerable degree, be ascribed to the opposition made to it by the Baptists**, for it is stated by those who were conversant with the proceedings of those times, that the reference made to the people, after the bill was engrossed, was done with a design to give the different religious societies an opportunity of expressing their wishes. The Baptists, we believe, were the only sect who plainly remonstrated. Of some others, it is said, that the laity and ministry were at variance upon the subject, so as to paralyze their exertions, either for or against the bill. These remarks, by the bye, apply only to religious societies, acting as such. Individuals of all sects and parties joined in the opposition. "And Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, Deists, and the covetous, readily and eagerly signed the petitions against it" [Leland's *Virginia Chronicle*, page 33].

At the same session, however, (Oct. 1784,) in which the bill providing for a general assessment failed, an act passed for "incorporating the Protestant Episcopal Church." This bill passed the House of Delegates by a small majority only, being, ayes 47, noes 38; but in 1786 it was repealed. By the repealing law, the property belonging to all religious societies was secured to those societies respectively, who were authorized to appoint, from time to time, according to the rules of their sect, trustees for the managing and applying such property to the religious uses of the society. And all laws, which prevented any religious society from regulating its own discipline, were repealed.

Under the old ecclesiastical establishment, no person could celebrate **the rites of matrimony** but a minister of the Church of England, and according to the ceremony prescribed in the book of common prayer. Cases, however, frequently occurred, especially during the war, where the marriage ceremony was performed by others. This gave rise to **an act of October, 1780, which declared all former marriages, celebrated by dissenting ministers, good and valid in law; and authorized the county courts to license dissenting ministers of the gospel, not exceeding four to each sect, to celebrate the rites of matrimony within their counties only.** The General Committee also interested themselves in these proceedings, and delegated Messrs. Reuben Ford and John Leland to wait on the Assembly with a memorial on the subject.

It was not until the year 1784 that the dissenters were put on the same footing as all other persons, with respect to celebrating the rites of matrimony. By this act, the marriage ceremony might be performed by any minister licensed to preach, according to the rules of the sect of which he professed to be a member. The same act has been incorporated in the late revisal of the Virginia laws.

It appears that many of the Baptist preachers among other dissenters, presuming on a future sanction of government, had ventured to marry those who applied to them. For a set of preachers to proceed to solemnize the rites of matrimony, without any law to authorize them, may, at first view, appear to be a heedless and censurable measure. But we are informed that **they were advised to it by their friend Patrick Henry**, as being the most certain method of obtaining the law which they had in view. Their attempts succeeded. But it is still a question with some, whether this was not doing evil that good might come.

The Legislature of 1798 repealed all laws vesting property in the hands of any religious sect, by which the Episcopalians were deprived of the glebes, etc. by which all religious sects were put into a state of perfect equality, as it respected the favors of government. [Most of the above history of the laws of Virginia, respecting religion, was furnished by William W. Henning, Esq.]

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

HISTORY OF ASSOCIATIONS IN VIRGINIA

As we have entered largely into the general history of the Baptists in this State, we must be the more brief and comprehensive in that of the Associations which it contains.

In the year 1772, the time in which Morgan Edwards's MS. history of Virginia Baptists closes, there were but two Associations in the State, one of the Regulars and one of the Separates. The former was called Ketockton, and contained 14 churches; and the latter Rapid-ann, or the General Association of Separates, and contained 19. In both Associations there were 33 churches, 32 ordained ministers, and 3,603 members. In the year 1809, according to Semple's *History*, there were fifteen Associations, wholly in the State of Virginia, and four others, of which a part of the churches were in Virginia, and a part in a number of the adjacent States; and in all these Associations there were 294 churches, about 180 ordained ministers, who were stationed pastors of churches, besides a large number who were not settled in the capacity of pastors, and 31,052 members or communicants; which makes the increase of Baptist communicants in this State, for 37 years, 27,449, besides many thousands who have removed to Kentucky and other parts of the western country.

Of the fifteen Associations which are wholly in Virginia, six lie north of James-river, viz. Ketockton, Culpepper, Albemarle, Goshen, Dover, and Accomack; six, south of James-river, viz. Portsmouth, Middle District, Meherrin, Appomattox, Roanoke, and Strawberry; and three west of the Alleghany mountains, viz. New-river, Greenbrier, and Union. Those four, a part of which only lie in Virginia, are Mayo, on the borders of Virginia, North-Carolina, and Tennessee; Holston, on the borders of Virginia and Tennessee; and Redstone, on the borders of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The Redstone, Greenbrier, and Union Associations proceeded in part, and the last of them indirectly, from the Ketockton Association; the history of which may be found in the account of the Regular Baptists. The Accomack Association was formed of the churches which were dismissed for the purpose, from the Salisbury Association in Maryland; the Portsmouth was formed by the division of the Kehukee Association of North-Carolina; and the remaining 13 all originated from the Separates, and comprehend the main body of the Baptists in Virginia.

It has already been related in the history of the General Association, that this extensive body, from motives of convenience, in 1783, divided into four district Associations; two of which were on the north and two on the south side of James-river. The names of those on the north side of the river, were Dover and Orange; those on the south side, were called Middle District and Roanoke. [It is proper to inform the reader that the term district here, and wherever it occurs in the history of the Virginia Associations, has no reference to any civil departments in the state.]

This division was at first, however, rather nominal than real; for although the two grand divisions acted in distinct capacities from the year 1783, yet it was not until the year 1788 that their subdivision was completely effected. These two great sections appear to have met together once a year, and the four districts besides had one session in a year by themselves, until 1788, when the lines were distinctly drawn, and the four Associations formally organized.

The Dover Association deserves first to be mentioned, as it is the largest body of Baptist communicants in America, and probably in any part of the world; although it contains but 37 churches, and but 24 ordained ministers, who are pastors of churches. This Association, in 1809, contained 9,628 members, many, and perhaps some thousands of whom, were Africans. The largest church in this body is called Nominy, in the county of Westmoreland, under the pastoral care of Rev. Henry Toler, and contained at the time above mentioned 875 members.

The Orange Association, in 1791, was divided into three, which were called Goshen, Albemarle, and Culpepper, so that the original name of the Association was lost.

The Middle District Association experienced a similar division, except that it retained its original name in 1803, when two new Associations were formed from it, which were named Meherrin, and Appomattox.

The Roanoke Association was divided in 1791, and a new Association by the name of Dan river was formed from it. But this new establishment was of short duration; for after two sessions, it declined its travel, and was re-united to its mother body. But in 1794, a more permanent division of this body was effected; and as many of the churches were in North-Carolina, they were all dismissed to form a new Association, which was called Flat-river, whose history will be related, when we come to the State in which it is situated.

The Strawberry Association is in the neighborhood of the mountains, near the southern line of the State. It was formed in 1776, seven years before the dissolution of the General Association, and appears to have been some of the early fruits of the Separate preachers, who went almost every where throughout the State, preaching the gospel. The first laborers within the bounds of this Association were the two Murphies, William and Joseph, Samuel Harris, and Dutton Lane. Several preachers were also raised up soon after the rise of the Baptists in these parts, the most distinguished and the most useful of whom was Robert Stockton, who, after laboring a few years with much success in these parts, removed to Kentucky, and is now one of the principal ministers in the Green-river Association, in that State.

In 1793, the Strawberry Association was divided, the Blue Ridge became the dividing line; the churches, to the west of which, united under the name of the New-river Association. This appears to be the smallest Association in Virginia.

The Association was divided again in 1798, and the Mayo Association was taken from it, which is composed of churches partly in Virginia, and partly in North Carolina.

The history of the Mountain and Holsten Associations will be given under the heads of North-Carolina and Tennessee, and that of the Portsmouth and Accomack, in treating of the respective Associations from which they proceeded. And the number and names of all the churches in all the Associations in Virginia, which have been described or mentioned, and also the names of their pastors, the years in which they were constituted, and the counties in which they are situated, may be seen in the table of Associations.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROGRESS AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE VIRGINIA BAPTISTS, FROM THE ABOLITION OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH TO THE PRESENT TIME.

The war, though very propitious to the liberty of the Baptists, had an opposite effect upon the life of religion among them. As if persecution were more favorable to vital piety than unrestrained liberty, they seem to have abated in their zeal, upon being unshackled from their manacles. This may be ascribed to several causes. Both preachers and people were so much engrossed with anxious thoughts and schemes for effecting the revolution, as well as with alternate hopes and fears for the event, it was not probable that religion should not lose some portion of its influence upon the minds of professors thus engaged. The downfall of Jeremiah Walker, and some other preachers of less note, together with the contentions arising from Waller's defection, contributed not a little towards damping the zeal of the Baptists. Having lost some of their champions in Israel, they could not with the same boldness face their enemies. Perhaps we may add, that **many did not rightly estimate the true source of liberty, nor ascribe its attainment to the proper arm. In consequence of which, God sent them liberty, and with it leanness of soul.** This chill to their religious affections might have subsided with the war, or perhaps sooner, if there had not been subsequent occurrences, which tended to keep them down. **The opening a free trade by peace, served as a powerful bait to entrap professors, who were in any great degree inclined to the pursuit of wealth. And nothing is more common, than for the increase of riches to produce a decrease of piety.** Kentucky and the western country took off many of the preachers, who had once been exceedingly successful in the ministry.

From whatever cause, certain it is, that they suffered a very wintry season. With some few exceptions, the declension was general throughout the State. The love of many waxed cold. Some of the watchmen fell, others stumbled, and many slumbered at their posts. Iniquity greatly abounded. Associations were but thinly attended, and the business badly conducted. The long and great declension induced many to fear that the times of refreshing would never come, but that God had wholly forsaken them.

But the set time to favor Zion at length arrived; and as the declension had been general, so also was **THE REVIVAL** which succeeded. This work, which was very powerful and extensive, **begun on the banks of James-river, in 1785, and thence spread like fire among stubble in different directions,** over almost the whole State; and as it continued for several years, there were very few churches which were not visited with its salutary influence. During the progress of this revival, scenes were exhibited, somewhat extraordinary. It was not unusual to have a large proportion of the congregation prostrate on the floor, and in some instances they lost the use of their limbs. No distinct articulation could be heard, unless from those immediately by. Screams, groans, shouts and hosannas, notes of grief and joy, all at the same time, were not unfrequently heard throughout their vast assemblies. At Associations and great meetings, where there were several ministers, many of them would exercise their gifts at the same time, in different parts of the congregation; some in exhortation, some in praying for the distressed, and some in argument with opposers. At first, many of the preachers disapproved of these exercises, as being enthusiastick and extravagant. Others fanned them as fire from heaven. It is not unworthy of notice, that in those congregations, where preachers encouraged them to much extent, the work was more extensive, and greater numbers were added. It must also be admitted, that in many of those congregations, no little confusion and disorder arose, after the revival had subsided. Some have accounted for this by an old maxim: Where much good is done, much evil will also be done; where God sows many good seeds, the enemy will sow many tares. But **certain it is, that many ministers, who labored earnestly to get Christians into their churches, were afterwards much perplexed to get hypocrites out.**

It has been already said, that this revival commenced in the year 1785. It continued spreading, until about 1791 or 1792. Thousands were converted and baptized, besides many who joined the Methodists and Presbyterians. The Episcopalians, although much dejected by the loss of the establishment, had,

nevertheless, continued their public worship, and were attended by respectable congregations. But after this revival, their society fell fast into dissolution. **This revival among the Baptists did not produce so many young preachers, as might have been expected.** Mr. Leland, in his *Virginia Chronicle*, from which many of the foregoing remarks have been taken, makes the following observation: "In the late great additions that have been made to the churches, there are but few, who have engaged in the ministry. Whether it is because the old preachers stand in their way; or, whether it is because the people do not pray the Lord of the harvest to thrust out laborers; or, whether it is not rather a judgment of God upon the people, for neglecting those who are already in the work, not communicating to them in all good things, I cannot say."

From this revival, great changes took place among the Baptists, some for the better, and others for the worse. Their preachers were become much more correct in their manner of preaching. A great many odd tones, disgusting whoops, and awkward gestures were disused. In their matter also, they had more of sound sense and strong reasoning. Their zeal was less mixed with enthusiasm, and their piety became more rational. They were much more numerous, and of course, in the eyes of the world more respectable. Besides, they were joined by persons of much greater weight in civil society. Their congregations became more numerous than those of any other Christian sect; and in short, they might be considered, from this period, as taking the lead in matters of religion, in many places of the State. This could not but influence their manners and spirit more or less. **Accordingly, a great deal of that simplicity and plainness, that rigid scrupulosity about little matters, which so happily tends to keep us at a distance from greater follies, was laid aside.** Their mode of preaching also was somewhat changed. At their first entrance into the state, though not very scrupulous as to their method and language, yet they were quite correct in their views upon all subjects of primary importance. No preachers ever dealt out to their hearers the nature of experimental religion more clearly and warmly. But after they had acquired a degree of respectability in the view of the world, they departed too much from this most profitable mode of preaching, and began to harp on opinions and disputable points. To dive deep into mysterious subjects, and to make conjectures respecting unrevealed points, looked more wise, and excited more applause, than to travel on in the old track. And this tampering with matters beyond their reach, to the neglect of plain and edifying subjects, is too common at present, with many of our preachers in this region, as well as elsewhere.

About this time, some of the Virginia preachers were unhappily inclined to the Arminian scheme, and great disputation followed, and many, in opposing their errors, were driven to the borders, if not within the lines, of Antinomianism. And in the midst of these doctrinal contentions, as might be expected, practical piety was in many places, too little urged; and this evil was followed by a relaxation in the discipline of the churches. But the savor of the revival still pervaded the churches, and prevented the general prevalence of the evils which have been mentioned.

Since the close of this extraordinary revival to the present time, which is about 20 years, there has been an increase of about ten thousand Baptist communicants in Virginia; and during that period, it is supposed, that from five to seven thousand of the community have emigrated to Kentucky, and other parts of the western country.

Although many of the churches in this State are very large, wealthy, and flourishing, yet but few of them afford their pastors a competent support, and but few of their pastors confine their labors steadily to one congregation. It is not uncommon for a preacher here to have the pastoral care of two, three, and sometimes four churches, at the same time; to which he preaches and administers the Lord's Supper once in four weeks; and we are sorry to have it to say, that this minister, besides traveling an extensive circuit, to administer to so many flocks, is obliged frequently, and indeed more generally, to procure a considerable part of his living by his own exertions and care; so negligent are the Virginia Baptists in the business of supporting their preachers.

But if a preacher here does not exercise the pastoral care of but one church, instead of preaching every Lord's day in one place, he is at liberty to travel abroad, to visit other churches; and if he preaches and administers the communion steadily to his flock once a month, that is all he or the people of his charge consider him bound to do. Some, however, do preach every Lord's day to the same congregation; but the cases, I believe, are not frequent. The reader must not suppose that the preachers are idle the intervening sabbaths, for they are a laborious set of men, travel much, and preach abundantly; and such is the situation

of their churches, that this arrangement is not so objectionable here, as it would be in many places elsewhere. It is said, that this economical method of supplying many churches with a few ministers, and of having such long or monthly weeks, if we may so call them, originated with the rise of the Baptists in the country, when there were many churches suddenly raised up, and but a few ministers to supply them. This same custom prevails in most of the churches throughout the back parts of the Carolinas and Georgia, and also in Kentucky and the western country. It will, therefore, be more particularly noticed, and the advantages and disadvantages of it stated, in the chapter of general observations.

The Baptists in this State seem to have had but little ambition in the erection of their houses for worship, as they are generally of a very inferior kind; and **it is certainly better for a church of Christ, to worship in a small and homely house, which they can call their own, than to have a costly edifice, built mostly on credit, and nobody knows when or how it is to be paid for; or even in one, the expenses of which have been mostly defrayed by people of the world,** and which is generally, for that reason, under their management and control. The Baptists here, it is true, are many of them poor; but some are rich; and one would think by their appearance at home, that there are enough in every church of sufficient ability to erect for themselves more decent and commodious houses of worship, than those small, unsightly, and inconvenient things in which they now assemble. While their brethren to the north and south of them, have the largest and most flourishing churches in many of the largest cities and towns, the Virginia Baptists seem, for the most part, to have cautiously avoided all populous places; and although there are a few churches in some of the principal towns, yet they do not generally appear to have much prosperity or reputation; and one reason for this may be, that the preachers in these churches are, instead of being men of popular and commanding talents, with very few exceptions, of a directly opposite character.

The city of Richmond is remarkable for containing a respectable church, of between 5 and 600 members, most of whom are blacks; for having a neat and commodious brick meeting-house; and also for being stately supplied by the labors of their worthy pastor, **Rev. J. Courtney**, to whom they grant a moderate support. Besides Mr. Courtney, there are, in the city of Richmond, a number of Baptist ministers, who preach occasionally in the city and in the country around, among whom is the Rev. Jacob Griggs, a native of England, who was educated in the Baptist Academy at Bristol, and was one of the Missionaries sent out by the Baptist Missionary Society in England, to the colony of Sierra Leone in Africa.

There has been a Baptist church in the town of Norfolk about eight years, and Baptist members much longer. But they have been cursed with an almost regular succession of impostors for a number of years; some of whom have had the pastoral care of the church, and others have only had a transient residence amongst them; and amongst the race of impostors, by whom they have been harassed and degraded, we find that notorious vagabond and deceiver, Andrew Harpending, who has committed in most of the United States, in a most shameless manner, many shameful acts of deception, intemperance, and uncleanness.

The Virginia Baptists have, from their rise, been blessed with a very respectable number of distinguished preachers; men of strong natural powers, and deep acquaintance with divine things; but very few of them, however, have been distinguished for literary acquirements. They have been a shot of bold, incessant, and successful itinerants, rather than students and scholars. The circumstances of their churches and brethren, throughout their extensive State, have always been such, that they have doubtless been much more abundantly useful in this mode of life, than they could have been in the retirement and labor of the closet. **Rev. Jeremiah More, who is esteemed one of their greatest divines, in 1795, when he was 49 years old, had traveled for the purpose of preaching, and that mostly in his own State, distances sufficient to reach twice round the earth!**

Though there are but a few of their preachers who can make much pretensions to learning, yet a desire for it seems to be prevailing; and it is hoped that they will soon adopt some more efficient measures for its promotion than they have hitherto done.

The **Episcopalians**, who once governed with such unlimited and irresistible sway, in the ecclesiastical affairs of Virginia, have become reduced to a comparatively few congregations. The **Presbyterians** are considerably numerous in many parts of the State. The **Methodists** have, within a few years past, gained much ground here, and, in some places, have increased at the expense of the Baptists, and, perhaps, in none more than in those places where they have taken the greatest pains to prevent them. This is peculiarly the

case in a number of the churches in the Ketockton Association, many of whose ministers value themselves in defending the deep and mysterious points of Calvinism, and in satirizing and exploding the errors of Wesley and his disciples. But notwithstanding all their exertions, the Methodists still prevail, and the unseasonableness and dogmatical manner in which they oppose their sentiments, and defend their own, seems to hasten the flight of those who are inclined towards them. These are notorious and much to be lamented facts, and it is hoped that those preachers who are implicated in these remarks, will profit by them for the future.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

NORTH-CAROLINA

According to Morgan Edwards_s account,* there were some individual Baptists in this State as early as 1695; but it appears that **the first church which ever existed within its bounds, was gathered by one Paul Palmer, about the year 1727**, at a place called Perquimans, on Chowan-river, towards the northeast corner of the State. Mr. Palmer is said to have been a native of Maryland, was baptized at Welsh tract, in Delaware, by Owen Thomas, the pastor of the church in that place; was ordained in Connecticut; was some time in New-Jersey, and then in Maryland; he at last removed to North-Carolina, where he gathered the church above mentioned, with which he continued, not, however, without some difficulties, until his death. He appears to have been the instrument of doing some good, but was not so happy as to leave a good character behind him. Mr. John Comer, of Newport, Rhode-Island, maintained a correspondence with him for a number of years, and frequently makes mention of him in his MS. journal, in respectful terms. [I found one of Mr. Palmer_s letters to Mr. Comer, dated 1729, among Mr. Backus_s papers, which, with Mr. Comer_s journal, have helped me to a number of dates and articles, which I could not find elsewhere.]

[* Mr. Edwards introduces his history of the Baptists in this State (then Province) in the following familiar and humourous manner: "Next to Virginia southward is North-Carolina, a poor and unhappy Province, where superiors make complaints of the people, and the people of their superiors; which complaints, if just, show the body politic to be like that of Israel in the time of Isaiah, "From the sole of the foot to the crown of the head without any soundness, but wounds and bruises and putrifying sores." These complaints rose to hostilities at Alamance-creek, May 16, 1771, where about 6000 appeared in arms and fought each other, 4000 Regulators killing three Tryonians, and 2000 Tryonians killing twelve Regulators, besides lodging in the trees an incredible number of balls, which the hunters have since picked out, and therewith have killed more deer and turkies, than they killed of their atagonists. In this wretched Province have been some Baptists since the settlement in 1695, but no society of them till about the year," etc.]

Not long after Palmer settled in North-Carolina, one Joseph Parker, who was probably one of his disciples, began to preach in the same region; and though Palmer died before, yet Parker lived and continued his ministry on the old plan, till after the formation and also the renovation of the Kehukee Association, which will soon be described. [I find in Mr. Comer_s journal, mention made of one of Mr. Palmer_s letters, which was dated 1729; which stated, that the church which was gathered there two years before, at that time consisted of thirty-two members. This letter was signed by twelve brethren, by the names of Parkers, Copelands, Brinkleys, Parke, Darker, Welch, Evans, and Jordan. Here were three Parkers, two by the name of John, and one of Joseph, who was probably the man above referred to.]

About the year 1742, one **William Sojourner**, who is said to have been a most excellent man and useful minister, removed with many of his brethren from Burley, in Virginia, and settled on Kehukee creek, in the county of Halifax, about one hundred and twenty miles northwest of Newbern, and the same year planted the church in that place, which continues to the present day. This church has seen prosperous days, and has been a mother to many others, the number and names of which, I am not able to give.

Most of the first Baptists in North-Carolina are said to have emigrated from the church of Burley, in Virginia; but by the labors of Palmer, Parker, and Sojourner, and some other preachers, who were raised up in the parts, so many were brought to embrace their sentiments, that they, by about the year 1752 had increased to 16 churches. These churches had an annual interview, or yearly meeting, in which they inspected and regulated the general concerns of their community. **These people were all General Baptists,** and those of them who emigrated from England, came out from that community there. And although some of their ministers were evangelical and pure, and the members regular and devout; yet, on the whole, it appears to have been the most negligent and the least spiritual community of Baptists, which has arisen on the American continent. **For so careless and indefinite were they in their requisitions, that many of their communicants were baptized and admitted into their churches, and even some of their ministers were introduced into their sacred functions, without an experimental acquaintance with**

the gospel, or without being required to possess it. It does not appear that they extended the bounds of their communion to any but those of their own order; but so loose and indefinite were their terms in other respects, that **all, who professed a general belief in the truths of the gospel, submitted to baptism, and religiously demeaned themselves, were admitted to it.**

In this situation, this cluster of churches continued, until more orthodox principles were introduced, and a spirit of reformation began to prevail, which finally leavened nearly the whole body, and transformed it into an Association of Calvinistick, or as they were then called, Regular Baptists. The faults and errors of this people were probably exaggerated by some of their zealous reformers; but viewing matters in their most favorable light, and admitting as many of their preachers and brethren as we can, to have been worthy of their functions and professions; yet they, as a body, were deeply involved in error, and needed much the renovation which we are about to describe.

The introduction of Calvinistick sentiments amongst them, which had the happy effect of purifying the churches, took place about the year 1751, and was caused partly by the preaching of Robert Williams of the Welchneck, in South-Carolina; partly by the conversation of a layman [I find the term layman used by Messrs. Edwards and Semple, and have therefore inserted it; but must confess, I have no fellowship with it, when used in its old discriminating sense]. commonly called the Sley-maker, whose name was William Wallis; but chiefly by the labors of **John Gano**, who visited them in the summer of 1754, and of Benjamin Miller and Peter P. Vanhorn, who went amongst them some time in the year after. Mr. Gano was sent out by the Philadelphia Association, with general and indefinite instructions, to travel in the southern States, etc. He, on his return, represented the melancholy condition of this people to the Association, who appointed Messrs. Miller and Vanhorn for the special purpose of instructing and reforming them. Mr. Gano appears to have shaken the old foundation, and begun the preparation of the materials which Messrs. Miller and Vanhorn organized into regular churches. His visit is thus described by Mr. Edwards: "On his arrival, he sent to the ministers, requesting an interview with them, which they declined, and appointed a meeting among themselves, to consult what to do. Mr. Gano, hearing of it, went to their meeting, and addressed them in words to this effect, "I have desired a visit from you, which, as a brother and a stranger, I had a right to expect; but as ye have refused, I give up my claim, and am come to pay you a visit." With that, he ascended into the pulpit, and read for his text the following words, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? " This text he managed in such a manner as to make some afraid of him, and others ashamed of their shyness. Many were convinced of errors, touching faith and conversion, and submitted to examination. One minister hearing this, (who stood well with himself) went to be examined, and intimated to his people, he should return triumphant. Mr. Gano heard him out, and then turned to his companion and said, "I profess, brother, this will not do: this man has yet the needful to seek." Upon which, the person examined hastened home, and upon being asked, how he came off? replied, "The Lord have mercy upon you, for this northern minister put a *mene tekel* upon me!"

By the labors of Mr. Gano, and also of Messrs. Miller and Vanhorn, a great work was effected among this people, which consisted not merely in the important business of reforming their creed and purifying their churches, but also in **reviving the power of godliness amongst the erroneous and lukewarm professors**, and in the conviction and conversion of many others. And what was left unfinished by them, was undertaken and carried on, with a very laudable zeal, by the ministers among themselves, some of whom were converted by their means, and most of whom caught, in a good degree, their spirit, and imitated their examples. Insomuch, that before the year 1765, all the ministers, (and they were now considerably numerous) except the two Parkers, Joseph and William, and a Mr. Winfield, and all the churches, excepting those under their care, which were not more than two or three, had embraced the principles of the reformation. The reformed churches having thus prepared the way, in the year 1765, by a previous appointment, convened at Kehukee, and organized themselves into an associated body, to which they gave the name of the Kehukee Association; which, as soon as it was formed, was admitted to the fellowship and correspondence of the Charleston Association, with which some of the constituent churches had united after their renovation. Jonathan Thomas, John Thomas, John Moore, John Burgess, William Burgess, Charles Daniel, William Walker, John Meglamre, James Abbington, Thomas Pope, and Henry Abbot, were the principal, if not all the ministers belonging to this Association at the time of its constitution.

About this time, the **Separate Baptists** had become very numerous, and were rapidly increasing in the upper regions of North-Carolina, and the adjoining parts of Virginia, where they had established a **flourishing Association, which was called Sand-creek**. The ministers of both these bodies, in their evangelical excursions, were brought to frequent interviews with each other; and, although they differed in some little matters, yet they united their zealous labors in the common cause of their Master, and an increasing fellowship for each other produced an increasing desire to be more closely united. The Kehukee Association made the first advances towards the union, and, in 1772, sent two of their elders, viz. Meglamre and Thomas, as deputies to the Separate Association, for the purpose of making overtures to effect it. The deputies were kindly received; they delivered their message, the object of which was briefly discussed. The Separate Association, in return, deputed two of their ministers, viz. Elijah Craig and David Thompson, to wait on the Kehukee Association, respecting the union which they had proposed. The embarrassments attending the union seem to have lain mostly with the Separates, who stated the following objections against their brethren of the Regular order: 1st. That they were not sufficiently strict in receiving church members. 2d. That they were too superfluous in dress. And, 3d. That their principles and practices were at variance; for although they believed that faith in Christ Jesus was essential to baptism, yet they retained many members in their churches, who, although they had then experienced converting grace, yet acknowledged themselves to have been baptized in a state of unbelief, by the careless Arminian preachers.

This last objection was declared to be the main bar to a complete union; and it was the more effectual, as it had been a matter of considerable embarrassment to a great number of the Kehukee ministers, who had many thoughts of attempting a reformation. This occurrence furnished them with a more favorable plea to make a beginning, which was accordingly done in the year 1774. At which time the Bertie church, under the pastoral care of Rev. Lemuel Burkitt, held a conference on the subject, in which they publicly proclaimed, that they would commune with none, who confessed they were baptized before conversion; alleging, that adult persons had no better claim to baptism, while they were in a state of impenitence and unbelief, than infants had. Mr. Burkitt's church was followed by several others. But when the next Association met, which was in 1775, the Reformers met with severe opposition. The correctness of their proceedings was much questioned, and much dissension, arose. One party was blamed for doing too much; and the other for not doing enough. As they could not agree, both parties claimed the right of being called the Association. The Reformers, because what they had done, was exactly congenial to the original plan upon which the Association was organized. The other party, being most numerous, insisted that a majority ought to retain the power, and consequently the name of the Association. They moreover argued, that, whatever might be their principles, it was well known at the time of the constitution of the Association, that this evil existed in greater force than it did at that time; seeing none had been baptized in known unbelief, since the constitution; that, therefore, it was virtually agreed, that such as were then in orderly standing might retain their membership, lest more mischief should ensue by being too rigorous, than by submitting to small inconveniences for the sake of peace; that the Association having been in existence for eight or nine years, all of which time they had suffered the inconvenience, it was now rather strange, that they at this late period should attempt a revolution so likely to disturb the peace and harmony of the churches. To all these arguments it was answered, that to them it was a matter of conscience, which they could not relinquish without wounding their own souls. As neither side would give way, things came to extremities. Each party organized a distinct Association. The Reformers kept possession of the meeting-house, whilst the opposite party retired, first to the woods, and on the second day procured a private house in the neighborhood. All attempts at reconciliation proved ineffectual during this session. Each party transacted their own business, of which, however, very little was done. These party broils were exceedingly afflicting to the pious on both sides. It would appear from the arguments on the old side, that many of them did not deny the principles of this reformation, so much as the necessity, seeing it would unavoidably produce much confusion, and if let alone, the evil would of itself, in time, vanish. Those who had undertaken to effect the reformation, persevered, and finally accomplished their wishes. [The Regular Association dwindled, and finally came to nothing; partly by falling in with the Separates, and partly by other causes.]

In August, 1777, they held their first undisputed Association, at elder Bell's meeting-house, in Sussex county, Virginia. They found, on assembling, that their strength had very much increased. Ten churches had sent letters and delegates, of which it appeared that six were Regulars, or the old side, and four were Separates; who, finding their former obstacles removing, and it being convenient, were incorporated with this Association. Of these ten churches, four were in Virginia, and six in North-Carolina.

The whole number of members was one thousand five hundred and ninety. They agreed now upon an abstract of principles, which was afterwards printed and published. In doctrine and discipline it did not substantially differ from the confession of faith generally received among the Baptists. They agreed to hold two Associations annually, and appointed the next at Burkitt's meeting-house, the next May.

The Kehukee Association continued to meet regularly, and to increase rapidly, until the year 1790. At their October session for that year, it was found that there were no less than sixty-one churches, having more than five thousand members. Several ineffectual attempts, previous to this, had been made to divide it, and the number of churches was now so large, that a division was almost indispensable. They accordingly agreed to divide by the State line, leaving forty-two churches in North-Carolina, and nineteen in Virginia. The Virginia churches met by their delegates for the first time, May 1791, at Portsmouth; and on that account their body took the name of the Virginia Portsmouth Association. Their time of meeting has been, from the first, on the fourth Saturday of May, annually. Their business has been transacted in peace and prudence. The number of churches has increased, but not so rapidly as in other Associations. While elder Meglamre lived, and attended the associations, he generally acted as moderator. After his death, or when he was absent, the duties of moderator most commonly devolved upon Rev. David Barrow, until his removal to Kentucky. [This account of the Kehukee Association has been taken almost verbatim from Semple's *History of the Virginia Baptists*.]

Only four years from the time that the Portsmouth Association was taken off, viz. in the year 1794, this mother body had again become so extensive, that another division was thought expedient, and was accordingly amicably effected; and Tar river was fixed on as the dividing line. All the churches above this river, and between it and the State of Virginia, remained with the old establishment, while those to the south of it were dismissed to form the Neuse Association.

The Kehukee Association, by this last division, was reduced to twenty-six churches; from this time it traveled on, without any special occurrence, until about 1801, when it began to enjoy a refreshing season, and for a few years following, was blessed with a share in that remarkable revival, which prevailed most powerfully and extensively through North-Carolina and many other States; so that in the course of two years from the commencement of the revival, there were 1500 persons baptized in the churches belonging to this Association.

NEUSE ASSOCIATION

It has already been related, that this body originated by a division of the Kehukee Association, in 1794. It contained, at the time of its organization, 23 churches, which were situated on both sides of the Neuse-river, from which circumstance it received its name; and they extended from Tar-river nearly to the southern boundary of North-Carolina. This Association comprized a number of the oldest churches in the country, and particularly the Tosnot church, in Edgecombe county, which was gathered by the General Baptists, in the early part of their settlement in the country; but it was reformed and constituted on the Calvinistick plan in 1758, at which time it contained three very worthy preachers, viz. John Thomas, and his two sons Jonathan and John. Jonathan is said to have been a man of considerable eminence in his day. This community was much refreshed and enlarged by that glorious revival which prevailed in the Kehukee Association.

CAPE FEAR ASSOCIATION

This Association is situated towards the southeast corner of the State. It took its name from the river on whose eastern branch the town of Wilmington is situated. It was formed in 1805, of churches which were dismissed from the Neuse Association.

RALEIGH ASSOCIATION

This body takes its name from the town which is now the seat of government, near to which the churches are situated. It was formed in 1805 of only four churches, which were dismissed from the Neuse Association. It has been a flourishing little body, and in 1812 had increased to ten churches and almost a

thousand members. There has lately been a very happy revival within the bounds of this Association. In 1812, Elder Robert T. Daniel, one of their ministers, wrote me, that upwards of a hundred members had been added by baptism to the church which he serves, in a little more than a year.

CHOWAN ASSOCIATION

This Association receives its name from a river which rises in Virginia and empties into the Albemarle sound. It is situated on the northern borders of the state and near its northeast corner. It began in 1806, when eighteen churches, containing upwards of eighteen hundred members, were dismissed from the Kehukee Association, for the purpose of forming it. These churches were all on the east side of the Roanoke-river. Several hundreds have been added to the Chowan Association since it was formed, and yet it is not now so large as it was at first. The reason is, that multitudes from this region have emigrated to the western and more southern States.

FLAT-RIVER ASSOCIATION

This body was formed by a division of the Roanoke Association, in Virginia, in 1794. As a number of churches in that Association were situated in North-Carolina, they were all, by their request, dismissed at the time above mentioned, for the purpose of forming the one whose history we are now relating. I have not been able exactly to ascertain of how many churches it was at first composed, but the number was probably ten or twelve; nor have I learnt any thing of its proceedings, until the year 1806, when it was divided by a line running north and south, and the western division of churches united in forming the

COUNTRY-LINE ASSOCIATION

This body took its name from a creek on which the churches are situated, which runs in a northern direction, and empties into Dan-river, near the line between the two States of Virginia and North-Carolina.

These two small Associations lie on the northern side of North-Carolina, and the churches in the Country-Line are in the counties of Rockingham, Caswell, Person, and Orange.

The churches in these Associations originated from the Separate Baptists, and some of the oldest of them were gathered by Samuel Harris, James Read, Thomas Mullins, and Dutton Lane.

SANDY-CREEK ASSOCIATION

An account of the origin and progress of the Sandy-Creek church and Association, and of the Baptist cause in this part of North-Carolina, up to the year 1770, has already been given in the general history of the Separate Baptists, under the Virginia head.

Shubael Stearns died at Sandy-Creek, in 1771, in the 66th year of his age. The Sandy-Creek Association, notwithstanding the embarrassments in which it had involved itself, by interfering too much in the concerns of the churches, still continued to hold its usual anniversary sessions.

In 1772, after its division, which is related in the general history of the Separates, it contained the nine following churches, viz. Sandy-Creek, Little-River, Shallow Fords, Slow-River, New-River, Southwest, Grassy-Creek, Trent, and Lockwood_s Folly. To these churches appertained ten branches, most of which were, in process of time, organized into district churches. The number of ministers at this time was twenty, only seven of whom were ordained. This Association held many sentiments formerly, and it also holds some now, which are of a peculiar nature, and which do not prevail among their brethren elsewhere. Many of its members were formerly thought to lean considerably towards the Arminian system; but they have now become generally, and some of them strenuously Calvinistick. They now hold that ministers ought not to be ordained until they are called to exercise the pastoral office. The practice of ordaining them as Evangelists, which by the Baptists is generally adopted, they reject. **They formerly held nine Christian rites, viz. baptism, the Lord_s supper, love-feasts, laying on of hands, washing feet, anointing the**

sick, right hand of fellowship, kiss of charity, and devoting children. They also held to ruling elders, eldersses, deaconesses, and weekly communion. The nature and design of all the above-enumerated rites and offices will be easily comprehended, except that of devoting children. This rite they founded on the circumstance of parents bringing little children to Christ, etc. It was thus performed: As soon as circumstances would permit, after the birth of the child, the mother carried it to meeting, when the minister either took it in his arms, or laid his hands on it, thanked God for his mercy, and invoked a blessing on the child, at which time it received its name. This rite, which was by **many satirically called a dry christening** [Virginia Chronicle, p. 42], prevailed not only in the Sandy-Creek Association, but in many parts of Virginia.

It must not be understood, that all the churches in this body were strenuous, or even uniform, in the observance of this long list of rites, all of which, however, appear to be suggested by the Scriptures; nor did those who maintained the whole of them, refuse communion with their brethren, who neglected a part; and this indifference in some has been succeeded by a general neglect in all, so that **the greatest part of the nine Christian rites, and especially those of them which were of a peculiar nature, together with the offices of eldersses and deaconesses have fallen into disuse.** But the ordinance, as they esteem it, of laying-on-of-hands, and the office of ruling elders they still maintain.

This Association has also altered its mode as to the frequency of administering the Lord's Supper, and has adopted that which is generally pursued by other brethren elsewhere.

It will be recollected, that when the great body of the Separate Baptists was divided, in the year 1770, that the Sandy-Creek Association became one of the three grand divisions; but it has not prospered so largely, nor branched out so extensively, as the other two. The only Association which has been formed from it, and that but in part, was the Holston, in the State of Tennessee. But it has been the nursery of many worthy ministers and brethren, who have emigrated to the western country and more southern States; and although it has, at times, been reduced almost to the lowest ebb of religious enjoyment, yet it has, at other times, been blessed with the outpourings of the Divine Spirit, and the joyful enlargement of its borders. Two very comfortable and extensive revivals had been experienced in this Association, since the death of Mr. Stearns, before the one about to be mentioned. But by deaths and removals it was, at the close of the eighteenth century, in every respect much reduced. The ministers had become few in number, and the churches small and languid; iniquity greatly abounded in the land, and the love of many had waxen cold. **But towards the close of the year 1800, that astonishing work which had been prevailing a short time in Kentucky and other parts, made a sudden and unexpected entrance amongst them,** and was attended with most of the new and unusual appearances, which in many places it assumed. This work was not confined to the Baptists, but prevailed, at the same time, amongst the **Methodists and Presbyterians**, both of which denominations were considerably numerous in the parts. These two last denominations, soon after the commencement of the revival, united in their communion and **CAMP-MEETINGS**. The Baptists were strongly solicited to embark in the general communion scheme; but they, pursuant to their consistent (many call them rigid) principles, declined a compliance. But they had camp or field-meetings amongst themselves, and many individuals of them united with the Methodists and Presbyterians in theirs. The Baptists established camp-meetings from motives of convenience and necessity, and relinquished them as soon as they were no longer needful. Their meeting-houses are generally small, and surrounded with groves of wood, which they carefully preserve, for the advantage of the cooling shade, which they afford in the heat of summer. In these groves the stages were erected, around which the numerous congregation encamped; and when they could be accommodated in the meeting-houses, to them they repaired. A circumstance which led the people to come prepared to encamp on the ground was, that those who lived adjacent to the place of meeting, although willing to provide for the refreshment, as far as they were able, of the numerous congregations which assembled; yet, in most cases, they would have found it impracticable; and furthermore, they wished to be at the meetings themselves, what time they must have stayed at home for the purpose. The people, therefore, would be advised by their ministers and others, at the first camp-meetings, to come to the next and all succeeding ones, prepared to accommodate and refresh themselves. In this way, camp-meetings were instituted amongst the Baptists.

In nearly the same way, meetings of a similar nature were established by the united body of Methodists and Presbyterians in these parts; but like many other things produced on extraordinary occasions, they continued after the call for them had ceased. Their efficacy was by many too highly estimated. They had

witnessed at them, besides much confusion and disorder, many evident and remarkable displays of divine power; and their ardor in promoting them, after the zeal which instituted them had abated, indicated that they considered them the most probable means of effecting a revival. From these motives (I am induced to think) camp-meetings have been, and are still, industriously kept up by the Methodists throughout the United States. It is well known that they take much pains, by giving lengthy notice of their approach, by advertising them in newspapers, etc. to collect as large an assemblage of people as possible, and then, by preconcerted and artful manoeuvres, and by a mechanical play upon the passions, to produce that animation and zeal, which, at the times above-mentioned, were spontaneous and unaffected.

In the progress of the revival among the Baptists, and, especially, at their camp-meetings, there were exhibited scenes of the most solemn and affecting nature; and in many instances there was heard at the same time, throughout the vast congregation, a mingled sound of prayer, exhortation, groans, and praise. **The fantastick exercise of jerking, dancing, etc. in a religious way, prevailed much with the united body of Methodists and Presbyterians, towards the close of the revival; but they were not introduced at all among the Baptists in these parts. But falling down under religious impressions was frequent among them.** Many were taken with these **religious epilepsies**, if we may so call them, not only at the great meetings, where those scenes were exhibited, which were calculated to move the sympathetick affections; but also about their daily employments, some in the fields, some in their houses, and some when hunting their cattle in the woods. And in some cases, people were thus strangely affected when alone; so that if some played the hypocrite, with others the exercise must have been involuntary and unaffected. And, besides falling down, there were many other expressions of zeal, which in more moderate people would be considered enthusiastick and wild. The above relation was given me by Rev. **George Pope**, the pastor of the church at Abbot_s Creek, who is a man of sense and moderation, and who, with many of his brethren, was much tried in his mind, and stood aloof from the work at its commencement; but it spread so rapidly and powerfully, that they soon discovered such evident marks of its being a genuine work of grace, notwithstanding its new and unusual appearances, that their doubts subsided, and they cordially and zealously engaged in forwarding and promoting it. Mr. Pope, in the course of the revival, baptized about 500 persons. Large numbers were also baptized by John Culpepper, William M_Gregore, and many others. But as the Minutes of the Association were not printed at this time, the total number of members cannot be now ascertained, yet it must have been very large. But a spirit of emigration has since much possessed the Baptists in these parts, so that the Association is now reduced to the number of members, which is stated in the table.

YADKIN ASSOCIATION

The Yadkin-river rises in the Alleghany mountains, and unites with the Rocky-river, in Anson county, North-Carolina, and from their junction the stream assumes the name of the Great Pedee.

The Yadkin Association received its name from that of the river above mentioned, and lies to the westward of the Sandy-Creek, and originated in the following manner. In the year 1786, eleven churches, which had been previously gathered about the head of the Yadkin and its waters, began to hold yearly conferences, as a branch of the Strawberry Association in Virginia. The proceedings of this conference were annually submitted to the Association to which it had attached itself, for their inspection, and were borne thither by delegates appointed for the purpose. But in 1790, the churches, composing this conference, were, upon their request, dismissed, and formed a distinct Association. The ministers belonging to this body at its commencement, were George M_Neal, John Cleaveland, William Petty, William Hammond, Cleaveland Caffee, Andrew Baker, and John Stone. This Association, like Sandy-Creek, transacted its business, or at least, held its sessions, for a number of years, without a moderator. Some of their scrupulous brethren, it seems, were opposed to order, or formality, as they esteemed it, in their religious proceedings, and pleaded that it was an infringement of Christian liberty, and too much like worldly assemblies, to have a moderator at their head, whom they must address when they spoke, and whose liberty they must request, etc. In 1793, Mr. John Gano, who then lived in Kentucky, visited this Association, and found many difficulties among them on account of these things. But he knew very well how to manage prejudices so whimsical and absurd, and prevailed on them to choose a moderator and establish rules, by which their business was afterwards conducted with much decorum. [Mr. Gano_s Life, p. 124.]

The church in the Jersey settlements in Rowan county is the oldest in the Yadkin Association, and was gathered by Mr. Gano in 1758, three years after the Sandy-Creek church was established. Mr. Gano resided there about two years, when the church was broken up by the incursions of the Indians, and he returned to New-Jersey, from whence he had removed hither. But the church was re-gathered after the Indian war was over. Dr. Richard Furman, now of Charleston, South-Carolina, resided and preached in the bounds of this Association, during a part of the revolutionary war.

Joseph Murphy, the pastor of the church on Deep Creek, in the county of Surry, has been, in most respects, the most distinguished minister among the churches in this body. He and William Murphy, whose name frequently occurs in the history of the Virginia Baptists, were brothers. They were both baptized by Shubael Stearns, and began to preach while very young, and were called, by way of derision, Murphy_s boys. William, who had the most conspicuous talents, removed to Tennessee about 1780, and was one of the most active ministers in the Holston Association, which he assisted in raising up, and in which he was very useful and much esteemed until his death, the exact time of which is not known, but it is believed to have been about 1800.

Joseph was altogether illiterate when he became religious, for he then knew not how to read, and had never learned to write. But being possessed of a strong mind, ready wit, a bold and fearless spirit, and with all, a heart filled with the love of God and man, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of his education, he has been a very useful and much respected preacher throughout an extensive circle of churches. **He was once taken up in Virginia for preaching, and carried before a magistrate, where he defended himself so expertly, that his accusers retired with shame, and the magistrate bade him go about his business.**

Mr. Murphy had many verbal rencounters in his more active days, with opposers of different characters, whom he always abashed and foiled. His feats of this kind he now relates with much pleasantry, and with a self-complacency which is altogether excusable in a man who is about 80 years old. He was once opposed by a fanatic of more effrontery than argument, who contended that Adam, before his fall, had not a mortal body, but was a pure spiritual being. A woman was sitting by, carelessly nursing her child, whose name was Frost, who said to the opposer, "I do not see how God could take out a rib from Adam_s side, and close up the flesh again, if he were nothing but a spirit." "Ah," replied Mr. Murphy, "I think, my friend, you are frost-bitten, and will soon wither without any arguments of mine."

Being once opposed by a man who held to the notion of Universal Restoration, Mr. Murphy at last replied, "I do not see, sir, but you, on your plan, make hell the *sanctum sanctorum* of the wicked; for after all the means of the gospel have failed to benefit them, they must go to hell to be made holy, and prepared for heaven."

The churches in this Association are in the counties of Rowan, Wilkes, Surry, Iredell, and some of them are not far from the town of Salisbury.

MOUNTAIN ASSOCIATION

The name of this Association is sufficiently descriptive of its situation; for the churches of which it is composed lie mostly west of the Blue Ridge, and are scattered in the nooks and vallies of the stupendous pile of the Alleghany mountains. As but very partial accounts have been received, the following brief sketches must suffice for its history. It was formed in 1799, by a division of the Yadkin Association, when the ten following churches were dismissed, viz. Rye Valley, Three Forks of New River, North Fork of New River, Fish River, South Fork of Roaring River, Beaver Creek, Head of Yadkin, Synclare_s Bottom, Catawba, and Cedar Island. Three of these churches were in Virginia, and it is said that some of them, or of those which have united with the Association since it was formed, are in the State of Tennessee, but most of them are in North Carolina, and are in the counties of Ash, Burk, Wilks, and Surry. I do not learn that this body has ever experienced any remarkable changes, or much enlargement.

FRENCH BROAD ASSOCIATION

This is a small body, situated mostly in the county of Buncombe, in a mountainous region in the western part of this State. This county was formerly large enough for a small State, and extended to the Tennessee line. The county of Haywood has, not long since, been taken from it. It is, however, very large, and encompasses a number of everlasting hills and some fruitful vallies. Through it runs a river called the French Broad, which gave name to the Association we are about to describe. The Baptists are scattered in every part of the United States. Scarcely a mountain or valley in which they are not to be found. So many of them were settled in this region, that they were induced to form an Association in 1807. It was, at first, composed of six churches, viz. Little Ivey, Locust, Old Fields, Newfound, Caney-River, French Broad, and Cane-Creek. The three first were dismissed from the Holston Association in Tennessee, and the other from the Broad-River in South-Carolina. Four churches have been added to this body since its formation. The ministers which it contained at its beginning were Thomas Snelson, Thomas Justice, Sion Blythe, Benjamin King, Humphrey Posey, and Stephen Morgan.

By reviewing the history of the Baptists in this State, it appears that it contains 11 Associations, about 180 churches, and upwards of 12000 communicants.

The North-Carolinians, like their neighbors the Virginians, have never had much ambition for learning or human acquirements; but they have had, especially in the low countries, in the bounds of the Kehukee and Neuse Associations and their branches, many very able and respectable ministers and brethren, who have, in addition to their religious functions, honorably filled many publick stations, as magistrates, legislators, etc. But as their biographies have been much neglected, little can be said about them. Biographical sketches of a few of these men will be found in that part of the work which is devoted to that subject.

The Baptists in this State have never suffered much by persecution, yet there were some attempts made to harass them. About 1768, when persecution was raging so fiercely against their brethren in Virginia, **a number were apprehended**, belonging to the Kehukee Association, and upwards of 70 persons were summoned by the Court to appear against them, by whom they were accused of heresy, blasphemy, and riots; but in the course of the examination, the complaints appeared so ill founded, that the Court dismissed the whole matter, and appeared ashamed of the prosecution, as well they might be; for their blasphemies turned out to be Scripture expressions; their heresies sound doctrine; and the riots with which they were charged, were raised not by them, but by their persecutors, who disturbed their assemblies. [Morgan Edwards_s MS, Hist. of the Baptists in North-Carolina.]

The North-Carolina Regulation has already been mentioned, and we promised to give a further account of it. This civil commotion appears to have been similar to the Shays affair in Massachusetts, and the Whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania.

Many became much disaffected with the provincial government, which was then administered by Governor Tryon, and formed an extensive combination for the purpose of regulating and reforming it. Some of their complaints were, that they had, in a way of tax, paid between two and three thousand pounds more than would sink their paper money, and yet about sixty thousand pounds of it remained unsunk; that civil officers and lawyers extorted more than the law allowed them, and yet were not punished, but suffered to prosecute the complainers, etc. And as they had remonstrated without effect, and saw no prospect of a redress of their grievances, they determined, at length, to make use of arguments of a more convincing nature. Troops were immediately raised by Governor Tryon to suppress the rebellion; and on May 16, 1771, it seems a battle was fought between 4000 Regulators and 2000 of the Governor_s troops, in which 12 of the former and 3 of the latter were slain. I am not able to give a particular history of this rebellious faction, as it was deemed, which, it is sufficient to say, was quelled and dispersed; nor would it correspond with the design of this work, if I could; and I should have passed it by altogether, had it not been for what follows.

Governor Tryon is said to have represented "the Regulators, as a faction of Quakers and Baptists, who aimed at overturning the Church of England." The same insinuation was also published in a newspaper. Morgan Edwards was in the country the next year after these events happened, and observes, "If the Governor said, as here suggested, he must be misinformed; for I made it my business to inquire into the matter, and can aver, that among 4000 Regulators, there were but 7 of the denomination of Baptists; and these were expelled the societies they belonged unto, in consequence of the resolve of the Baptist

Association held at Sandy-Creek the second Saturday in Oct. 1769. "If any of our members shall take up arms against the legal authority, or aid and abet them that do so, he shall be excommunicated," etc. When this was known abroad, one of the four chiefs of the Regulators, with an armed company, broke into the assembly, and demanded, if there were such a resolve entered into by the Association? The answer was evasive, for they were in bodily fear. This checked the design much; and the author of the Impartial Relation is obliged to own, page 16, "There (in Sandy-Creek) the scheme met with some opposition, on account that it was too hot and rash, and in some things not legal," etc. One of the seven Baptists, by the name of Merrill, was executed; and he, at the point of death, did not justify his conduct, but bitterly condemned it; and blamed two men (of very different religion) for deceiving him into the rebellion. His speech at the gallows was as follows:

"I stand here exposed to the world as a criminal. My life will soon be a change. God is my comforter and supporter. I am condemned to die for opposing government. All you that are present, take warning by my miserable end, when I shall be hung up as a spectacle before you. My first seducers were Hunter and Gelaspie. They had often solicited me, telling that a settlement only was contended for with regard to publick officers, who, they said, had oppressed the people; and that unless these measures were taken, there would be no remedy or redress hereafter. Thus they pressed me on, by assuring me the disputes (as they called them) then existing might be settled without shedding of blood. I considered this unhappy affair, and thought, possibly, the contention in the country might be brought to some determination, without injury to any; and in this mind I joined the Regulation. After I had enlisted under the banner of the Regulators, I was ever after pressed to be made a leading man among them; and was one of the number who opposed Colonel Weddel with his troops; information prevailing that the Governor was on his march to lay waste this country and destroy its inhabitants, which I now find to be false, and propagated to screen old offenders from justice. As to my private life, I do not know of any particular charge against me. I received, by the grace of God, a change, fifteen years ago; but have, since that time, been a backslider; yet Providence, in which is my chief security, has been pleased to give me comfort, under these evils, in my last hour; and although the halter is now round my neck, believe me, I would not change stations with any man on the ground. All you, who think you stand, take heed lest ye fall. I would be glad to say a few words more before I die. In a few moments, I shall leave a widow and ten children; I entreat that my reflection may be cast on them on my account; and if possible, shall deem it as a bounty, should you, gentlemen, petition the Governor and Council, that some part of my estate may be spared for the widow and the fatherless; it will be an act of charity, for I have forfeited the whole, by the laws of God and man."

The man bore an excellent character, insomuch that one of his enemies was heard to say, "that if all went to the gallows with Capt. Merrill's character, hanging would be an honorable death."

All pitied him, and blamed the wicked Hunter, Gelaspie, Howell, Husband, Butler, and others, who deceived and seduced him. Upwards of 70 bills were found at the time, but Merrill was the only Baptist among the number. The four principals in the Regulation are well known to be of other religious denominations.

I thought it necessary to say so much, lest the Governor's words should, in time, make the North-Carolina Regulation another Munster tragedy. [M. Edwards's MS, Hist. of the Baptists in North-Carolina.]

Six of the North Carolina Associations, viz. Chowan Country. Line, Flat-River, Kehukee, Raleigh, and Sandy-Creek, have lately formed a General Meeting of Correspondence, on a plan similar to that of Virginia.

There have been some very extensive revivals among the Baptists in this State, since these sketches were made out; if I can learn the particulars respecting them in season, they shall be inserted in the Appendix. Our brethren in this State have also made some exertions in the Missionary cause, and have an establishment.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

SOUTH CAROLINA

There are, at present, four Associations wholly in this State, viz. the Charleston, the Bethel, the Saluda, and the Edgefield; and two others, viz. the Broad-river and Savannah-river, which are partly in South-Carolina and partly in the adjoining States. The Broad-river is in the northwest corner of the State, and a few of the churches are in North-Carolina. The Savannah-river is composed of churches which are situated in the southeast parts of South-Carolina and the neighboring parts of the State of Georgia.

The history of each of these bodies will be given in their proper order. From the first settlement of the Baptists in this Province in 1683, there have always been a number of respectable characters of the society, but their numbers increased very slowly for a great number of years, insomuch that in 1751, when the Charleston Association was formed, there were but four churches, and these not very large, to compose it. Soon after this period, Baptist sentiments began more rapidly to prevail. A number of churches were, in a few years, formed from the old ones, or raised up on new ground, in their vicinities, and united in Association with them. About the year 1760, the Separate Baptists from North-Carolina began their evangelical exertions in the upper parts of the State, where their sentiments took a rapid spread, and a number of large churches were soon gathered. And in 21 years after the formation of the Charleston Association, viz. in 1772, there were, in South-Carolina, according to Morgan Edwards's account, who then visited the country, 20 churches including the Separates, in which were 16 ordained ministers, 21 exhorters or licensed preachers, and almost 1100 communicants. And these 20 churches had erected for their use upwards of 40 meeting-houses, as some of them were large and consisted of a number of branches. There were, at the same time, in this State, three churches of the Tunker and one of the General Baptists; in all of which, however, there were but a little more than 100 communicants. But for 34 years subsequent to the last mentioned date, the Baptists increased in this State in a much greater proportion; for it appears by a statement furnished by Dr. Furman, of Charleston, in 1806, that there were then in South-Carolina, of the Calvinistick Associated Baptists, about 130 churches, in which were about 100 ministers, and 10,500 communicants.

The history of the Baptists in South-Carolina naturally divides itself into two branches; and in pursuing it, we shall, in the first place, relate the affairs of those who emigrated hither from other parts, in the early settlement of the province, who settled along the sea-coast, and in the lower parts of the State, and from whom have originated most of the churches in these regions. We shall, in the second place, take notice of those who were at first, and for a number of years, called Separates, who settled in the middle and upper parts of the country, from whom have sprung a major part of the Baptists now in the State.

Of the early settlers of South-Carolina, a considerable proportion were Baptists. They came in separate colonies, **about the year 1683**, partly from the west of England, and partly from Piscataway in the District of Maine. Those from England, came with Lord Cardross and a Mr. Blake, whose wife and her mother, Lady Axtell, were Baptist members, and settled, some about Ashley and Cooper rivers, and others about the mouth of the river Edisto. Those from the District of Maine were led hither by Reverend **William Screven**, who, with a considerable number of his brethren, fled from the persecuting rage of the New-England Pedobaptists, and settled on Cooper-river, at a place called Summerton, [Summerton was probably the name of a plantation, as I am informed that there is no such place now in the region] at no great distance from the place where Charleston now stands.

Here this company were formed into a church by Mr. Screven, who became their pastor. The names of the constituents are said to have been the Screvens, the Atwells, the Bulleins, the Elliots, the Ravens, the Bakers, the Barkers, the Blakes, the Childs, the Caters, the Whitakers, the Bryants, the Butlers, the Chapmans, etc. It appears pretty evident, that the Baptists from Old and New England, arrived in South-Carolina about the same time; but it is suggested by Mr. Edwards, that those from Piscataway settled here first, and had formed the church before their brethren from England arrived, and that the small body which had been formed, received considerable additions on their arrival. [Mr. Edwards dates the beginning of this

church in 1664. His accounts were collected from the traditions of ancient people, who must have made a mistake of about 20 years; since it is very evident from Backus's history, that Mr. Screven did not leave Piscataway until some time after the year 1680.]

Before the year 1693, most of the members had removed from Summerton towards the neck, on which Charleston is built, which made it necessary to remove the seat of the church to the town. They held their worship on their removal at the house of one William Chapman, in King-street, until they raised a temporary building in the same street, which they occupied but a short time. In 1699, they erected a brick meeting, house, on the same lot with the parsonage-house, in Church-street, which was demolished in 1808, having been some time in a ruinous condition. The building at present occupied by them, is a commodious brick edifice, 59 feet by 42, and was erected in 1746. Its erection was owing to a singular interference of the Provincial Legislature. A party had drawn off some years before, and formed a church upon the sentiments of the General Baptists, the history of which will be given in its proper place. The lot on which the meeting and parsonage houses had been erected, was given by William Elliot, whose son was now a leading man among the General Baptists. In 1745, the trustees, to whom the above lot had been given being all dead, without conveying the trust to others, the church, for the purpose of securing their property, and preventing disputes which might arise, now presented a petition to the General Assembly, signed by 17 persons, praying that trustees might be appointed by Government. The General Baptists had, at that time, a minister of learning and abilities, whose name was Haywood. The minister of the Particular Baptists (the original church) was Mr. Simmons, generally respected as a good man, but then in his dotage, and under the influence of his son-in-law Dr. Dale, a man of intrigue and a friend of Mr. Haywood. By the Doctor's means a misunderstanding had taken place between Mr. Simmons and his church; in consequence of which, Mr. Simmons was suspended from the exercise of his office, and the doors of the house of worship shut against him; but a small party forced the doors, and introduced him by violence into the pulpit. This was the situation of affairs when the petition was presented; it was, therefore, soon followed by a counter petition from Mr. Simmons and Mr. Gracia, a deacon, praying that the Legislature would not permit the church, whom they styled a party, to deprive Mr. Simmons of his pastoral office and living. A bill was, therefore, brought in, to revive the trust of the lot and buildings in question, by the Assembly, and trustees were appointed, some of, whom were of Mr. Haywood's congregation; Mr. Gracia was also one. The Particular Baptists then remonstrated, and prayed that none might be appointed as trustees, but such as were in communion with them and governed by their rules, declaring the church under Mr. Haywood to be in no connection with them. They produced evidence to prove, that the original church were Calvinists, and that Mr. Elliot was professedly the same at the time of the donation, and many years afterwards. The Assembly finally passed a law to confirm the donation in the hands of the trustees first nominated in the bill; and in a clause of the law they say, "that as the General Baptists are Antipedobaptists as well as the Particular Baptists, they shall have equal right in the said property." Thus the General Baptists, taking occasion from the dispute between the Particular Baptists and their minister, and making him subservient to their purpose, were, by an act of the Legislature, put in possession of a property, to which, it does not appear, they ever made a previous claim. After Mr. Simmons's death, Mr. Gracia and a few others, who countenanced his opposition, confessed their fault, and were again united to the original body.

This determination of the Assembly bears date May 25, 1745. Thus they went on until Oct. 9, 1758, when both parties agreed that the General Baptists should have the sole use of the meeting-house, and the Particular Baptists the sole use of the parsonage, which (said Mr. Edwards in 1772) is the present posture of their affairs, and suits the latter well enough, as they had been obliged in 1746 to build another place of worship.

In 1787, this church recovered peaceable possession of the whole property, and has held it ever since. In 1801, the City Council having an idea that one half of it had become public property, in consequence of the General Baptists being extinct, took measures for securing it for the benefit of the Orphan-House. But upon hearing a committee of the church, who substantiated their title, by an exhibition of authentick records, the Council gave up their claim, and officially confirmed the right of the church; which acknowledgment was entered on the public records of the State. It has already been stated that William Screven was the founder and first pastor of this ancient and respectable church. He was a native of England, where he was born about the year 1629. When he settled at Piscataway, cannot be ascertained. An account of the sufferings which he and his brethren endured in that place, and which drove them to seek an asylum in the more tranquil regions of the south, may be found in the history of the District of Maine. In Piscataway he married Bridget

Cutts, by whom he had children, Samuel, Mercy, Sarah, Bridget, Elizabeth, Robert, Permenas, Joshua, William, Joseph, and Elisha. But little can be learnt of the history of this numerous family; but it is known that the posterity of this venerable progenitor, although mostly under other names, has been and continues to be respectable, and considerably numerous. The late Colonel Thomas Screven, an influential man in the Baptist society in Charleston, and Reverend Charles O. Screven, of Sunbury, Georgia, are amongst the number. Mr. Screven, though not a classical, was a good English scholar, and was eminent for piety and usefulness. After his removal to South-Carolina, the Baptist church in Boston, of which he had been a member, being destitute, sent for him to be their pastor. His answer, dated June, 1707, contains this passage: "Our minister, who came from England, is dead, and I can by no means be spared. It is a great loss and a great disappointment; but the will of the Lord is done." Aug. 6, 1708, he wrote to them as follows: "Our society are for the most part in health, and I hope thriving in grace. We are 90 in all." He wrote "An Ornament for Church Members," which was printed after his death. One passage of which runs thus: "And now for a close of all, (my dear brethren and sisters, whom God hath made me, poor unworthy me, an instrument of gathering and settling in the faith and order of the gospel) my request is, that you, as speedily as possible, supply yourselves with an able and faithful minister. Be sure you take care that the person be orthodox in faith, and of blameless life, and does own the confession of faith put forth by our brethren in London in 1689," etc.

In the latter part of his life, Mr. Screven removed to Georgetown, about 60 miles to the north of Charleston, where he died in peace in 1713, having arrived to the good old age of 84 years. He is said to have been the original proprietor of the land, on which Georgetown is built.

After the death of its first pastor, the Charleston church underwent a number of changes, as to numbers and harmony. His successors in office were Messrs. Peart and Simmons. Previous, however, to the settlement of the first of them, Mr. White and others preached occasionally with them. Reverend William Peart came hither an ordained minister, but from what place I cannot learn, about the year 1717, and continued the pastor of the church, until he died in 1728. He married Sarah, widow of Paul Grimbball, but had no children. She afterwards married a Mr. Smith, and under that name gave a legacy to the first Baptist church in Philadelphia, of about 900 dollars. Mr. Peart's successor was Reverend **Thomas Simmons**, who was born in England, but came to Charleston from Pennsylvania, where he had been ordained. His father gave him an academical education, and then bound him to the carpenter's business, which he did not like. He, therefore, came to America, that he might be free to follow his inclination, which was towards the ministry. He had two children, Thomas and Hannah. The son died childless; the daughter married Dr. Thomas Dale, and had many children, who removed to England after their father's death. Mr. Simmons published one piece, entitled: "Some Queries concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit, answered." Under his ministry, the church passed through a series of trials, occasioned by the schism and encroachments of the General Baptists, and by disputes among themselves; and towards the close of it, was reduced to the verge of extinction, there remaining but one man and two women, who were communicants. But when Mr. Whitefield first visited Charleston, there was a great revival under his ministry, and this church sharing largely in its salutary influences, soon received the addition of about a hundred members. Mr. Simmons died January 31, 1747, and was succeeded by Reverend **Oliver Hart**. His settlement in Charleston was an important event to the South-Carolina churches. His unexpected arrival, while the church was destitute of a supply, and immediately after the death of the excellent Mr. Chanler, who had occasionally officiated for them since Mr. Simmons's death, was believed to have been directed by a special providence in their layout. He undertook the pastoral office with much seriousness, and soon entered on an extensive field of usefulness. His ardent piety and active philanthropy, his discriminating mind, and persuasive address, raised him high in the esteem of the public, and gave him a distinguished claim to the affections of his brethren. (For an interesting account of Mr. Hart, see his biography.)

Mr. Hart having, for his safety, retired to New-Jersey at the beginning of the American war, this church was for many years destitute of a pastor. But in 1787, it had the felicity to settle among them Reverend **Richard Furman**, D.D. who yet continues their much-esteemed and affectionate pastor. Dr. Furman was born at Esopus, on the Hudson-river, in the State of New-York, about 1748:* his extensive and successful exertions for the benefit of his own church, of the Baptist interest in South-Carolina, and the cause of Zion generally, will furnish interesting articles for some future biographer; but pursuant to the maxims we have adopted respecting the living, they cannot here be minutely detailed. [* I am not certain about the time of Dr. Furman's birth; but I suppose that he is now about sixty-five years of age, and that would bring it as above stated.]

The Charleston church has now (1813) existed 130 years, and is among the largest in South-Carolina. It is remarkable for its hospitality to visiting brethren, and its abundant charities to those who are in necessitous circumstances.

ASHLEY RIVER

This was the second church which was formed in South-Carolina. From about the time the Baptists first settled in this vicinity, they had stood connected with the Charleston church, as a branch of that body. **But on May 24, 1736, the members here, to the number of twenty eight, were constituted into a distinct church** by a special covenant, under the pastoral care of **Reverend Isaac Chanler**. The constituents were Isaac Chanler, pastor, William Cater, John Bullein, Richard Bedon, Jr., Benjamin Child, John Sheppard, Jr., Charles Barker, Charles Filben, Francis Sheppard, Alexander Sheppard, Jacob Bradwell, John Angell, Thomas Ramsay, Richard Bedon, Sr., Sarah Baker, Mary Cater, Susannah Bradwell, Christiana Brown, Ann Maam, Elizabeth Chanler, Elizabeth Bullein, Joyel Griffin, Elizabeth Bedon, Elizabeth Salter, Susannah Baker, Elizabeth Marrion, Mary Sheppard, and Ann Peacock.

Mr. Chanler was born at Bristol, England, 1701; came to Ashley-river about 1733, and continued the much-esteemed pastor of this church, until he died, Nov. 30, 1749, in the 49th year of his age. Mr. Chanler was a man of distinguished talents, piety and usefulness. He was the author of a treatise in small quarto, esteemed an able defense of the Calvinistick doctrines, and entitled "The Doctrines of Glorious Grace unfolded, defended, and practically improved." He also published a "Treatise on Original Sin," and a Sermon on the death of Reverend William Tilly. The late Isaac Chanler, M.D. was his son.

Reverend **John Stephens** succeeded Mr. Chanler. He was born on Staten-Island, in the State and near the city of New-York. Of his early life, I can learn no more, than that he settled first at Horse-Neck, in Connecticut, where he gathered a little church in 1747, having been ordained at Oyster Bay, on Long Island, the same year. He came to Ashley-river in the month of May, 1750, and shortly after was invested with the pastoral care of the church. In this office Mr. Stephens continued with high reputation, for a number of years; but by **an unhappy fondness for strong drink**, he was obliged to quit both the church and ministry in 1769.* From this dreadful fall he never fully recovered, but professed and was believed to be penitent, and was improperly admitted again to preach. He died suddenly at Black-river in 1785. The defection of Mr. Stephens was a circumstance peculiarly painful to the friends of Zion, and happened about the time Mr. Bedgegood, another celebrated minister, was disowned for a crime which will be mentioned in the history of the Welsh Neck church. From this period the Ashley-river church declined, and in the revolutionary war became extinct. Its property, consisting of the lot on which the house of worship was built, about fourteen miles from Charleston, a valuable parsonage, church plate, several negroes, and some hundred pounds in fund, were seized by a sacrilegious individual, and converted to his own use. [* In Mr. Edwards's account of this unhappy affair, I find the following curious remarks: "Has not a dumb spirit, a deaf spirit, an unclean spirit, etc. been cast out? and who knows but Jamaica spirit will one day be exorcised out of this country, where it makes such dreadful havok? The Indians themselves lament its being brought hither, though they are excessively fond of it. Surely if any creature of God were not good, rum would be it."]

EWHAW CHURCH

The Welsh Neck church, as to its constitution, is older than the Ewhaw; but as this originated from the Charleston church, we shall give its history first.

The foundation of the Ewhaw church was laid in the year 1683, when, it is said, that some Baptists from England, in company with those who settled at Ashley-river, and founded Charleston church, arrived here with the lord Cardross. They were visited by Mr. Screven and the succeeding ministers of Charleston, until God raised up a minister among themselves, whose name was William Tilly. The names of the original emigrants were William Fry, Thomas Grimbail, Providence Grimbail, Ephraim Mikill, Joseph Sealy, Joseph Perminter, Isaac Perminter, Thomas Perminter, and some others, whose names are not known. These persons settled on Edisto-Island, where was the seat and center of the community, which stood as a branch of the Charleston church. About forty years after this settlement was made, the Baptist families here began to remove their habitations, some to Port-Royal, an island to the south of Edisto, on which the town

of Beaufort now stands, and others to Ewhaw, otherwise called Indian-Island. But the brethren who went to Port-Royal soon followed those who had gone to Ewhaw, and by this means the seat of this body was removed from Edisto to the place where it now is.

This church has built three meeting-houses. The first was erected on the island of Edisto, in 1726; for before this time they met in a common meeting-house, which they were turned out of in 1722, by their overbearing brethren, the Presbyterians. The meeting-house at Ewhaw, which is 36 feet by 30, was built in 1751; and it so happened, that as soon as it was finished, Mr. George Whitefield came along, and preached in it for the first time. Besides these, they built a house at Hilton Head, on the island, about 18 miles off, where was formerly a branch of the church. It has already been mentioned, that the first minister which this people had to live amongst them, was **William Tilly**. He was a native of Salisbury, in England; was called to the ministry, and ordained by the church in Charleston. He resided on Edisto until his death, which happened April 14, 1744, in the 46th year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Chanler, wherein he thus speaks of the deceased: "A minister he was, able and faithful to declare unto you the whole counsel of God. Some of you were ear and eye witnesses of his steadfast faith and hope on his death-bed. With what composedness of mind and solid satisfaction received he the awful summons! How free from all slavish fear of the king of terrors! How affectionately recommended he you to the blessing and protection of God! and with what cheerful resignation gave he up his spirit to the hands of a dear Redeemer! He lived and died in the Lord."

Mr. Tilly died two years before the Ewhaw church was constituted. This people, for upwards of 60 years after their settlement here, remained a branch of the Charleston church, and for reasons which are not known, took much pains to be considered in that relation, though solicited by the mother body to become a distinct church. But in May, 1746, they were dismissed and organized into a church, by the assistance of Reverend Isaac Chanler, of Ashley-river.

Reverend **Francis Pilot**, A.M. was the first minister they had after this period. He was born at Norville, in Switzerland, March 11, 1720, of Presbyterian parents, where he received a good education. He arrived in South-Carolina, in 1734, and ten years after embraced the principles of the Baptists. Soon after the Ewhaw church was constituted, he was called to be its pastor, in which office he continued with much reputation, until his death, in 1774. Mr. Pelot was a very distinguished man, in his day, amongst the South-Carolina Baptists. He possessed an ample fortune, and a valuable library, and devoted much of his time to books. Mr. Edwards, in speaking of this eminent man, who was then alive, observes, "he possesses three islands, and about 3785 acres on the continent, with slaves and stock in abundance. This (said he) I mention, not to flatter my friend Pelot, but in hope that his conduct may influence other such planters to preach the gospel among the poor Baptists, when God inclines their hearts to it." Mr. Pelot assisted in ordaining the late Drs. Samuel Stillman of Boston, and Hezekiah Smith of Haverhill, [these ministers were both ordained in S.C. one at Charleston, and the other at Pedee] and preached the sermons on the occasions.

His successor was Reverend Joseph Cook. For an interesting account of him, and of his ministry at Ewhaw, see his biography.

The next in office at Ewhaw, was Reverend now Dr. **Henry Holcombe**, of Philadelphia. Dr. Holcombe became the pastor of this church in 1791, and served them about eight years, residing the first part of the time at Ewhaw, and the latter at Beaufort, where a branch of the church lived. In 1799, he removed to Savannah, and officiated as the pastor of the Baptist church in that city, about eleven years, and then removed to his present situation. Reverend Joseph B. Cook, son of the late Joseph Cook, succeeded Dr. Holcombe in the pastoral care of the church, over which his venerable father formerly presided. Here he continued until 1804, when the Ewhaw church was divided, and the Beaufort church was formed from it, with the pastoral care of which Mr. Cook was immediately invested. Thus the Ewhaw church was again deprived of its pastor, by his removing to a promising station. Aaron Tison, and then William B. Johnson, now pastor of the church in Savannah, each officiated at Ewhaw a while after Mr. Cook's removal. For a few years past this church has been under the care of Reverend James Sweat. Mr. Sweat was baptized by Dr. Holcombe the same day he was ordained. His ministry at the Ewhaw has been attended with great success. A revival commenced here not long since, in which a large number were hopefully born into the kingdom of God, and in one instance Mr. Sweat baptized seventy persons in a day.

WELSH-NECK

This church was at first called Pedee, from the circumstance of its being situated on the Great Pedee-river, 60 miles north of Georgetown; but when other branches were settled on the same river, it became necessary to give this a more special name, and accordingly the compound name of Welsh-Neck was selected, which is descriptive of the people who founded the church, and of its local and peninsulated situation. This church originated in the following manner: In the year 1737, the following Baptist members of the Welsh-Tract church, which was then in the province of Pennsylvania, but now in the State of Delaware, arrived here; viz. James James, Esq. and wife, and three sons, Philip, who was their minister, Abel, Daniel, and their wives; Daniel Devonald and wife, Thomas Evans and wife, one other of the same name and his wife; John Jones and wife, three of the Harrys, Thomas, David, and John and his wife; Samuel Wilds and wife, Samuel Evans and wife, Griffith Jones and wife, and David and Thomas Jones and their wives. These thirty members, with their children and households, settled at a place called Catfish, on Pedee-river, but they soon removed about fifty miles higher up the same river, where they made a permanent settlement, and where they all, except James James, Esq. who died at Catfish, were embodied into a church, Jan. 1738.

James James, Esq. was the most distinguished of this Company of emigrants, for he was the head of the party, and his son Philip became the pastor of the church. Of him I can learn no more, than that he died at Catfish. His son Philip, the first pastor of the Welsh-Neck church, was born near Pennepeck, Pennsylvania, in 1701: he was ordained over the church in 1743, by Messrs. Chanler and Simmons, and died in 1753. This venerable man passed through a very singular scene about three months before his death; the narrative is related in full by Mr. Edwards, but we shall be able to give only the substance of it here, which is as follows: He was greatly afflicted for the death of a favorite child, and bewailed his loss in the language of David, O Abel, my son, my son, would to God I had died for thee, etc. In the midst of his wailings he fell to the ground as if dead, and was taken up and put on the bed, where he continued for near an hour, without any signs of life. When he revived and saw the people about him weeping, he bid them desist, adding, "had you seen what I have seen, you would not be in trouble about the dear little one." His wife and the company urged him to tell what he had seen concerning the child. He was reluctant to it, but their importunity prevailed, and he went on, "The child now enjoys more happiness in one moment than compensates for all the miseries he endured through life, and the pangs of death also." He then related how he had been transported by a celestial conductor to the paradise of God, where he was chided for his excessive grief, and saw his child in the full stature of a man, in company with the angelic hosts, and uniting in their songs of praise. At length his conductor said to him, "I am one of that company, and must join them." Having said this, the entranced spirit began to sink fast, and soon found itself united with the body. This account is preserved by the family, and is signed by four respectable witnesses. [Edwards's MS. Hist. etc. p. 19, 20.] After this vision, the old man minded no worldly thing, but was full of heavenly joy, and attentive only to spiritual concerns.

His successor, who had been his colleague, was **Reverend John Brown**. He was born near Burlington, New-Jersey, in 1714, but was brought up at Frankfort, near Philadelphia. He came to Pedee about the time the above-mentioned company emigrated hither, where he was baptized and called to the ministry, and where he was ordained, May 7, 1750; but for some reasons he continued not long in the care of the church. He preached in different places around, until his death, and for aught that appears, supported a character becoming his profession.

The next pastor of this church was **Reverend Joshua Edwards**. He was born in February of 1703, in Pembrokeshire, South Wales, from which place he emigrated to Welsh-Tract, in Delaware, where he continued almost 30 years, and then removed to South-Carolina, and had the care of this church about six years. He then removed to Cashaway (afterwards called Mount Pleasant) where he was invested with the pastoral office three years. His next remove was to a church on Little Pedee, over which he presided until 1768. After this, he did not engage in the pastoral office of any church, but continued to preach, and was useful till his death, which happened Aug. 22, 1784. He lived to see his posterity, 12 children, 58 grand-children, and 32 great-grand-children; 82 in the whole. His son, Abel Edwards, who was long an esteemed and highly useful deacon of the Welsh-Neck church, died in 1793, aged 54.

Reverend **Robert Williams** succeeded Mr. Edwards. He was born at Northampton, North-Carolina, in 1717, and was ordained at Welsh-Neck in 1752; but by some means he continued but a short time in the

pastoral office here. He died April 8th, 1788. His funeral sermon was preached by Reverend Evan Pugh, who gave him the following character: "He was kind to the poor, and remarkably so to the afflicted; a man of excellent natural parts, and a minister who preached the gospel to the edification and comfort of souls, as many have testified to me; and to crown all, a sincere Christian," etc. Hon. David R. Williams, of South-Carolina, is grandson of this venerable divine, and the only son of Mr. David Williams, who received a classical education, at Charleston, was a very useful and amiable man, and died at the age of 86, about the year 1775.

The Welsh-Neck church had, for its next pastor, Reverend **Nicholas Bedgegood**, who was born at Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England. Mr. Bedgegood received his first serious impressions under the ministry of the famous George Whitefield. He came to America in 1751, and was, for some time, Mr. Whitefield's agent in the Orphan House, for which employ he was very capable, as he had received a classical education, and had, in his younger days, studied the law three years, under the direction of an able master at Bristol. He was brought up an Episcopalian, but embraced the sentiments of the Baptists a few years after he came to America, and was baptized at Charleston, by Reverend Oliver Hart. The means of determining his suspense about the validity of infant baptism, was a sermon of Dr. Watts, intended to establish the point. He concluded that the Doctor had said the best that could be said on the subject; and if so, he saw that the best only proves, that sprinkling children is an unscriptural practice. He was ordained in 1759; and after officiating for a short time as an assistant to Mr. Hart in Charleston, he removed and became the pastor of this church; and it was here that the marriage took place for which he was disowned by the Association. A number of our ministering brethren from England, and some of distinguished abilities, have acted a similar part with Mr. Bedgegood, although they have not all shared the same fate. He left a wife in England when he came to America, and after he had been pastor of the Welsh-Neck church a number of years, he married another, and alleged in justification of his conduct, that his first wife would not come after him to America, and that he had been informed of her death before his second marriage. His brethren were by no means satisfied with this statement, but requested him to attend the Association, and give them a more full and satisfactory explanation of his conduct. To this summons he did not attend, and was, therefore, disowned. In this situation, Mr. Bedgegood continued until his death, which happened about 1774. He was an accomplished speaker, and a sermon preached before a Society of Planters (the only one he ever published) shows him to have been a man of classic learning and of good understanding. Notwithstanding his being disowned by the Association, I do not find but that he had the care of this church until his death.

Mr. Bedgegood was succeeded in the pastoral office by the famous Elhanan Winchester, who afterwards became a zealous advocate for the doctrine of universal restoration. He continued in the care of this church four or five years. Next to him was Mr. Botsford, now of Georgetown, South-Carolina. After Mr. Botsford's removal, this church had in succession David Lilly, Frame Woods, and Daniel White. Mr. White is from Scotland, but has lately left this church, and it is now destitute of a pastor.

The Welsh-Neck church is the oldest in this part of the State, and has been the mother of a number of others. Cashaway, now called Mount Pleasant, Cape-Fear in North-Carolina, Lynch's Creek, Mars Bluff, and Cheraw Hill, and probably some others originated from it. Some of these churches are now extinct. The late Dr. Smith, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, spent a year with the church which was then called Cashaway.

Having related the history of these old churches, of which the Charleston Association was at first composed, we shall now go back to the organization of that body, and give a history of its progress from its first formation to the present time.

Mr. Wood Furman, of Charleston, South-Carolina, son of Dr. Furman, has lately published, in a very handsome style, a 12mo. vol. entitled, "A History of the Charleston Association," from which many of the foregoing articles have been selected, and from which the following narrative is transcribed.

Mr. Hart, who was now the pastor of the church in Charleston, had seen, in the Philadelphia Association, the happy consequences of union and stated intercourse among churches maintaining the same faith and order. To accomplish similar purposes, an union of the four churches before mentioned was contemplated and agreed on. Accordingly on the 21st of October, 1751, delegates from Ashley-river and Welsh-Neck met

those of Charleston in the said city. The messengers from Ewhaw were prevented from attending. It was agreed that an annual meeting should thenceforward be holden on Saturday preceding the second Sabbath of November, to consist of the ministers and messengers of the several churches; that the two first days should be employed in public worship, and a sermon introductory to business preached on the Monday following, at 10 o'clock.

The object of the union was declared to be the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom, by the maintenance of love and fellowship, and by mutual consultations for the peace and welfare of the churches. The independency of the churches was asserted, and the powers of the Association restricted to a council of advice. It was agreed to meet again in Charleston, November, 1752. At that time the delegates from Ewhaw attended, and the proceedings of the first meeting were ratified. The instrument of union bears the following signatures: John Stephens, Oliver Hart, Francis Pelot, John Brown, Joshua Edwards, ministers; James Fowler, William Screven, Richard Bedon, Charles Barker, Benjamin Parminter, Thomas Harrison, Philip Douglas, and John Mikell, messengers.

The Association thus formed, held its meetings for a number of years at the place of its organization, and hence took the name of the "Charleston Association."

In 1765, the Association, taking into consideration the destitute condition of many places in the interior settlements of this and the neighboring States, (then provinces) recommended to the churches to make contributions for the support of a missionary to itinerate in those parts.

Mr. Hart was authorized and requested, provided a sufficient sum should be raised, to procure, if possible, a suitable person for the purpose. With this view he visited Pennsylvania and New Jersey in the following year, and prevailed with Reverend John Gano to undertake the service, who attended the annual meeting, and was cordially received. The Association requested Mr. Gano to visit the Yadkin settlement in North-Carolina first, and afterwards to bestow his labors wherever Providence should appear to direct. He devoted himself to the work: it afforded ample scope for his distinguished piety, eloquence and fortitude; and his ministrations were crowned with remarkable success. Many embraced and professed the gospel. The following year he received from the Association a letter of thanks for his faithfulness and industry in the mission. At the same time, the expediency of raising a fund to furnish suitable candidates for the ministry with a competent share of learning, was taken into consideration; and it was recommended to the churches generally to collect money for the purpose. The members present engaged, in behalf of their constituents, to furnish one hundred and thirty-three pounds to begin the fund; and Messrs. Stephens, Hart, and Pelot were chosen trustees. In 1759, Mr. Evan Pugh was proposed by Mr. Gano as a candidate for the ministry. He was examined, approved, and put on a course of studies. Having gone through them, he preached before the Association in 1762 with acceptance, and was soon after ordained.

The general contribution from the churches was not so great as was wished. But a society instituted in Charleston in 1755, which was called the "Religious Society," and flourished many years, was highly useful in aiding the Association in its benevolent design. Several young men were furnished by it with the means of pursuing studies preparatory to the ministry. Of this number were Messrs. Samuel Stillman and Edmund Botsford, both from the church in Charleston. The former was ordained there February 26, 1759, and in 1807 finished at Boston a long life, distinguished by fervent piety, shining talents, and eminent usefulness.

The latter survives as the venerable pastor of the church at Georgetown. In 1763, Reverend Hezekiah Smith, from New-Jersey, was ordained at Pedee by the assistance of several ministers of this body, and resided there a year, supplying the Cashaway church, and visiting those adjacent. In 1767, the Association having previously called the serious attention of the churches to the subject, formally adopted the confession of faith, published by the London Assembly of 1680. This had been previously held by the churches in their individual capacities, particularly that of Charleston, from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The church at Ashley-river adopted it March 18, 1737. Messrs. Hart and Pelot were appointed to draw up a system of discipline agreeable to Scripture, to be used by the churches. This they brought forward in 1772, and Reverend Morgan Edwards and Mr. David Williams were requested to assist the compilers in revising it. In 1773, it was examined by the Association, and adopted. That and the confession of faith were printed under the inspection of Mr. Hart.

Several churches in North-Carolina having joined the Association in 1758, it was determined, for their accommodation, that an annual meeting of ministers, belonging to this body, should be holden at Pedee in the spring; the object of which, besides preaching, was to consider of the general concerns, and particularly of those in North-Carolina; their proceedings, however, subject to revision by the more general delegation at Charleston. In 1760, five other churches in North-Carolina, viz. Great Koharah, Fishing-creek, Tosniot, and two on Tar-river, joined the confederacy, but soon withdrew.

Several churches of the Separate Baptists were formed in the new settlements of South-Carolina about 1760. One of them situated on Broad-river, sent a letter by their minister, Philip Mulkey, to the Association, in 1762, stating several queries, which Mr. Hart was appointed to answer. An union with this people was thought desirable, and Messrs. Hart and Pugh were delegated to attend one of their general meetings in North-Carolina, and endeavor to effect it. In 1773, Reverend Daniel Marshall, Joseph Reese, and Samuel Newton, commissioners appointed by a general meeting of the Separates held at the Congaree, attended at Charleston for the same purpose. The Association testified their desire of union by proposing liberal terms, which allowed their brethren the observance of their peculiarities, reserving to themselves the right of friendly discussion on the points of difference. But the Separates would be satisfied with nothing short of the Regulars coming fully into their views. So the desirable object was not then accomplished.

In 1772, a correspondence was begun with the Philadelphia Association, by means of the Reverend Morgan Edwards, one of their ministers, who was present.

In 1773, the first regular and full account of additions and other alterations in the churches was taken. Their number of churches was then reduced to 8, which contained 390 members. Mr. Gano attended as messenger from the Philadelphia Association in 1774. He and Messrs. Hart and Pelot, by appointment of the Charleston Association, addressed the Baptist Associations throughout America, in favor of a plan of contribution, for augmenting the funds of Rhode-Island College. Messrs. Hart and Williams were nominated to receive contributions for that institution, and to transmit the same to Colonel Job Bennet, in Newport. In 1775, a correspondence was begun with the Warren and Ketockton Associations. The churches were urged to contribute for the relief of their brethren in Massachussetts, suffering from restrictions on their religious liberties; and the money which should be raised, was directed to be sent to the care of Reverend Isaac Backus.

There was no meeting in 1776, on account of the unsettled state of the country, threatened with invasion. From the first formation of the Association, particular days had been frequently set apart for humiliation and prayer, or for thanksgiving and praise. In 1777, four were appointed for these purposes, both on account of the situation of public affairs, and the state of religion. At the same time **the Association expressed their hearty approbation of the American measures.** In 1778, the time of meeting, which ten years before had been changed to February, was restored to the original season.

For a number of years after the Association began, religion flourished among the churches in a remarkable manner. Much happiness and harmony prevailed, and annual additions were made. But in 1765, and some following years, a great declension was complained of. Not long after, several unhappy circumstances took place, which pained the real friends of Christianity. Two ministers, Stephens [Mr. Stephens professed and was believed to be penitent before his death and was admitted again to preach] and Bedgegood [see his biography in the history of the Welsh-Neck church] who had been in high repute, were disowned; the first for drunkenness, the last for polygamy. About 1777, a revival commenced, several new churches joined the union, and considerable additions were made by baptism. In 1779, a standing committee was chosen to transact business of emergency during the recess of the Association; particularly to treat with government on behalf of the churches; to correspond with other Associations; to detect impostors, and recommend traveling ministers of good character. Messrs. Hart, Pugh, Borsford, Furman, and Cowan, were the committee nominated. By the State Constitution established in South-Carolina, during the revolution, the different denominations were put on a footing, and incorporation was allowed to individual churches, on application to the Legislature. The Association advised those in its connection to avail themselves of this privilege, which gave them the legal right of holding and recovering property. Several accordingly made application, and obtained it.

South-Carolina soon becoming the theater of war, churches were scattered, and their intercourse suspended. Several ministers, who had been the active friends of the revolution, retired for safety to neighboring or distant States. Mr. Hart, who had acted so conspicuous and important a part in the concerns of this body, removed with his family to New-Jersey.

In 1782, a meeting of the Association was held at Welsh-Neck. Ministers were appointed to visit destitute churches. The 7th of November was set apart as a day of thanksgiving, for the interpositions of Providence in favor of America.

In 1783, the standing committee was revived, consisting of Messrs. Pugh, Botsford, and Furman. Three years after, the same nomination took place, with the addition of Messrs. Cook, Lewis, and Holcombe. A faithful and useful minister, Reverend Timothy Dargan, having died in this year, the Association declared their "high sense of the worth of that eminent servant of Christ, and their concern to have the memory of his amiable life and virtues perpetuated."

In 1785, Reverend Silas Mercer and Peter Smith appeared as messengers from the Georgia Association, lately formed, and were cordially received. A correspondence with this Association was introduced.

In 1786, Reverend Joseph Cook was desired to open a correspondence with the Kent and Sussex Association, in England, on behalf of this body. The Circular Address of this year contains the following exhortations: "It is our ardent desire that the members of our churches be well established in the evidence as well as the necessity and importance of Christianity; and that the reasonableness and consistency of its particular doctrines be well understood. We recommend, therefore, that a thirst for divine knowledge, together with a laudable desire to excel in every grace and virtue, be entertained in all your breasts. Pay particular attention to the education of your children with this view; and where it has pleased God to call any of his young servants to the work of the ministry, let the churches be careful to introduce them in the line of study and improvement; and make suitable exertions to furnish them with the necessary means for this end. We have for several years given intimation of our concern, that the representation of churches in Association has not been better supported, and we are sorry to observe, that this has not had the desired effect. Permit us now to entreat you by all the arguments which arise from the love of Christ, and that dear uniting affection, by which his saints are bound together; by the support, honor, and advantage which the church enjoys from a due regard to the interests of her union, and the tendency it has to promote the divine honor; that it may be attended to, not as a matter depending on convenience, but as of sacred and religious regard. Let each church extend its views beyond its own particular interests, to the happiness of churches abroad, and the general spread of the gospel; and it will be impossible to indulge a backwardness therein."

In the same letter they express their joy at the introduction of several promising young men into the ministry, and at the success of the gospel in Great-Britain, and in different parts of America. The expediency of applying for incorporation was considered and agreed on. In 1787, a covenant with this view was drawn up and signed, and a committee appointed to petition the Legislature. A meeting sufficiently numerous was, however, not obtained during the recess; and at the next annual meeting, some members doubting the propriety of the measure, it was relinquished. A few years after, the object was obtained in a different form, and to general satisfaction.

In 1789, the Bethel Association, newly formed in the northwestern parts of the State, and consisting of 16 churches, was represented by the Reverend James Fowler. A correspondence was commenced, and in consequence of a motion to that effect, made by Mr. Fowler, a proposal was made from the Charleston Association to unite the two bodies; but on account of some inconveniences, apprehended by the Bethel, it failed of accomplishment. Letters and breviate of English Associations were received, and distributed to the churches, and recommended to their perusal.

The object of having a respectable and permanent fund established for the education of pious young men, candidates for the ministry, having been seriously contemplated and earnestly wished by several members of the Association, it was this year taken up, and particularly recommended to the churches. At the following meeting a draft of a plan for the purpose was brought forward by a committee, consisting of Messrs. Furman, S. Mercer, Mosely, and Holcombe, and adopted by the Association. By this it was proposed, That a sermon should be preached annually in each church, followed by a collection. 2d. That

delegates, one from each church, should meet at the same time and place with the Association, whose business it should be to examine candidates for the assistance of the churches, and to make application of the fund. The Circular Letter, drawn up by Mr. Holcombe, urges the hearty adoption of this plan. After recounting the disadvantages the Baptist denomination had sustained in various parts of the world, but especially in the interior parts of America, from the neglect of learning, it proceeds --

"We hope, therefore, brethren, that the consideration of diffusing useful knowledge, of capacitating your ministers to acquit themselves with propriety and dignity in the important duties of their functions; of adorning the Christian profession, increasing the respectability of our order, and above all, glorifying our Royal Master, will engage you to make the necessary exertions for completing the proposed design, so manifestly tending to answer such truly laudable purposes. The laws of reason and religion require it at your hands. We not only see, but feel the necessity of it, and beseech you, by your obligations to promote the Redeemer's honor, and your tender regards for the prosperity of Zion, to make it a matter of serious and religious concern."

[Though the plan for raising and supporting a fund for the purposes mentioned, was adopted unanimously by the delegates assembled, it met with opposition in several of the churches, so that, at subsequent meetings of the Association, objections were raised against it, which, though answered and generally given up in that body, by those who proposed them, appeared to be retained by the dissatisfied churches; as they either withheld their aid altogether, or contributed very partially toward the fund.]

In this year died Reverend Joseph Cook; and the Association paid a tribute of affection and regard to his memory, as "a faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and an able minister of the New Testament."

In 1791, Mr. Furman having, at the request of the Association, published his sermon preached before them in 1789, presented them with fifty copies of the same, and received the thanks of the body. The committee for the Education Fund reported, "That they had a system of rules under consideration, though not fully matured; that they had agreed, when the rules were completed, to apply to the Legislature for incorporation; and that they conceived it might be proper to invest the committee with power to recover and take into their possession any glebes or other property belonging to churches in this connection, which either are or may become extinct, when liable to revert to the public, or become private property, and apply the same to the interests of the union." The Association, after receiving and considering this report, unanimously approved the plan of enlarging the powers of the committee, and of its obtaining incorporation. They further agreed that due care ought to be taken, that the business and powers of the committee be fully defined, and that they might not interfere with the rights and privileges of the churches as independent bodies, in things either spiritual or temporal.

In 1793, the attention of the churches was called to "the threatening and warning dispensations of Providence, and the declension of religion," and the third Wednesday of December was appointed as a day of solemn fasting and prayer, to implore the mercy of God on the churches and the country at large; to pray for the peace and prosperity of the United States; for a general reformation among the people, and for the direction and preservation of the government; also, for a sanctified use of the afflicting dispensations of Providence, particularly that by which Philadelphia had been recently visited. [In this year this city was first visited with the yellow fever.]

Contributions had been made for reprinting the Confession of Faith, Church Discipline, and Catechism; but not being fully adequate to the object, Mr. Furman was requested to have the Discipline put to the press immediately, and to import the rest. Accordingly 1000 copies of the Catechism, and 200 of the Confession of Faith were imported, and 2000 of the Discipline printed.

In 1794, to accommodate some of the southern churches, it was proposed to have two meetings in a year; and one by way of experiment was appointed to be holden the ensuing May at Ewhaw. Delegates from Charleston, Ewhaw, Coosawhatchie, Pipe-Creek, and Black Swamp, attended. They concluded that the plan of holding two meetings in the year was impracticable, and recommended instead of it, that the annual meeting should be held in the northern and southern parts alternately. This recommendation was afterwards complied with. They also took into consideration the **General Concert of Prayer**, proposed to be holden on the first Tuesday of January, April, July, and October; the object of it being to unite with a number of good men of different denominations, at home and abroad, for "the revival of religion among Christians; the

propagation and success of the gospel among the heathen, and the conversion of the Jews to Christianity." The observance of this Concert was earnestly recommended, and the recommendation renewed from year to year. The Circular Letter of 1795 contains the following admonitions:

"The situation of the church calls for deep humiliation before God, serious concern respecting the state of our souls, vigorous exertions in the cause of God, and diligent use of the appointed means of grace. In vain do we acknowledge our imperfections, or professedly lament our leanness, if our hearts are not affected. And what blessings can we reasonably expect, while the rational and most proper means, which God has put within our power, and to which his word directs, are neglected? Permit us, dear brethren, to suggest our fears, that the duties of the closet and the discipline of the heart, are awfully neglected in the present day. We fear the views of even those who have made the most serious profession, are too much limited to the present life. Have we not almost forgot to consider ourselves as strangers and pilgrims on the earth? Is not the spirit of ambition, pride, and covetousness prevalent to a high degree? Who are they that feel anxiously concerned for the things which are Jesus Christ's? Who burn with zeal for the honor of Jehovah; mourn for the abominations of the land; and feel bowels of compassion for perishing and immortal souls? Has not the gracious and holy Spirit of God, the Comforter, been grieved by our untender walk, by our unbelief, ingratitude, formality, and neglect or abuse of our privileges? Have not the solemn meetings for prayer, repeatedly recommended, been either shamefully neglected, or attended with a coldness and indifference unbecoming those who profess to know Jesus Christ, or to believe the awful realities of eternity? Rouse, brethren, from your lethargy; reason, interest, obligation call; judgments threaten; mercies invite; all that is sacred to the heart of a rational immortal creature, requires your activity, seriousness, and diligence, in the cause of your God and Redeemer. Render to Jehovah his unquestionable and too long detained due, and prove him herewith, if he will not pour you out a blessing, that there even shall not be room sufficient to receive it."

In 1797, a letter was received from Mr. John M. Roberts, expressing gratitude for the assistance afforded him in obtaining education for the ministry; and his "firm determination to use his best exertions to obtain every suitable qualification, and to devote himself to the great work;" which gave much satisfaction.

Reverend Gabriel Gerald, a member of the church at the High-Hills of Santee, having **advanced sentiments subversive of the Christian Sabbath**, and a difficulty existing between him and the church in consequence of the same, the Association was applied to. Mr. Gerald then published a pamphlet in defense of his opinions and practice. At the request of the Association, a letter was written in answer to his publication, with a view to convince him of the obligation to observe the Sabbath, and to reclaim him from what appeared a dangerous error; but it proved ineffectual. The church put Mr. Gerald under censure, and he appealed to the Association, complaining of unfair treatment. A letter was also received from the church, requesting assistance. Messrs. Furman, Botsford, and Fowler, were appointed a committee on behalf of the Association, to meet both parties. Next year the committee reported, that according to their judgment, some of the church's proceedings had been irregular; but that they had just cause of dissatisfaction with Mr. Gerald, both on account of his principle and conduct; that a liberal plan of reconciliation, proposed by the committee, had been rejected by him, and that he persisted in the sentiment and conduct he had defended from the pulpit and the press, he died soon after, without having recanted his sentiments.

In 1800, **the proposition** of the Philadelphia Association, **to establish a general conference of the Baptist Associations throughout the United States**, was taken into consideration, and it was voted, that "if a well-digested plan should be devised for such a coalition, in which the proper objects were clearly pointed out, with suitable measures to attain them, and the danger of perversion and abuse well guarded against, and if a general concurrence in the undertaking should be obtained of the churches in the United States, this Association are disposed to give it their support."

In the same year, the Association recommended to churches destitute of pastors, to endeavor to support public worship by engaging some of their members to read sermons, and take a lead in prayer. In 1801, they petitioned the Legislature for an amendment of the law, passed the preceding year, imposing restrictions on religious meetings, so far as respects persons of color. The petition was renewed the next year, and attended with a degree of success. The thanks of the Association were returned to General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Major Thomas Pinckney, and Henry William Desaussure, Esq. for their patriotic exertions in its behalf.

In 1802, provision was made for the employment of a missionary to travel and preach in destitute places. The object failed of accomplishment for the want of a suitable person to undertake it. **A mission, however, to the Catawba Indians**, which had for some time been contemplated, was now commenced. **Reverend**

John Rooker was engaged for a year to preach to them, at least once a month, and to consult the chiefs and other persons of influence, on their disposition to have a school founded among them. Mr. Rooker at the next meeting reported, that "the Indians had given him a very favorable reception; were much pleased with the attention the Association had shown by appointing a missionary to them; had attended very seriously to his preaching, and from the first expressed an earnest desire that a school might be established among them for the instruction of their youth: also, that there appeared the beginning of a work of grace among the white people, who attended on his preaching when ministering, to the Indians; and that he was in hopes the Indians would share in the blessing." It was, in consequence, determined to continue the mission, and Mr. Rooker was authorized to employ a teacher to instruct the youth in the common branches of education, and the principles of Christianity. A school was accordingly established, and has been continued. Samples of writing done by the Indian youth, have been exhibited from year to year, evincing considerable proficiency. Letters also have been repeatedly received from the chiefs of the nation, requesting a continuance of the mission and school. At the meeting of 1806, Robert Marsh, an Indian of the Pomunky tribe, living with the Catawbias, and a licensed preacher, was present, and preached with acceptance to a large and affected audience.

Dr. Ramsay, in his history of South-Carolina, lately published, hath in a note inserted the following observations on this subject: "It is truly honorable to the Baptists, that they have done so much for the instruction of the Indians; and it is lamentable that the State has done so little. The Catawba Indians have, for a long time, been friendly, and have lived among, or rather been surrounded by white people, and yet no one effort has been made by the State for the civilization and instruction of this tribe, nor of any of the Indians. A century and half has not passed away, since this people were the sole possessors of the whole of this extensive and beautiful country; but these former lords of the soil have been driven from river to river, from forest to forest -- rolled back nation upon nation, till they are fugitives, vagrants, and strangers in their own land. Carolinians! cherish the few that remain, and prevent their cursing the day that white men landed in the country of their forefathers." ["The Catawba Indians are a small tribe, who have one town called Catawba, situated on the Catawba river, north latitude 34 degrees and 49 minutes, on the boundary line between North and South-Carolina, and contains about 450 inhabitants, of which about 150 are fighting men. They are the only tribe which resides in the State. 144,000 acres of land were granted them by the proprietary government." --Morse. It is said that their territory at present is about 16 miles square; but they have been degenerating for many years, and their number and strength have probably decreased since the above account was taken.]

In 1803, Dr. Furman, Mr. Borsford, and Mr. Roberts, were appointed a committee of correspondence, and in particular to correspond with the committee of the Philadelphia Association, to aid their design of publishing general religious information.

This year died the Reverend Evan Pugh; on which occasion the Association thought it incumbent on them to express their high sense of his "eminent abilities and worth, as a man, a scholar, a Christian, and a divine." Reverend Aaron Tison, David Owen, and Jeremiah Rhame, "three zealous and much approved preachers of the gospel," died in 1805; and in 1806, Reverend Lewis Collins, "an aged and faithful minister, eminent for his piety, and useful in his day."

In 1804, the Association petitioned the Legislature for a law to abolish the practice of duelling.

In 1808, Dr. Samuel Jones, of Pennsylvania, presented the Association with 160 copies of his Century Sermon, preached before the Philadelphia Association, to be applied to the uses of the Education Fund; and a vote was passed expressing gratitude for this instance of his liberality.

A motion was made this year to have the Association Sermon in future preached on the Saturday of the annual meeting, and the business then entered on, with a view to expedite it, but was negatived. It was resolved to continue the usual mode of conducting the business, and the following reasons were assigned by the Association: " First, because devotion and the exercise of the best ministerial gifts at those general meetings are objects, in our estimation, of the first importance. Secondly, as the administration of the Lord's Supper is a part of the solemn service appointed for the Sabbath on these occasions, it is proper and necessary that the exercises of the Saturday should be preparatory to the sacred transaction of approaching the table, and that the mind be as little as possible diverted from the great object, which then claims its

attention. Thirdly, the plan of hurrying through the business of the Association, we think is wrong; the subjects which come under consideration, being generally very serious and important, and requiring time for deliberation. In general, they have been too much hurried. It is, therefore, recommended to the ministers and delegates, in future, to come with an expectation that the business will not conclude before Wednesday. And as it too often happens that the ministers meet on Saturday, without any expectation to preach on that day, and if called to preach, deliver hasty, indigested discourses; which circumstance has a bad effect on the general state of the meeting; it is requested that they in general endeavor to come prepared to preach, and that on subjects the most useful and important, suited to excite a fervid, yet rational piety.

The death of Reverend Samuel Eccles, and Mr. Alexander M_Neal, was noticed with affection and respect for their memory, as "of men, of whose usefulness in the ministry the most pleasing hopes were entertained. The first had been for several years a student under the care of the general committee; and the other had lately arrived from Scotland."

In 1809 Reverend Messrs. Johnson and Collins were appointed a committee to act with the Missionary to the Indians, in superintending the school, and occasionally visiting the nation.

It was recommended to the churches and the public to encourage, by subscription, the undertaking of Mr. Woodward, of Philadelphia, to republish Dr. Gill's Exposition; and each church was advised to provide a copy for the use of its minister.

It was determined also, to encourage the author of this History in his undertaking, the design of which he had then announced. In 1810, this Association determined to patronize the publication of the Confession of Faith, System of Discipline, and Catechism, in one volume; and to address the other Baptist Associations in the State with a view of obtaining their concurrence.

From 1773, when the first account of additions, etc. was taken, till 1790, the following changes took place -- nineteen new churches were added to the Association -- two joined other Associations -- and three became extinct. The whole number of churches being twenty-two. In this period there were baptized 980; received by letter 284; dismissed by letter 520; excommunicated 105; dead 213. Whole number 1904.

From 1790 till 1810, twenty new churches were added; seven were dismissed to the Savannah-river Association, two were excluded for not maintaining their representations and two became extinct. The whole number of churches remaining, thirty-three. In this period there were baptized 2874 -- received by letter 660 -- dismissed 1615 -- excommunicated 458 -- restored 56 -- dead 525. Whole number of members 2907.

This account closes with 1810. Since that time, although but one new church has been added to the Association, yet it has greatly increased, so that in 1812 it contained 3498 members. 525 were added that year. The foregoing history of this Association contains most of the information which we shall be able to give of the churches, which it comprises. Of the few following, however, it may be proper to give a few historical sketches.

Congaree. -- This church, which has been the mother of a number of others, now belonging to this Association, originated from the Separate Baptists, and was gathered in the following manner. About the year 1764, Philip Mulky began to preach in this neighborhood, and so successful were his labors, that in the course of a year or two the following persons were baptized, viz. William Rucker, Jane Curry, Martha Goodwin, Isaac Rayford, Joseph Reese, Thomas Norris, and Timothy Dargan, (these three afterwards became ministers) Benjamin Bryon, Nathan Ellis, John Gill, and others, to the number of thirty-three, who, in November 1766, were constituted into a church, by the help of Reverend Joseph Murphy, of North-Carolina. Concerning the progress of this church, from a short time after its formation to the present time, we have but little information. It soon became very extensive, and branched out on almost every side; of these branches, those at the High-Hills of Santee, Wateree, Twenty-five-mile Creek, and Amelia township, have since become distinct churches, and now have a seat in the Charleston Association.

The first pastor of the Congaree church was the famous Joseph Reese, of whom we have given a biographical account. Reverend John Newton was for a time associated with him in the care of this extensive community. I can learn but little more respecting him than that he was a native of Pennsylvania, and was an excellent man. He preached many years in North-Carolina, in connection with the Separates, where his labors were much blest; he came to Congaree in 1765, and three years after received ordination at the hands of Messrs. Oliver Hart and Evan Pugh, for which, as they were Regular Baptists, he was censured and silenced, by the Sandy Creek Association, which assuming body at that time claimed the jurisdiction of the Congaree church. After remaining in this situation for some time, he was restored to his ministry, but never fully engaged in it, after this arbitrary occurrence.

High-Hills of Santee. -- This is a church of some celebrity, and as it is a branch of the last mentioned, we shall briefly state its origin and progress. About the year 1769, Mr. **Jeremiah Dargan** preached in this place, which was then wild and irreligious. Soon after, Mr. **Joseph Reese** visited them, and by his preaching alarmed the whole neighborhood; and so successful were the labors of these faithful and zealous men, and particularly the latter, who is considered as the founder of the church, that in a short time a great number were baptized, and among them was Dr. Furman and his first wife. These new converts joined the Congaree church, as has already been suggested, and stood as a branch of that body, until the Santee church was constituted in 1772. The number of constituents was about 70. A few months after the church was organized, Mr. Furman was by them called to the ministry; he was ordained here in 1774, by Messrs. Reese and Pugh. Soon after his ordination he became the pastor of the church, and continued in that office until 1787, when he removed to Charleston. After his removal, the church was without a pastor about ten years, when they had the happiness to settle among them Reverend John M. Roberts, who remains their worthy and useful pastor.

The seat of the original church is about three miles north of Statebury, and about a hundred north-west of Charleston. It has two or three other places of worship, not many miles distant. The Santee church has been a mother establishment; for the churches of Ebenezer, Lynch_s Creek, (2d of that name) Upper Fork of Lynch_s Creek, Swift Creek, Bethel, Camden, and Calvary, all originated from it. Being in a central situation, it has frequently been the place of the Association_s meeting.

Georgetown. -- It may be seen in the biography of Reverend William Screven, that he made Georgetown his place of residence for a number of years in the latter part of his life; but it does not appear that there were ever many Baptists in the place, until ministers of this order began to be invited here by Mr. William Cuttiro. Mr. Cuttiro (was a native of the town, but was a resident in Charleston, where he was baptized by Reverend Oliver Hart, in 1767. Two years after, he returned and settled in Georgetown. From this time, by his solicitation Baptist ministers began to visit the place. Dr. Furman was the most frequent visitor, as his labors were the most acceptable. He, for many years, annually spent several weeks in visiting and administering to the brethren here; for Mr. Cuttiro had now a number of his family and some others united in profession with him, and by Drs. Furman and Staughton, they were formed into a church in 1794. For one year immediately subsequent to its constitution, this church was supplied by Dr. Staughton, now of Philadelphia, who had then just come to America. In 1797, Reverend **Edmund Botsford** removed from the Welsh-Neck church, and settled in the pastoral office at Georgetown. Mr. Botsford was born at Woburn, in Bedfordshire, England, November, 1745; he came to America when he was about 20 years of age, and soon after was baptized by Mr. Hart, of Charleston; and after studying with him between two and three years, he began to preach at Tuckaseeking in Georgia, in 1771. In that State he tarried about seven years, when he traveled and preached abundantly with much success; but in the American war he was obliged to fly from the country, with the loss of most of his estate. He then settled at the Welsh-Neck, where he continued until he removed to his present situation. Mr. Botsford was a very successful laborer in the vineyard in his more active days; and although his ministry in Georgetown has been highly reputable in the view of all, and much esteemed by the pious, yet it has not been so successful as he and his friends could have wished. Most of the old members have died, and few others have succeeded them, so that the church is now in a feeble state. This church has a handsome and commodious wooden meeting-house, which was well finished in 1804. It stands on a lot of one acre, which was given in reserve by the Reverend William Screven, when the town was first laid out; but was not occupied until almost a hundred years after his death. This house, which is about 60 feet long, is situated on a delightful eminence, directly opposite the market-house, and commands a view of the whole town from the front of it, and of very extensive rice fields from its rear.

Beaufort. -- This town is situated on the island of Port-Royal, about 70 miles S. W. from Charleston, and is remarkable for its healthy situation, and the hospitality and politeness of its inhabitants. The Baptist church here originated from the division of the ancient one at Ewhaw, and was formed in 1804.

The foundation for this church was laid by the labors of Dr. Holcombe, now of Philadelphia, who resided here a number of years, while he was pastor of the Ewhaw church, and by whom many of the constituents of the church were baptized. While Reverend Joseph B. Cook was pastor at Ewhaw, he also devoted a part of his labors to this branch of that body; and soon after the church was formed, he became its pastor. In this office he continued until 1809, when he resigned his charge, and is now settled at Camden, where a church has lately been formed. About the time of Mr. Cook's resignation, Reverend James Graham, from Scotland, came to the place, and had the care of the church a short time; but his connection with this people was not altogether happy for himself nor them, and was therefore soon dissolved.

Reverend **William S. Brantly**, their present pastor, succeeded Mr. Graham. Mr. Brantly is a native of North-Carolina, where he was born in 1786. He received considerable assistance towards his education, from the Charleston Education Fund, and graduated at Columbia College in 1809. The Beaufort church has a valuable and commodious house of worship, built of a composition of oyster, shells, and mortar made of the same marine materials. [There are in Beaufort, and along the sea-coast in that region, many stately edifices built of this composition. Oysters of an inferior quality grow here in an abundance, of which there are no examples in the northern States. They appear to be short-lived, and the shells are wafted in vast bodies along the shore, so that whatever quantities are desired may be procured with ease. A sufficient portion of them are reduced to lime, and much mortar is necessary in this work, with which the shells are intermixed, and with this composition the wall is made, which, when it is thoroughly dry, is as impregnable as rock, and I know not but of equal durability. The nicest structures of this kind are plastered without and within, and make an elegant appearance, while stables and coarser buildings, are left in a rough, unplastered state and present to the view of a stranger, a ragged and curious sight.]

Columbia. -- Although the church in this town is of a recent date, yet considering its situation and the circumstances of its origin, it demands a brief description. In 1804, **Jonathan Maxcy**, D.D. a Baptist minister, formerly President of Rhode-Island College, settled in this town in the Presidency of the South-Carolina College, which had been established here a little while before. The doctor commenced a course of preaching in connection with his presidential duties, which, however, on account of debility, he was obliged to relinquish in about six months. It does not appear that there was much preaching here by the Baptists from this period until 1808, when Mr. Brantly, now of Beaufort in this State, then a student under President Maxcy, by the request of the inhabitants of Columbia, preached to them about a year, during the latter part of his residence in College. Next to him was Mr. Johnson, now of Savannah, who began preaching here in the beginning of the year 1809. Mr. Johnson removed hither from the church at Ewhaw, of which he was pastor. He found in the place upwards of twenty Baptist professors, belonging to different churches. He began preaching in the College Chapel, and his ministry was crowned with success. Under him the church at Columbia arose; it was founded in the latter part of the year 1809, of about 36 members, and has now increased to upwards of 100, and has erected a commodious brick meeting-house 40 feet square. Since Mr. Johnson's removal to Savannah, this church is left destitute of a pastor.

The Baptists, whose history we have thus far related, were denominated Particular or Regular, when these terms were in use among our southern brethren. They are the most ancient, and have always been the most active and influential in all matters of public concern although they have for a number of years, been inferior in number to those who originated from the Separates. The beginning of this people in South-Carolina has been briefly related in the history of the Separate Baptists of North-Carolina, Virginia, etc.; and for the purpose of preserving the thread of our history, we have in the preceding narrative given an account of one of these churches, viz. the Congaree, with its numerous branches. **What remains is to give as good an account as we can collect of the Associations and numerous churches, which have originated from that zealous people, improperly called SEPARATES**, who were devout and successful almost to a proverb, wherever they began their early and evangelical exertions.

Mr. Furman's history does not describe this people, as it is confined to the Charleston Association. Mr. Edwards has left some sketches of their history; and the author of this work traveled much among them, and took much pains in his historical inquiries respecting them; yet he will be able to say but little of

them, compared with what has been said of their brethren in the lower parts of the State; partly for the want of historical facts of any kind, and partly for the want of such, as would make a diffusive narrative sufficiently interesting to the reader.

About the year 1760, a number of the Separate ministers of the Sandy Creek connection in North-Carolina, began to travel and settle in this State, some a little before and others a little after the above-mentioned period. Among the ministers, **Daniel Marshall** and **Philip Mulky** appear to have been the most distinguished. These evangelical adventurers were accompanied by many of their brethren in their removals. Marshall settled at Beaver Creek, where he soon gathered a church. Here he tarried not long before he removed to Stephen_s Creek, where he gathered another, and then crossed over the Savannah River and settled in Georgia, where the remainder of his useful life was spent in the service of his Master.

Mr. Mulky exercised his ministry in different places, in the upper regions of this State, where he was for many years a very reputable and successful minister; but the latter part of his life was most sadly beclouded. The Fairforest church, now belonging to the Bethel Association, was founded by him, and as it is the oldest of the Separate Baptists in the State, and became the mother of many others, we shall relate its early history at large.

In the year 1759, Philip Mulky and wife, Stephen Howard and wife, Obadiah Howard and wife, Joseph Breed and wife, Benjamin Gist and wife, Charles Thompson, Thomas Thompson, and Rachel Collins, all members of Deep River church in North-Carolina, arrived in this State, and settled first at Broad River, where they embodied into a church, and chose Mr. Mulky for their pastor. After tarrying here about two years, and increasing to 104, the above-named thirteen persons, (leaving the rest behind) removed to Fairforest, where they were again formed into a church in 1762, which, in about ten years, increased to 167 members. Some of their habitations were a hundred miles from each other; and besides the main establishment, there were four branches, which, in process of time, were organized into distinct churches.

Mr. Mulky_s conversion, as related by Mr. Edwards, was truly remarkable. His success in the ministry, says this historian, was so great, that he became exalted above measure in his own esteem, and in that of his converts; but at length, to the grief of the friends of Zion, he began to stumble, and soon fell into many heinous sins, and remained, when an old man, an outcast from the church, and a disgrace to that precious cause, of which he had been such an eminent champion.

In 1771, the following churches, viz. Fairforest, Stephen_s Creek, Congaree, Bush River, Little River of Broad River, Little River of Saluda, and Mine Creek, formed an Association, to which they gave the name of Congaree. This body, by the means of Morgan Edwards, soon opened a correspondence with the Philadelphia Association; other churches united with it soon after it was formed, and it traveled well for a time. But the old New-England Pedobaptist policy, which Shubael Stearns introduced into the Sandy Creek Association, was soon put in practice here. The Association began to tamper with the discipline of the churches, and infringed on their independency; it of course became embarrassed in its proceedings, as all Associations will, when they attempt to see and act for the churches, and in a few years was entirely broken up.

But the churches do not appear to have been impeded in their progress by the dissolution of the Association; they continued to increase and send forth their branches in different directions; and in 1789, many of those which had belonged to the Congaree Association, and others which had been raised up since it was dissolved, united in forming an establishment to which they gave the name of the

BETHEL ASSOCIATION

This body, at its constitution, consisted of sixteen churches. They immediately delegated James Fowler, one of their principal ministers, to the Charleston Association, who was cordially received; and who, pursuant to his instructions, so far adjusted the little matters of difference, which had heretofore prevented their union with the Separates, that a correspondence was opened, which has been maintained to the present time.

From this period the name of Separate began to be disused, and was soon entirely laid aside; so that the Baptists in South-Carolina, from whatever source they originated, have for many years past been united in their external order and doctrinal sentiments.

The Bethel Association has been a very flourishing body, and has had within its bounds a number of very extensive revivals. It also shared largely in that extraordinary work which prevailed in the southern and western, and some other States, from 1800 and onward.

In 1803, there were received by baptism in all the churches of which it was composed, 1411 persons, which made its total number, at that time, notwithstanding the Broad River and Saluda River Associations had been set off from it before, 3518.

The Edgefield Association has been formed from it since, and many of its members have removed to the western country, so that it is not so large as it was at the close of the great revival, but still it is a large and respectable body.

From the foregoing sketches it appears, that the Bethel Association has been an increasing and nurturing community, beyond any of the kind in the State. It does not appear that any of its ministers have been distinguished for literary acquirements; but it has generally contained a number of men of very respectable talents, who have been remarkably zealous and successful in the most noble and benevolent employment on earth, even winning souls to Christ.

David Lilly was an eminent minister in this Association nearly if not quite from its establishment, until the Edgefield Association was taken from it, when he united with that body, and died within its bounds, about 1809. There were sufficient materials for an interesting memoir of his life, which his friends proposed to publish, and from which I intended to select a biographical sketch of his character; but this tribute of respect, which was due to the memory of an eminent and worthy minister of the gospel, has never been paid.

James Fowler was long a very useful and distinguished minister among the churches in this region. What little I have learnt of his history is as follows: Some time before the Bethel Association was formed, he, with two other men who were brothers, by the name of Rogers, were together pursuing the same occupation, in a situation remote from any of the Baptist denomination. They were brought up Presbyterians, and emigrated hither from some one of the northern States. Their minds were awakened to religious concerns; and, regardless of the traditions of their fathers, they took the Bible for their creed, and from it they, according to the best of their understanding, formed a religious system of their own. They at length heard of a Baptist preacher, who lived about 20 or 30 miles from them, and to him they delegated one of their number, to see how far his religious tenets and theirs would agree. When the messenger returned, he informed them, that the minister's principles and theirs were exactly alike, and that he had a large church of the same mind. Having thus found a people with whom they were agreed, and with whom they could associate for the communion of saints, they immediately repaired to them, were baptized, and admitted into their community. Returning home, they soon set up little meetings where they lived, in which Fowler was generally put forward. In this way he began his labors, and soon became an eminent minister of the gospel of Christ, and finished his course with joy in February, 1802, being about 60 years of age. He was generally the Moderator of the Bethel Association, and was, for many years, one of the principal ministers in that body.

BROADRIVER ASSOCIATION

In the year 1800, the bounds of the Bethel Association having become very extensive, the fourteen following churches, situated in the north-west corner of this State, and in the adjoining parts of North-Carolina, viz. Tiger River, Boiling Spring, Green Creek, Goucher Creek, Sandy Run, Buffaloe, Green River, Cedar Spring, French Broad, Mountain Creek, Bill's Creek, State Line, Buck Creek, and Long Creek, in answer to their request, were dismissed, with permission to form an Association by themselves. They were organized shortly after, when the above-mentioned name was given to it, with reference to the

river on both sides of which the churches are situated. The Broad River rises in the mountains, and unites with the Saluda in forming the Congaree, which is the main branch of the Great Santee.

This Association experienced very great enlargements soon after it was formed. In the spring of 1802, the powerful work which prevailed at that time throughout this country, began to be experienced by the churches in this body, and continued more or less for three successive years, in which the Broad River Association received an addition by baptism of 1296 members, which increased the whole number to upwards of 2000. But by different means it has been greatly diminished since that period, notwithstanding large additions have at different times been made to the churches. Great numbers have removed beyond the mountains, to the western States and territories; and in the course of five years, viz. from 1803 to 1808, there were excommunicated from the churches in this Association 285 persons; which circumstance proves that they received much chaff with the precious grain, as is too often the case in such great ingatherings; it also proves that they have used a commendable degree of diligence in winnowing it out, when it was discovered. A number of preachers were raised up in the time of the great revival, most of whom continue to be successful laborers in this part of the Lord's vineyard. Most of the churches in this Association are in the neighborhood of the Blue Ridge, and none of them are far distant from the mountainous parts of the back country. Those of Sandy Run, Green River, Mountain Creek, Bill's Creek, Silver Creek, north of Catawba River, Providence, Concord, and Smyrna, are in the counties of Rutherford, Burk, and Lincoln, in North-Carolina. Those in South-Carolina are in the districts of Greenville, Spartanborough, Union, and York.

SALUDA ASSOCIATION

This also originated from the Bethel Association. In 1802, the nine following churches, viz. Big Creek, Fork Shoal, Brushy Creek, Cross Road, Sciona, Keowee, Woolyray, Middle Fork of Saluda, and Shoal church, were dismissed from that body. The churches of Ebenezer, Shackley Ferry, Bethuel, Cathie's Creek, Neal's Creek, Salem, Hopewell, and Wilson's Creek, which had never belonged to any Association, united with those above-named in forming the Association, whose history we are now relating, which was organized in 1803. This body is in the south-west corner of the State, and like the Broad River extends to the mountains. Reverend Elnathan Davis, a native of Maryland, of whom we have given some account in the biography of Shubael Stearns, was one of the principal ministers in this Association, and continues, in his old age, to be esteemed a father in the churches, having been a successful preacher of the gospel about fifty years.

Reverend Moses Holland is also an old and respectable preacher, and was one of the constituents of the community.

The churches which compose this Association are mostly in the districts of Greenville, Abbyville, and Pendleton, on both sides of the Saluda River, from which it received its name.

EDGEFIELD ASSOCIATION

This is another flourishing establishment, from that fruitful mother of churches, the Bethel Association. It was formed in 1808, when it was called Beulah; but the next year its name was exchanged for that of the district in which most of the churches are situated, which joins the Savannah River, and is opposite Augusta in Georgia. Of this body we are able to give only a short but pleasing account; for **soon after it was formed, a happy revival commenced, which became very powerful and extensive**; and in the course of about eighteen months, about fourteen hundred persons were baptized. In the course of this revival, **Samuel Marsh**, one of their principal ministers, baptized in two churches about five hundred of this number.

A pleasant anecdote is related of one of the converts in this revival, which it may not be improper here to insert. A Mr. F -- , who had been famous for hilarity and worldly amusement, was taken under concern of mind. His associates were very unwilling to give him up, and tried various methods to divert his attention from what they esteemed a needless anxiety, and draw him again into his former vain and sinful pursuits; but all their efforts proved ineffectual. At length they contrived a shooting-match; and as Mr. F -- valued

himself on his skill with the rifle, they laid a considerable wager against him, and doubted not but their plan would succeed. Two gentlemen, one of whom has since been a member of Congress, waited on him with much gravity, and explained to him the object of their visit. He saw at once through their design; he hesitated at first, but on the whole manifested a willingness to exert his skill, provided they would let him use his own rifle, and load it himself. This request they declared was altogether reasonable, and seemed much pleased that they had obtained his consent.

Mr. F -- then stepped up to his book-case and took down his Bible; "This (said he) is my rifle." And, turning to Acts 13:10, he handed his Bible to one of the men, and said, "There is my load." The astonished gentleman read as follows: "O full of all subtilty and mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?" He immediately hung his head, and settled down, as if shot indeed. Conviction from that time fastened on his mind; his brother, also, and both of their wives were convicted, and in a short time were hopefully converted, and united with the tempted but faithful man in a religious profession. This was called F--_s buck-load.

HISTORY OF THE GENERAL BAPTISTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA, FROM THEIR COMMENCEMENT UNTIL THEY BECAME EXTINCT.

There was never but one society of this people in this State. Some sketches of their history have been given in the account of the Charleston church. They originated about 1733, when several members of the Charleston church withdrew from that ancient body, and embraced the sentiments of the General Baptists. **William Elliot, Jr.** was the leader of this separation. He appears to have been a man of wealth and influence. Soon after these people had withdrawn, they sent to England for a minister, and obtained a Mr. Robert Ingraham. In 1736, they were organized into a church; the constituents were Reverend Robert Ingraham, William Elliot, William Elliot, Jr. Thomas Elliot, Joseph Elliot, Bernard Elliot, Frances Elliot, Elizabeth Elliot, Henry Toomer, Mary Toomer, Mary Toomer, Jr., Richard Butler, Joshua Toomer, George Tinnons, John Clifford, Thomas Tow, Thomas Davis, Dorothy Jones, Ann Bonneau, Amorphintha Farr, and Ann Chidely.

The seat of this church was at Stono, about 16 miles southwest from Charleston, where they had a meeting-house and some temporalities. They also claimed, for a while, a part of the estate belonging to the church from which they separated, as has been before related. This church flourished considerably for a time, and had some able ministers for its pastors. But after existing about 50 years, it became entirely extinct; and the temporalities, which it possessed to a considerable amount, which were bestowed upon it mostly by the Elliots, after suffering many diminutions, were converted to private use.

Reverend **Robert Ingraham**, their first minister, was a native of Lincolnshire, England, but came hither directly from Farnham, near London. He was pastor of the church but a short time, for he died in 1758. Reverend **Henry Haywood** was his successor. He arrived hither from Farnham in 1739, and soon after was invested with the pastoral care of the church, in which he continued until his death, which happened in 1755. His character is that of a scholar, but an oddity in person and conduct. Mr. Whiston speaks handsomely of him; but Dr. Gill very indifferently. He translated into English Dr. Whitby's *Treatise on Original Sin*; and prepared for the press a pretty large volume, in defense of the Apostolical Constitutions. He published a defense of Dr. Whitby against Dr. Gill; also a catechism, which he dedicated to three ladies, but saw himself neglected by the chief one of them, when on her death-bed; for she then sent for Reverend Oliver Hart, to assist her in that serious situation. Mr. Hart waited on her, and moved that her own minister might be sent for; she replied, "Mr. Haywood is a good companion for the living, but he is not fit to die by, for he thinks but little of Jesus Christ."

Reverend **Daniel Wheeler** was the next in office here. He was a native of Calne, in Wiltshire, England; arrived in Charleston in 1757, and after serving the church about ten years, died in 1767, in the 61st year of his age. All that is said of him is, that he was esteemed a pious and honest man.

The fourth and last pastor of this church, was Reverend **Caleb Evans**, A.M. He was born in 1743, in the parish of Lanafonfowr, in the county of Brecknock, Wales; received his education at Aberdeen, in Scotland; arrived in Charleston in 1768, and died in 1772. About the time of Mr. Evans's death, this church

consisted of but eight members; part of them resided at Stono, and the others in Charleston: it continued in a declining way for a few years after, and then became extinct.

From the preceding history it appears, that for more than a hundred years the Baptists have held a respectable standing in South-Carolina, and that they have increased with great rapidity within about twenty or thirty years past. This great increase has been mostly in the middle and upper regions of the State, which were formerly immoral and irreligious to a proverb. The prevalence of religion has had a very pleasing effect in moralizing, and, indeed, in humanizing the manners of the people. Most of the famous racegrounds are now deserted, and the barbarous sports, which were once very common, are now but little known. The author having previously heard so many reports to the disadvantage of the people, in what are called the back countries in this and the adjoining States, entered those parts with some unpleasant apprehensions. He expected to find many saints to befriend him, but he was fearful of meeting with some heedless sinners who might molest him. But he has the pleasure of declaring, that he was most agreeably disappointed in the general manners of the people, and was treated by all classes with much civility and hospitality. There are, it must be confessed, the remains of that class of people, who gave this country such a bad name, who occasionally commit acts of violence and outrage, but they are generally among themselves, and not on strangers or sober people.

This reformation in manners, so much to the credit and happiness of the people in this country, must not be ascribed wholly to the exertions of the Baptists; for the Presbyterians and Methodists are entitled to a respectful share; and to the powerful and salutary grace of God belongs all the praise. The great revival in this country, soon after the commencement of the present century, has often been referred to in the preceding narrative. We should be pleased to give a more particular account of it than we have hitherto done, or than we, for the want of materials, are able to do. The most we can say is, that between the years 1800 and 1803, there were most surprising movements of a religious nature on the minds of the people in South-Carolina; and notwithstanding the manifest enthusiasm of many, the great Shepherd of the sheep gathered into his fold a large and precious number of Adam's ruined family. Of these, between three and four thousand joined the churches belonging to the Bethel and Broad River Associations. Large numbers were, at the same time, added to the Methodist and Presbyterian churches.

Camp meetings, during these refreshing seasons, were often held in the middle and upper regions of the State, which were promoted mostly by the Methodists and Presbyterians. Many of the Baptists, however, attended them, and united with their brethren of other denominations, so far as they could consistently with their principles. They also held meetings of a similar nature among themselves, so long as the necessity for them continued; and when that ceased, they returned to their usual places of worship.

The two following letters will give the reader a view of the manner in which the meetings above-mentioned were conducted.

The following is an Extract of a Letter, written by Reverend David Lilly, dated Aug. 23, 1802, to the Editor of the Georgia Analytical Repository, and from the 3d Number of that Work it is now transcribed.

"Reverend and dear Sir,

"I take my pen in hand to transmit to you good tidings. A great work of God is going on in the upper parts of this State. Multitudes are made to cry out, _hat shall we do to be saved?_ A few days ago, I returned from our Association. We have had a truly refreshing season. A vast concourse of people assembled on Saturday, and considerable appearances of solemnity soon took place; but no uncommon effect till Sunday late in the evening. Then the Lord was pleased to manifest his power to many hearts. Numbers were powerfully exercised through the whole night, and some were thrown to the ground.

"On Monday the work increased. The hearts of many were made to melt; and several men, noted for their impiety, were stricken and lay among the prostrate. I must acknowledge it was a memorable time with my soul; the like I had not felt for many years before. In general, the people were much engaged through the greater part of Monday night. Before sunrise, on Tuesday morning, the sacred flame began to burn afresh; several, who had been before unaffected, came to the earth. The Association rose about 3 o'clock in the afternoon; and such a degree of brotherly affection as appeared among the ministers and messengers of the churches, I scarcely ever saw. It was enough to melt the heart of the greatest infidel living. So very intent were the people to hear, that they petitioned for preaching, after business was finished; and some of the ministers continued with them, in constant exercise, till midnight. During this time, the work appeared to

increase. About twenty persons came to the ground, several of whom were lusty strong men; and many more were made to pray heartily to God. Among the number very deeply affected, were several officers of considerable rank, and others of equal respectability. Be assured, my brother, the Lord is doing great things for his people in this country.

"The hearts of sinners melt before the word of truth, like wax before the sun. Infidelity is almost ashamed to show its head. Several deists have been constrained, under a sense of their lost condition, to cry out aloud for mercy. A few, even of those who attributed the effects produced among us to infernal agency, have been reached, and overcome by an influence, which they now acknowledge to be divine.

"The work under the preaching of the Presbyterian ministers, is going on rapidly indeed, and has already extended northwardly into Virginia and through the upper country southwardly to Georgia. The clergy of all denominations, join hand and heart, in the common cause of Christianity. In some of the churches of our Association here, the great revival is but just beginning; in others it rapidly increases.

"Among the most successful of our ministers in this work, are the brethren Slackleford, Palmer, Holland, Clayton, and Greer. Besides their churches flourishing to a degree that exceeds all former experience, there are several others where the work is almost as great; and very few without some promising appearances. Ministers preach day and night; and when they make no appointments, are surrounded by distressed souls. These are daily obtaining the most satisfactory sense of peace with God, and pardon through the blood of Christ. After believing, they openly profess their faith, and crowd into our churches.

"A few weeks past, Mr. Slackleford baptized thirty-six at one time. Two of those were little girls; one was twelve, and the other but ten years old, yet they both gave satisfactory evidence of a gracious change. With these I must mention two lads, but little past those ages, and several young ladies of nearly the first respectability in the back country, who were not ashamed to follow Christ through the liquid grave. On this occasion, it was supposed, that there were no less than two thousand persons present; a third of whom, at least, were in tears at the same moment of time. Crowds came up to the ministers to be prayed for, and many fell helpless on the ground. This took place at Woodruff's meeting-house, in the district of Spartanburgh. The number baptized in our Association, since last year, is seven hundred and three.

"God has greatly magnified, and is marvellously magnifying his word. In some way and degree or other, almost every one seems to feel and acknowledge its power. My poor soul, some time ago much dejected and bowed down, is now rejoicing in God my Savior. At this instant my eyes overflow with tears of gratitude and joy, while the flame of divine love burns in my heart. Yours, etc. D.L."

A Letter from Dr. Furman of Charleston, to Dr. Ripport of London. Charleston, 11th Aug. 1802.

"Reverend and dear Sir,

"Having promised you some information respecting the extraordinary meeting at the Waxhaws, to which I purposed going at the time I wrote in May, and having accordingly attended it, I now sit down to perform my promise.

"It was appointed by the Presbyterian clergy in that part of the country, but clergymen of other denominations were invited to it; and it was proposed to be conducted on the same principles and plan with those held in Kentucky. The place of meeting is about 170 miles from Charleston, in the midst of a large settlement of Presbyterians, but not far distant from some congregations of Baptists and Methodists. This Presbyterian congregation is one of the first which were formed in the upper parts of this State; has for its pastor a Mr. Brown, who is a respectable character; and is furnished with a commodious place of worship. But as the place of worship would not be in any wise equal to the numbers expected, a place was chosen in the forest for an encampment. The numbers which assembled from various parts of the country, formed a very large congregation, the amount of which has been variously estimated; to me there appeared to be 3000, or perhaps 4,000 persons; but some supposed there were 7000 or 8000. My information respecting the number of ministers who attended, was probably not correct; but from what I observed, and collected from others, there were 11 Presbyterians, 4 Baptists, and 3 Methodists. The encampment was laid out in an oblong form, extending from the top of a hill down the south side of it, toward a stream of water, which ran at the bottom in an eastern direction, including a vacant space of about 300 yards in length and 160 in breadth. Lines of tents were erected on every side of this space; and between them, and behind, were the wagons and riding carriages placed; the space itself being reserved for the assembling of the congregation, or congregations rather, to attend public worship. Two stands were fixed on for this purpose: at the one, a stage was erected under some lofty trees, which afforded an ample shade; at the other, which was not so well provided with shade, a wagon was placed for the rostrum.

"The public service began on Friday afternoon, the 21st of May, with a sermon by the Reverend Dr. M^cCorkel, of the Presbyterian church; after which, the congregation was dismissed: but at the same time the hearers were informed, that they would be visited at their tents, and exhorted by the ministers, during the course of the evening. To this information an exhortation was added, that they would improve the time in religious conversation, earnest prayer, and singing the praises of God. This mode of improving the

time, both by the ministers and a large proportion of the hearers, was strictly adhered to: not only were exhortations given, but many sermons also were preached along the lines in the evening; and the exercises continued, by the ministers in general, till midnight; and by the Methodist ministers, among their adherents, nearly or quite all the night.

"On Saturday morning, the ministers assembled, after an early breakfast, and appointed a committee to arrange the services for that day and the two following. The committee consisted wholly of Presbyterian ministers. They soon performed the work of their appointment, and assigned the several ministers present their respective parts of the service. By this arrangement, two public services were appointed at each stand for that day; three for the Sabbath, together with the administration of the communion, at a place a little distant from the encampment; and two at each stand again for Monday. The intervals, and evenings in particular, to be improved in the same manner as on the former day: Necessary business calling me away on Sunday evening, I did not see the conclusion of the meeting. This, however, I can say, it was conducted with much solemnity, while I was at it; and the engagedness of the people appeared to be great. Many seemed to be seriously concerned for the salvation of their souls; and the preaching and exhortations of the ministers in general were well calculated to inspire right sentiments, and make right impressions. In the intervals of public worship, the voice of praise was heard among the tents in every direction, and frequently that of prayer by private Christians. The communion service was performed with much apparent devotion, while I attended, which was at the serving of the first table. The Presbyterians and Methodists sat down together; but the Baptists, on the principle which has generally governed them on this subject, abstained. Several persons suffered at this meeting those bodily affections, which have been before experienced at Kentucky, North-Carolina, and at other places, where the extraordinary revivals in religion within this year or two have taken place. Some of them fell instantaneously, as though struck with lightning, and continued insensible for a length of time; others were more mildly affected, and soon recovered their bodily strength, with a proper command of their mental powers. Deep conviction for sin, and apprehension of the wrath of God, was professed by the chief of them at first; and several of them afterwards appeared to have a joyful sense of pardoning mercy through a Redeemer. Others continued under a sense of condemnation, after those extraordinary bodily affections ceased; and some from the first, appeared to be more affected with the greatness and goodness of God, and with the love of Christ, than with apprehensions of divine wrath. In a few cases there were indications, as I conceived, of enthusiasm, and even affectation; but in others a strong evidence of supernatural power and gracious influence. Several received the impression in their tents; others in a still more retired situation, quite withdrawn from company; some, who had been to that moment in opposition to what was thus going on, under the character of the work of God; and others, who had been till then careless. The number of persons thus affected, while I was present, was not great in proportion to the multitude attending. I have, indeed, been informed several more were affected the evening after I came away, and the next day; but in all, they could not be equal to the proportional numbers which were thus affected at some other meetings, especially in Kentucky. Several, indeed a very considerable number, had gone 70 or 80 miles from the lower parts of this State to attend this meeting; of these, a pretty large proportion came under the above described impressions; and since their return to their houses, an extraordinary revival has taken place in the congregations to which they belong. It has spread also across the upper parts of this State, in a western direction. There are some favorable appearances in several of the Baptist churches; but my accounts of them are not particular enough to be transmitted. Taking it for granted that you have seen the publication entitled *Surprising Accounts,* by Woodward, of Philadelphia, containing the accounts of revivals in Kentucky, Tennessee, and North-Carolina, I therefore say nothing of them; but only, that the work in North-Carolina increases greatly; opposition however is made by many; and I am informed that the congregation, of which I have been writing so much, (that at the Waxhaws) is likely to be divided on account of it; and that Mr. Brown has been shut out of the place of worship since the meeting was held there, by some, I suppose a majority, of his elders and adherents. A particular reason of the offense taken by them, as I have understood, was the practice of communing with the Methodists. Having mentioned this denomination frequently, I think it proper to say, that it is that class of Methodists who are followers of Mr. Wesley, which is intended; few of the followers of Mr. Whitefield are to be found in the United States, not at least as congregations. These general meetings have a great tendency to excite the attention, and engage it to religion. Were there no other argument in their favor, this alone would carry great weight with a reflecting mind; but there are many more which may be urged. At the same time, it must be conceded that there are some incidental evils which attend them, and give pain to one who feels a just regard for religion. Men of an enthusiastic disposition have a favorable opportunity at them of diffusing their spirit, and they do not fail to improve the opportunity for this purpose; and the too free intercourse between the sexes in such an encampment is unfavourable. However, I hope the direct good obtained from these meetings will much more than counterbalance the incidental evil. "I am, reverend and dear Sir, your friend and servant in the gospel, RICHARD FURMAN."

Most of the first settlers of South-Carolina were members of the Church of England; Episcopacy of course became the established religion of the Province, and remained so until after the American war, when, by the State Constitution, all denominations were placed on a level as it respects the favors of government. During the Provincial government, dissenting ministers were not permitted to celebrate the rites of matrimony; large glebe lands were appropriated for the benefit of the clergy, which the society still hold, and the money to build their churches was drawn from the public treasury.

These were some of the exclusive privileges which the civil government conferred on the Episcopal establishment. But it does not appear that the Baptists or any dissenters have ever been much molested in this government, either by corporal punishments or those perplexing, provoking, and rapacious things, called in New-England ministerial taxes. Though the Baptists, as a denomination, have never suffered much persecution in a legal form, yet some individuals, and especially a number of their ministers, have suffered from the improper interference of unworthy magistrates and unauthorized and bigotted persons.

Morgan Edwards gives the following account of the arbitrary proceedings of a magistrate near the Cheraws on Pedee River, by the name of Alexander Gordon, who is said to have been a Presbyterian. "One Joseph Cates held a meeting in his neighborhood. His worship presently fetched the aggressor *coram nobis*, and got three others to assist him to form a spiritual court, The preacher was then asked, "Who gave you

authority to preach?" He replied, "The same that gave the apostle Paul authority." Upon which, his worship angrily said, "He blasphemeth! What say you, gentlemen?" The gentlemen were of his mind, and the Baptist preacher was severely whipt. The thing gave great offense in the neighbourhood, insomuch that his worship found it requisite to propagate evil reports concerning the preacher's moral character, in order to justify the action; for persecutors always represent the persecuted as devils rather than men." But these days of rancour and opposition are past. The Baptists are now a large, respectable, and indeed powerful body, and are more in danger of being affected to their disadvantage by prosperity than adversity. The communicants and adherents in South-Carolina are estimated by Dr. Furman at upwards of 70,000 souls, which is more than one-sixth of the population of the whole State.

The Education Fund belonging to the Charleston Association, with Mr. Roberts's Academy, and the funds which have been collected for defraying the expenses of the mission to the Catawba Indians, will be noticed under the respective heads of Literary and Missionary affairs.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

GEORGIA

The first settlements in Georgia were made in 1733. Mr. Edwards informs us, that **among the first settlers were some Baptists**, particularly William Calvert of Lincolnshire, William Slack of Ireland, Thomas Walker of Northampton, and one Polhill. [Polhill was the grandfather of the present Thomas Polhill, of Newington, who writes me, that it is doubtful in his mind whether he was a Baptist.] Calvert and Polhill were preachers, though not ordained. But the Baptist interest was very small in this State, for about forty years after its settlement. There were but four churches in the whole province when Mr. Edwards visited it, about 1772; these were not large, and most of them were newly formed. But a little before this period the zealous Separates began to emigrate hither: great success attended their labors; many churches were soon raised up; and from their introduction to the present time, the Baptist cause has had a gradual, and in many instances a rapid prevalence throughout most parts of the State; so that Georgia now contains more of our denomination than any of the southern States, Virginia excepted.

Although the Baptists in Georgia made their first appearance in the low countries, yet they never had much success there, until within about twenty years past; but they have been numerous in the upper country for about forty years, which makes it proper that we should relate their history first.

The Church on **Kioka Creek** is the oldest in Georgia; it belongs to the Georgia Association, and was gathered by that famous Baptist minister, **Daniel Marshall**. This church was **organized in 1772**; it is situated about 18 miles above Augusta, in the county of Columbia, in the neighborhood of the two Kioka Creeks, which empty into the Savannah river within one mile of each other. Mr. Daniel Marshall's name has been often mentioned in the preceding part of our history, and in his biography the reader may find his character more fully delineated. After sojourning in many places in Virginia and the Carolinas, he, in 1771, removed from the neighboring part of South-Carolina, and settled on the largest of the Kioka Creeks, where he resided to the close of his useful life. It will be remembered by the reader, that Mr. Marshall was a Separate Baptist, and one of the principal founders of that extensive community. A number of his brethren had removed to Georgia before him; some he found in the neighborhood where he settled, and others were scattered in different parts of the country; and this dispersion of the brethren laid the foundation for a number of churches, which were raised up not long after.

The Kioka church has been an important establishment, having been the nursery of a number of useful ministers, and the mother of many churches. Samuel Newton, Abraham Marshall, Alexander Scott, Silas Mercer, Loveless Savage, Thomas Mercer, Samuel Cartlidge, John and James Saunders, John Stanford, and John Boyd, are among the ministerial sons, which she hath sent forth into the Lord's vineyard. The founder of this church was remarkable for encouraging his brethren in the exercise of the gifts with which they were endowed. It was a common saying with him, "I would that all the Lord's servants were prophets." **During the troubles occasioned by the American war, many of the Baptists among others fled from the country; but Mr. Marshall maintained his post, and with very few exceptions held his meetings regularly through the whole of the war. On the return of peace, the refugees returned**

to their deserted homes and almost ruined possessions; and with them a flood of emigrants, many of whom were Baptists, poured into the country from many of the more northern States, and the Kioka church soon began to increase, and has generally been in a flourishing condition from that to the present time. This church has experienced a number of very precious revivals. In 1787, about one hundred were baptized by their present pastor, Reverend Abraham Marshall, the worthy son and successor of Daniel. The next remarkable ingathering here was about 1802, in the time of the great revival, which prevailed most powerfully at that time in many parts of Georgia. The religious attention at Kioka was very great; two or three camp-meetings were, from necessity, held in the neighborhood, in which some of the most affecting scenes of joy and sorrow, of depression and transport were exhibited. In this revival, Mr. Marshall baptized about 100 more.

This church had two temporary buildings for public worship, which had gone to decay before their present meeting house was erected, which is a commodious brick building, 60 feet by 40.

The aged Daniel Marshall died in 1784 and **his son Abraham** succeeded him in the pastoral office, in which he still continues. Mr. Marshall was born at Windsor, near the city of Hartford, in Connecticut, in 1750. He was only three years old, when his father, excited, as he supposed, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, literally left all, and went to preach to the Mohawk Indians. Here young Abraham, as he with much pleasantry informs his friends, received the rudiments of his education; for the first things he remembers, were smoking wigwams, and their tawny, untutored inhabitants. He remained with his pious parent in all his excursions, and was, when he settled in Georgia, about 21 years of age. He had begun to preach a short time before. He has now been in the ministry more than forty years, is extensively known and much respected; and more than this, the maxims we have adopted will not permit us to say. Some account of his visit to New-England in 1786, may be found in the biography of his kinsman Eliakim Marshall.

We have thus briefly related the history of the church, which the venerable Daniel Marshall, in his old age, founded in this State; and as we have obtained but a few scattering hints concerning the other churches, which were founded shortly after, we shall pass on to take some notice of the Associations, which have originated from these early establishments, and intersperse with their history whatever we may think proper to mention concerning the ministers or churches which they have or may now comprehend. These Associations are the Georgia, Hepzibah, Sarepta, and Oakmulgee, most of them are large and all of them respectable communities.

GEORGIA ASSOCIATION

This being the oldest, demands our first attention. It was organized in 1784, thirteen years after Daniel Marshall settled at Kioka. As the Minutes of its first meetings were not printed, nor its records preserved, it cannot be ascertained of what number of churches it was at first composed. In 1786, two years after its formation, it contained the ten following, viz. Kioka, Fishing Creek, Upton_s Creek, Philip_s Mill, Whatley_s Mill, Long Creek, Long Creek of Ogechee, Providence on Rocky Comfort Creek, Powel_s Creeck, and Van_s Creek. The number of members was, at that time, only 518, and the principal ministers were Saunders Walker, Jephtha Vining, Dozier Thornton, Peter Smith, Abraham Marshall, Mark Cook, Silas Mercer, Thomas Mercer, and John Harvey. Jeremiah Walker, David Tinsley, and Matthew Talbot removed into the country soon after the date above mentioned. Most of the abovenamed preachers were eminent among the Baptists and extensively useful in their day, and with very few exceptions removed hither, as did most of their Baptist brethren from North-Carolina and Virginia. For an account of the famous Silas Mercer, see his biography. Thomas Mercer, his half brother, has gone to the Mississippi Territory, and belongs to the small Association which has there been formed. The mutable and spotted character of Jeremiah Walker is given in his biography, as is that of the meek and exemplary Saunders Walker, his natural brother. Peter Smith has removed to the State of Ohio, and belongs to the Miami Association. David Tinsley died in Georgia, and is well spoken of. He was one of the early Separate preachers in Virginia, where he was a number of times imprisoned, and once in company with Jeremiah Walker. Mr. Tinsley received four ordinations. The first was to the office of a deacon, the second to that of a ruling elder, his third ordination was to the office of preaching the gospel, and in the fourth place he was ordained an evangelist by Colonel Samuel Harris, while he officiated in the dignified character of the Apostle of Virginia.

The Georgia Association has abounded with ministers, who were either nurtured within its bounds, or received among them from other parts; but as so many have been dismissed to other Associations, its present number is not great; but among them are yet retained Abraham Marshall and Jesse Mercer. Something has been said of Mr. Marshall already. **Jesse Mercer** is a son of the late worthy Silas Mercer. He was born in Halifax county, North-Carolina, 1769. It was soon after his birth, that his father, as may be seen in his biography, got the church parson to dip two of his children in a barrel of water which he had prepared for the purpose. When he became a believer, he was baptized again; so that Mercer is truly an Anabaptist. He was ordained when he was about 20 years of age, and has now been in the ministry more than twenty years. He traveled considerably in his younger days, but for a number of years past, has been stationed in the care of four large churches, viz. Whatley_s Mill, Philip_s Mill, Pewelton, and Sardis, formerly called Hutton_s Fork; all of which were gathered by his father, and supplied by him during his life. There are other preachers belonging to these churches, but Mr. Mercer is considered their pastor, and preaches and administers the Lord_s Supper to them in rotation once in four weeks; and whenever a month has five Lord_s days in it, he leaves his circle, to visit some of the neighboring churches. All the above-mentioned churches are large and wealthy, and by their united efforts afford their circulating pastor only a moderate support. But either of them might well enough support him alone; and whether they continue this practice, so disadvantageous to themselves and so laborious to their pastor, because they are mutually unwilling to part with him or with a little more of their carnal things, is not our province to say. Mr. Mercer certainly merits their esteem; but they would find no difficulty in procuring acceptable pastors, if they would set about it properly. We observed something on the circumstance of one minister supplying a number of churches, in the close of our history of the Virginia Baptists, and there proposed to speak more definitely of the matter in the chapter of general observations.

But to return: The Association of which we are speaking, increased very fast for a number of years from the date last mentioned, so that, in 1790, it contained 34, churches and 2877 members.

In 1796, a number of churches were dismissed to form the Hephzibah Association. Only two years after, seven churches more were dismissed from this increasing establishment, which united under the name of the Sarepta Association. And in 1810, another detachment was taken off to form an Association by the name of Oakmulgee. But after all these dismissions, this flourishing body contains upwards of thirty churches, and more than two thousand communicants.

HEPZIBAH ASSOCIATION

In 1794, eighteen churches were dismissed from the Georgia Association, and by them the Hephzibah was soon after formed. But little more can be said respecting it, than that it has moved on in harmony and order, and has experienced some refreshing seasons. Benjamin Davis, Thomas Mercer, John Stanford, William Franklin, John Harvey, Joseph Baker, George Granbury, William Cone, and David M_Cullers were its principal ministers at the time of constitution. Some of them have since died, some have removed to other parts, and others have succeeded them. This body contains but few preachers in proportion to the number of churches, and all we can say of them is, that they are a plain, laborious, and pious set of men, who labor six days in the week for the support of their families, and the seventh for the good of souls.

The churches which compose this Association are situated mostly in the counties of Washington, Burk, Warren, Laurens, Wilkinson, Jefferson, Bullash, Liberty, Tatnall, Effingfour, and Twiggs. They are on both sides of the Ogechee and Oconee rivers, and some of them are between the rivers Oconee and Oakmulgee, and extend down the country within 50 or 60 miles of the seacoast.

SAREPTA ASSOCIATION

In 1798, seven churches were dismissed from the Georgia Association, and in due form were organized under the name of the Sarepta Association. The names of these churches were Shoal Creek, Van_s Creek, Dove_s Creek, Hollow Spring, Cabbin Creek, Nail_s Creek, Millstone, and Trail Creek. All of them then were in the upper settlements in the State. Dazier Thornton, John Cleaveland, William Davis, Thomas Johnson, and Thomas Gilbert were the ministers of the above-mentioned churches.

The Sarepta Association has enjoyed great prosperity and enlargement, and received large additions in the time of the great revival about 1802. The churches of this Association are situated along the south side of the Savannah river, and extend from the mouth of Broad-river of Georgia, which empties into the Savannah about fifty miles above Augusta, to the highest settlements in the State in that direction. They also extend out into the country as far as the river Oconee. They are scattered over many counties, but most of them are in those of Elbert, Oglethorpe, Jackson, and Franklin. Two of them are over the Savannah in South-Carolina.

OAKMULGEE ASSOCIATION

A few years since, a large tract of land, high up in Georgia, was purchased of the Indians, and their claim to it forever extinguished. This tract is called by the Georgians the New Purchase. Being a healthy and fertile country, it was settled with great rapidity, and the seat of government has been removed from Louisville on the Ogechee to Milledgeville, which has here been erected.

Many Baptist churches were in a short time gathered in the New Purchase. They united with the Georgia Association; but many of them were very remote from the center of that body, which led them to think of forming an Association among themselves. Accordingly, in October 1810, about twenty churches petitioned the mother body for a dismission, which was granted. A number of newly constituted churches, which had not associated, united with them; and in November of the same year, they organized a body to which they gave the name of the Oakmulgee Association. The next year, six more newly established churches were added to this confederacy; so that now (1811) it contains thirty-four churches and 1885 communicants. The churches of this Association are situated between the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers, and are scattered over an extent of country of from thirty to thirty-five miles wide, and from sixty to seventy miles in length, and are mostly in the counties of Randolph, Morgan, Putnam, Baldwins and Jones.

It is now about forty years since Daniel Marshall settled in Georgia; and in this time it appears that the Baptists, which proceeded directly or indirectly from the Separate connection, have increased to about a hundred and forty churches, and not far from eleven thousand members.

We shall now proceed to treat of our brethren in the low country, and also to give some account of the Savannah-river Association.

Unfortunately for this part of our history, Mr. Edwards's sixth volume of Manuscript Materials, which related wholly to the Baptists in Georgia, has all been destroyed, except one leaf and part of another. This volume must have been small, as it was written about forty years ago, when the Baptists had never flourished much in the province. From the defaced and perishing remains of this volume, I find the following sketches. "About the year 1759, eight families of the Seventh-day Baptists settled near Tuckaseeking." More will be said respecting them in the history of that people.

"In the year 1757, Nicholas Bedgegood, of the Orphan-house, embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, and was soon after baptized by Oliver Hart, of Charleston. In 1763, he baptized Mr. Benjamin Stirk and wife, Thomas Dixon, and one Dupree; these, with a few other Baptists, had the Lord's Supper administered to them at the Orphan house, by Mr. Bedgegood. But Mr. Stirk removing to Goshen, Dupree dying, and Dixon going to England, the society broke up, to the no small satisfaction of Mr. Whitefield, whose righteous soul had been so vexed with the matter, that he spake unadvisedly with his lips."

From the time of this dispersion, there always have been Baptists in this region, but no church was formed until a number of years after. According to Mr. Edwards, there were, in 1772, "about forty Baptist families, scattered over the southern parts of Georgia, and amongst them were about fifty baptized persons, most of whom were emigrants from other colonies, and some from the old country."

In the year 1771, Reverend **Edmund Botsford**, now of Georgetown, South-Carolina, who was then young, began to preach at Tuckaseeking, and continued to labor with much success in different parts of Georgia, for the space of about eight years; but the distractions of the American war obliged him to make a

precipitate flight from the country, with the loss of about 300 pounds sterling, which he had but a little while before received from England.

When Mr. Botsford began his ministry in Georgia, Daniel Marshall was the only ordained minister in the State; but besides him, there were Abraham Marshall, Saunders Walker, and Solomon Thompson, who were not ordained. Between Mr. Botsford and these men, there was not, at first, a very intimate connection. The reason was, that they were of the Separate order, and he was a Regular Baptist; and besides, the scene of his labors was generally much lower down the country than theirs. But the suspicions of the Separates gradually subsided; Mr. Botsford was by degrees admitted to their fellowship and affection; and before he fled from the country, the hindrances to their union were so far removed, that they zealously and successfully cooperated in their evangelical exertions. During five years of Mr. Botsford's residence in Georgia, that is, from 1773, when he was ordained, to 1779, he baptized 148 persons, and founded two churches; the first was called New Savannah, and was organized in 1773. This church now belongs to the Hephzibah Association, under the name of Botsford Old Meeting-House. Mr. Botsford preached here but a short time; for the next year after the church was formed, a war broke out with the Creek Indians, which obliged him to leave the place. He next settled on Briar Creek, at some distance, where another church was soon founded, which also belongs to the Hephzibah Association. A number of the constituent members of this church had previously united with the Ewhaw church, in South-Carolina, then under the pastoral care of Reverend Francis Pelot.

[The following anecdotes of Mr. Botsford, while he labored in Georgia, may not be unacceptable to the reader. Once on a journey up to the Kioka, where he had appointed to preach, he called at a Mr. Savidge's to inquire the way. This Mr. Savidge was then a bigotted churchman, but was hopefully acquainted with the truth. After he had given the stranger proper directions, the following conversation ensued: "I suppose you are the Baptist minister, who is to preach today at the Kioka." "Yes, Sir; will you go?" "No, I am not fond of the Baptists; they think nobody is baptized but themselves." "Have you been baptized?" "Yes, to be sure." "How do you know?" "How do I know? Why, my parents have told me I was." "Then you do not know, only by information." On this Mr. Botsford left him, but "How do you know?" haunted him, till he became convinced of his duty; he was baptized by Mr. Marshall, and began to preach the same day he was baptized, and still continues a useful minister amongst the Georgia Baptists. Botsford's "How do you know?" says Mr. Savidge, first set me to thinking about baptism. In the parts of Georgia where Mr. Botsford labored, the inhabitants were a mixed multitude of emigrants from many different places; most of them were destitute of any form of religion, and the few who paid any regard to it were zealous churchmen and Lutherans, and violently opposed to the Baptists. In the same journey in which he fell in with Mr. Savidge, he preached at the court-house in Burk county. The assembly at first paid a decent attention; but, towards the close of the sermon, one of them bawled out with a great oath, "The rum is come." Out he rushed, others followed, the assembly was soon left small, and by the time Mr. Botsford got out to his horse, he had the unhappiness to find many of his hearers intoxicate and fighting. An old gentleman came up to him, took his horse by the bridle, and in his profane dialect most highly extolled both him and his discourse, swore he must drink with him, and come and preach in his neighborhood. It was now no time to reason or reprove; and as preaching was Mr. Botsford's business, he accepted the old man's invitation, and made an appointment. His first sermon was blessed to the awakening of his wife; one of his sons also became religious, and others in the settlement, to the number of fifteen, were in a short time hopefully brought to the knowledge of the truth, and the old man himself became sober and attentive to religion, although he never made a public profession of it. Not long after, Mr. Botsford preached at Stephen's Creek, a little over the Savannah-river, in South-Carolina, where he was called upon to baptize Sarah Clecker, the wife of an ignorant, wicked Dutchman. The woman observed, she did not know that her husband would consent to her being baptized. Being informed he was present, Mr. Botsford called him up to him, and addressed him as follows: "Mr. Clecker, I have reason to hope that your wife is a believer in Christ, and she wishes to be baptized; but she is unwilling to go forward, unless you give your consent. I suppose you do not object, Sir." "No, no, God forpit I shoulnt hinter my vife, she was one goot vive." [No, no, God forbid I should hinder my wife, she was one good wife."] While they were preparing for the water, the little man fell into a great rage, and cursed the preacher for "a -- goot for notting son of a -- . Vaut, to ax me pevore all de beble, if he may tip my vive." [a good for nothing son of a ---. What, to ask me before all the people, if he may dip my wife."] But this Mr. Botsford did not hear of till afterwards. Returning from the water, he saw Mr. Clecker leaning against a tree, apparently in great trouble; he stepped up to him, and asked him what was the matter? "Vaut [what] was de matter? why, Sir, my vive is going to hafen [heaven] and I am going to the tivel [devil]. I am a boor lost sinner: I can't be forgiven: I fear de ground will open

and let me down to de hell, for I cursed and swore vou vas [you was] one goot for notting - son of a - . Lort have mercy on me." This was in July; the miserable man found no comfort till he was brought into the liberty of the gospel; and the September following, Mr. Botsford baptized him.]

Before Mr. Bedgegood left the Orphan-house for South-Carolina, he baptized a number of persons besides those who have been named, and among them was the mother of Reverend Thomas Polhill, of Newington. There were about this time a few Baptist members at Goshen, Tuckaseeking, and other places; and **Benjamin Stirk** appear, to have been the most distinguished and active character among them. He was a native of Leeds, Yorkshire, England. Mr. Whitefield took him under his patronage, and settled him in his employment at the Orphan-house, about 1760, or perhaps earlier. He was brought up a Presbyterian, and continued in the belief of pedobaptism until 1763, when he became what he was wont to call a Bible Christian, and was baptized as before related. He remained at the Orphan-house about four years after his baptism, where he lost his first wife, and married for his second the widow of Nathaniel and the mother of the present Thomas Polhill, who possessed a plantation in the neighborhood of Goshen, about eighteen miles above Savannah on the Augusta road, to which he removed in 1767. As there was no Baptist church in that vicinity, and indeed not one at that time in Georgia, he united with the church at Ewhaw, South-Carolina, about twenty five miles from him. Mr. Stirk began to preach soon after he settled at Goshen. He set up a meeting at his own house, and another at Tuckaseeking, upwards of twenty miles still higher up the country. He also preached occasionally at the Ewhaw; and it was on his way to that church, that he fell from his horse into the water, and received an injury under which he languished for a time, and of which he died in 1770.

Mr. Stirk was a good English scholar, and possessed a small share of classical learning. He was endowed with good natural parts, and was eminent for piety and zeal. Having a desire to promote the interests of learning, he became a benefactor to Rhode-Island College.

As Mr. Stirk's second wife was a woman honorable. and eminent in her day among the few Baptists who were then scattered in this part of Georgia, it may be proper to give a short account of her. This lady is remarkable for having been the wife of two Baptist ministers and the mother of a third. She was born in South-Carolina, in 1732, of pious and reputable parents, of the Presbyterian persuasion. Her name at first was Hannah Barkersdale. She was four times married. Her husbands' names were Miller, Polhill, Stirk, and Scott. The first was a merchant of Charleston, with whom she lived but about a year. The second was a preacher in Mr. Whitefield's connection, a pious and worthy man. He embarked for England in 1761, to obtain Episcopal ordination. But before he left Charleston harbour, a violent whirlwind divided the river so that the channel was seen, and the ship and all on board were swallowed up by the returning waves. Mr. Stirk has been mentioned. Her fourth and last husband was Reverend Alexander Scott, for many years pastor of the church at Black Swamp, in South-Carolina. With him she lived about seven years; and then, after lingering some time, died in peace, March 10, 1780, in the 48th year of her age. Mr. Scott, about three years ago, removed to the Mississippi country, where he died shortly after.

Reverend Thomas Polhill, the only surviving child of this venerable woman, is of opinion that **she was the first person who was baptized in Georgia**. While the Baptists were but few in the parts where she lived, her house was a home for preachers, and her active benevolence was extended to all around her.

Besides the persons already mentioned, there were baptized in these times a Mr. Cox, and a Mr. Williams and his wife, and others whose names are not known.

Having thus prepared the way, we shall next proceed to relate the history of some of the churches in this part of Georgia.

Newington. -- This church appears to have been the oldest of white people which was formed in the region now under consideration. It took its name from that of a plantation on which the meeting-house was erected, in the neighborhood of Goshen, in the county of Effingham, eighteen miles from Savannah, and was constituted in 1793. But since that time the seat of the church has been removed to the adjoining county of Scriven. This church is small now, and has never been large, and no very remarkable things can be said respecting it. It was one of the three churches which formed the Savannah-river Association.

For the origin of this church, we must go back about fifty years; for it appears there have been scattered Baptist members in this vicinity ever since the dispersion of Mr. Bedgegood's disciples from the Orphan-house. The first Baptist minister who preached here was Benjamin Stirk. After him were Mr. Botsford and Mr. Scott; but no special effects attended the ministry of either of these men. In 1789, a black man preached in the neighborhood in a negro yard under some peach trees. Curiosity led some white people to hear him, and among the rest was Major now Elder **Thomas Polhill** and his wife. They were both convicted by the discourse of this poor sable preacher, and in a short time were brought into the liberty of the gospel, and baptized by Mr. Scott. From the time of his conversion, Major Polhill became a patron of the Baptist cause, and a promoter of meetings in his neighborhood. He invited Baptist ministers to preach in his house: God blessed their labors and in 1793, a sufficient number had been baptized to form a church, which, as soon as it was organized, chose Mr. **John Goldwire** for their pastor, who had been ordained two years before. Mr. Goldwire still continues the pastor of the church, although very aged and infirm. Mr. Polhill also became a preacher of the gospel, and is now an assistant to the aged and venerable Goldwire.

Savannah. -- This city contains three Baptist churches, one of white people, and two of Africans. The history of the African churches will be related in the account which we propose to give of that people. The church of white people was founded by its late pastor, Dr. Holcombe, now of Philadelphia. It was constituted in 1800, but was begun six years before that time, in the following manner. In 1794, Messrs. Jonathan Clark, George Morse, Thomas Polhill of Newington, and David Adams, one of the deacons of the church in Charleston, proposed the erection of a house of worship for the Baptists in this city. But as the Baptist members were few in number, and these generally poor, there appeared but little prospect of success. About this time, Mr. Rees from Wales, the same man who led out the company of Welsh people to the mountains in Pennsylvania, visited Savannah, and with much zeal and address encouraged the design of building the house, which had been proposed. A plan for it was drawn up by Dr. Furman of Charleston; aid was solicited by the above-named gentlemen and others; and so great was their success, that in 1795, a house fifty feet by sixty was erected. It was at first merely inclosed. The next year it was rented to the Presbyterians, who had lately lost their house by fire. They occupied it three years. Such was the posture of the affairs of the Baptists in Savannah, in 1799, when Mr. Holcombe, who was the pastor of the church at Ewhaw, but lived at Beaufort, by the invitation of the pew-holders in their meeting-house, came to reside in the city. So much success attended his ministry, that in 1800 it was judged proper to organize a church in the place. The constituent members were **Henry Holcombe** and wife, George Morse and wife, Elias Roberts and wife, Rachel Hamilton, Esther M. Kenzier, Elizabeth Story, Martha Stephens, Eunice Hogg, and Mary Jones, widow of the late Lieutenant-Governor of the State. Not long after the church was formed, Mr. Holcombe was invested with the pastoral care of it, and continued in that office about eleven years. Under him, the church was built up to a flourishing and respectable body, the meeting-house was well finished, and to it were added a bell, clock, baptistery, and other appendages of ornament and convenience. But Dr. Holcombe having resided a long time in a debilitating climate, found it necessary to retire to a more healthy situation. He accordingly announced to the church his intention of removing, and wished them to look out for a successor. He retired to Mount Enon, about fifteen miles from Augusta, where he intended to spend the remainder of his days in retirement, and in preaching as he was able to the neighboring churches. But by the affectionate importunity of the first church in Philadelphia, he consented to leave this retreat, and become its pastor.

The Savannah church, after remaining destitute of a pastor about a year, obtained William B. Johnson, who is now agreeably settled among them. Mr. Johnson had been a few years pastor of the church in Columbia, South-Carolina. He was bred to the law, but was constrained to leave that profession, and engage in the less lucrative one of preaching the gospel.

Sunbury. -- At this place, which is some distance below Savannah, there is a very respectable church under the care of Mr. Charles O. Scriven, a graduate of Rhode-Island College; but I have not obtained any particulars respecting its origin.

Of the remaining churches in this part of the State, I have not procured sufficient materials to form any interesting narratives; I shall, therefore, pass on to other matters.

SAVANNAH-RIVER ASSOCIATION

This body was organized in Savannah in 1802. It was composed at first of only three churches, which were the two in Savannah and the one at Newington. But not long after, a number of churches belonging to the Charleston Association were dismissed from that body, and united with this. The new churches, which have been raised up in this part of Georgia and the neighboring parts of South-Carolina, have become members of this Association. It has progressed with harmony and prosperity, and has increased to almost thirty churches, and upwards of five thousand members.

THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE GEORGIA BAPTISTS

This Committee was formed in 1803. Its plan and operations are much like the General Committees in the other southern States. It was intended to be composed of representatives from all the Associations in the State. But this representation was never full, which is not to be much wondered at. In the first place, many are prejudiced against the establishment. And again, but few ministers can find time, after attending their respective Associations, to travel from one end to the other of their wide State to attend a Committee, which has never had and cannot consistently find much business to do.

An account of the Mount Enon Academy will be given in the history of Literary Institutions.

From the preceding sketches it appears, that great success has attended the exertions of the Baptists in Georgia. And no embarrassments, worth mentioning, have been thrown in their way by the civil power. The Church of England was the established religion of Georgia before the war. But **dissenters of every denomination have, from first to last, enjoyed as much liberty as they could desire. I do not find that any Baptist was ever molested in a legal way for preaching the gospel, excepting Daniel Marshall, and he was soon discharged, as is related in his biography.** The Episcopal church does not appear to have flourished much in Georgia at any time, and it is now very small. And indeed there are but a few congregations of any denominations in the State, besides the Baptists and Methodists: both of these are very numerous; and we are sorry to say, that instead of striving to walk together as far as they are agreed, many of them on both sides spend too much time in disputing about Calvin and Wesley, perseverance and falling from grace.

The great increase of the Baptists in Georgia has been occasioned partly by the emigration of Baptist professors from other parts; but mostly by the great and precious revivals of religion, which have at different times been experienced in almost every part of the State.

In the year 1793, Mr. Abraham Marshall wrote as follows to Dr. Rippon of London. "In 1787 there was a glorious revival: thousands attended on the word. The Baptists have great influence, and are the most numerous of any denomination in this State. We are increased (that is the Georgia Association) to upwards of three thousand three hundred, in about twenty years past."

Some account of the share which Georgia had in **the great revival in 1800 and onward**, has already been given. Many thousands, during the progress of this revival, were added to the Baptist churches. Mr. Jesse Mercer, of the Georgia Association, in the course of two years baptized about three hundred persons. In 1809, another revival began in the upper part of the State, in the bounds of the Georgia and Sarepta Associations, and many hundreds were hopefully born into the kingdom of God, and united with the churches of his saints.

In 1812, there was a very extensive revival in many different parts of the State. By the four Associations of Oakmulgee, Sarepta, Georgia, and Savannah, it appears that three thousand and eight hundred were added to them all, in the course of the year. To the Savannah were added about fifteen hundred, and to the Sarepta over twelve hundred and fifty.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

AN ACCOUNT OF FOUR BAPTIST CHURCHES OF AFRICANS IN GEORGIA, AND OF TWO IN THE WEST-INDIES; TOGETHER WITH SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE AFRICAN SLAVES IN THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN STATES.

A mysterious Providence has permitted a large portion of the sable sons of Africa to be transported from their native country to this western world, and here to be reduced to a state of absolute and perpetual slavery; but He who can bring good out of evil, has overruled this calamity for their spiritual advantage; and thousands of these poor, enslaved, and benighted people, we have very satisfactory reason to believe, have found gospel liberty in the midst of their temporal bondage, and are preparing to reign forever in the kingdom of God.

There are multitudes of African communicants, in all the Baptist churches in the southern and western States; and in Georgia there are four churches, wholly composed of them. Some brief sketches of their history will now be given.

FIRST COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH IN SAVANNAH

The origin of this church, according to *Rippon's Register* and *Holcombe's Repository*, was in the following manner. About the beginning of the American war, **George Leile**, sometimes called **George Sharp**, but more commonly known among his brethren and friends by the name of brother George, began to preach at Brampton and Yamacraw, near the city of Savannah. He had been converted about two years before the war by the preaching of a Baptist minister in Burke county, whose name was Matthew Moore; by this minister he was baptized, and by the church, of which he was pastor, he was approbated to preach. His labors were attended with a blessing among the people of his own color on different plantations, and many of them were brought, by his means, to a saving acquaintance with the gospel. When the country was evacuated by the British, George, with many others, removed from Georgia to Kingston, in the island of Jamaica. Here his labors were attended with great success, and by him a large church was soon raised up; in giving the history of which, we shall relate more at large the character and labors of this worthy man.

Previous to George's departure for Jamaica, he came up to the city of Savannah from Tylee-river, where departing vessels frequently lay ready for sea, and baptized Andrew Bryan and Hannah his wife, and two other black women, whose names were Kate and Hagar. These were the last labors of George Leile in this quarter. About nine months after his departure, Andrew began to exhort his black brethren and friends, and a few whites who assembled to hear him. Edward Davis, Esq. permitted him and his hearers to erect a rough wooden building on his land at Yamacraw, in the suburbs of Savannah. Of this building they were, in a short time, very artfully dispossessed. **It appears that these poor, defenseless slaves met with much opposition from the rude and merciless white people, who, under various pretences, interrupted their worship, and otherwise treated them in a barbarous manner. Andrew Bryan, and his brother Samson, who was converted about a year after him, were twice imprisoned, and they, with about fifty others, without much ceremony were severely whipped.** Andrew was inhumanly cut, and bled abundantly; but while under their lashes, he held up his hands and told his persecutors, that he rejoiced not only to be whipped, but would freely suffer death for the cause of Jesus Christ. The Chief Justice, Henry Osbourne, James Habersham, and David Montague, Esquires, were their examiners, who released them. **Jonathan Bryan, Esq. the kind master of Andrew and Samson, interceded for his own servants and the rest of the sufferers, and was much grieved at their punishment.** The design of these unrighteous proceedings against these poor innocent people, was to stop their religious meetings. Their enemies pretended, that under a pretense of religion, they were plotting mischief and insurrections. But by well doing they at length silenced and shamed their persecutors, and acquired a number of very respectable and influential advocates and patrons, who not only rescued them from the power of their enemies, but declared that such treatment as they had received would be condemned even among barbarians. The Chief

Justice Osbourne then gave them liberty to continue their worship any time between sun-rising and sun-set; and the benevolent Jonathan Bryan told the magistrates that he would give them the liberty of his own house or barn, at a place called Brampton, about three miles from Savannah, and that they should not be interrupted in their worship. From this period, Andrew and Samson set up meetings at their master's barn, where they had little or no interruption for about two years. Such was the beginning of the first African church in Savannah, which, after having been the mother of two others, now contains about fifteen hundred members.

Not long after Andrew began his ministry, and his converts began to increase, they were visited by an aged Baptist minister, whose name was Thomas Burton, since deceased, who, on a credible profession of their faith, baptized eighteen of Andrew's black hearers. In 1788, they were visited by Reverend Abraham Marshall, of Kioka, who was accompanied by a young preacher of color, by the name of Jesse Peter. Mr. Marshall baptized forty-five more of the congregation in one day, and formed them into a church, and ordained Andrew as their administrator and pastor. This church, at first, consisted of upwards of eighty members, and from the time of its organization, under the successful ministry of its worthy pastor, it began to increase very fast; so that in the year 1792, their number amounted to two hundred and thirty-five; and besides these, there were three hundred and fifty, who had been received as converted followers, many of whom had not obtained permission of their owners to be baptized.

Towards the close of the year 1792, they began to build a place of worship in the suburbs of the city of Savannah, which, by the assistance of a number of benevolent gentlemen of different denominations, was finished in due time, and is 42 feet by 49. The plan of building this house, it seems, was projected by Messrs. Jonathan Clark, Ebenezer Hills, and others. The corporation of the city of Savannah gave them a lot for the purpose.

This colored church, as it is generally called, (for no white person belongs to it) is now a large and respectable establishment. Many of its members are free, and are possessed of some estate. It was one of the three churches which formed the Savannah-river Association; and by its return to that body in 1812, it contained about fifteen hundred members, many of whom belong to the plantations in the neighborhood of Savannah, and some are a number of miles out in the country. But their masters give them liberty every Sabbath to meet with their brethren, and the poor creatures, with peculiar delight, go up to their Jerusalem to worship.

Andrew Bryan, the pastor of this church, is now an old man, and is spoken of by all who know him in terms of peculiar respect. He was born at a place called Goose-Creek, about 16 miles from Charleston, (S.C.) in what year is not known. He was a slave when he began to preach; but his kind master indulged him with uncommon liberties. After his death, he purchased his freedom of one of his heirs. His character was thus given by the judicious Joseph Cook of Ewhaw, in 1792: "His gifts are small; but he is clear in the grand doctrines of the gospel. I believe him to be truly pious; and he has been the instrument of doing more good among the poor slaves, than all the learned doctors in America."

Since writing the above, I have been informed by Mr. Johnson of Savannah, that this venerable man finished his course in October, 1812. He was supposed to have been about 90 years of age. His remains were interred with peculiar marks of respect. Addresses were delivered at the meeting-house by Reverend Mr. Johnson of the Baptist, and Dr. Kollock of the Presbyterian church. About five thousand attended him to the grave, where another address was delivered by Mr. Thomas F. Williams.

Although he was a slave when he began to preach, yet he left an estate worth about three thousand dollars. He succeeded in the pastoral office by his nephew Andrew Marshall, who is now working his time out, (as they call it) and is said to be a man of promising parts.

SECOND AFRICAN BAPTIST CHURCH IN SAVANNAH

This church was formed in 1802, and now consists of upwards of three hundred members. This church has also a comfortable meeting-house in Savannah, 67 feet by 30. It is under the pastoral care of a very

respectable black preacher, whose name is Henry Cunningham. He, like Andrew Bryan, was originally a slave, but is now free, having worked his time out.

THE AFRICAN CHURCH ON THE GREAT OGECHEE RIVER, COMMONLY CALLED THE GREAT OGECHEE COLORED CHURCH.

This body, like the last mentioned, originated from the African church in Savannah, under the care of Andrew Bryan; and was constituted in 1803. But it has not been so prosperous as the two others, and has diminished rather than increased.

AFRICAN CHURCH IN AUGUSTA

This church appears to have been raised up by the labors of Jesse Peter, a black preacher of very respectable talents, and an amiable character. It was constituted in 1793 by elders Abraham Marshall and David Tinsley. **Jesse Peter**, sometimes called Jesse Golfin, on account of his master's name, continued the pastor of this church a number of years, and was very successful in his ministry. I find his character thus given by Mr. Abraham Marshall, in 1793, in *Rippon's Register*, Vol. I. p. 545: "He is a servant of Mr. Golfin, who lives twelve miles below Augusta, and who, to his praise be it spoken, treats him with respect. His countenance is grave, his voice charming, his delivery good; nor is he a novice in the mysteries of the kingdom."

Mr. Peter died about 1806. Their present pastor is Caesar M_Cridy, under whose ministry the church appears to flourish and prosper. They have a meeting-house at Springfield, in the upper end of the city of Augusta. This church was once upwards of five hundred in number; but it is now reduced, by various means, to a little less than four hundred, who walk together in harmony and love.

This church has belonged to the Georgia Association from its beginning. Abraham Marshall, the friend of black people, lives but a short distance from it; and to his fatherly care they are much indebted for many of their comforts.

There are multitudes of black people in all the churches in the southern States; but I know of no church of the Baptist denomination which is wholly composed of them, except those whose history has been related. Their white brethren generally do not encourage them to form churches by themselves. Such are their circumstances, their mode of life, and their want of knowledge to regulate church affairs, that it is altogether best, in the present state of things, that they should be connected with their white brethren, who are capable of guiding and instructing them.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AFRICAN BAPTISTS IN THE ISLANDS OF JAMAICA AND NEW-PROVIDENCE.

Jamaica. -- In this island there are now two Baptist churches. The first was planted by a black man, by the name of **George Leile**. This very respectable and successful servant of the Lord, went from Savannah to Jamaica, about the close of the American war. He was born in Virginia about 1750; his father's name was Leile, and his mother's name was Nancy. His master's name was Henry Sharp, who, some time before the war, removed and settled in Georgia. He was a Baptist, and a deacon of a Baptist church of which Elder Matthew Moore was pastor at the time of George's conversion. By Mr. Moore's preaching, this poor slave was awakened to a sense of his lost condition, about two years before the war. After laboring under great distress of mind, about six months, he was brought to rejoice in the truth, and was, not long after, baptized by Mr. Moore, and received into his church. He was soon discovered to have ministerial gifts, and accordingly the church gave him approbation to preach. He soon began to labor with good success at different plantations. Sometimes he preached on the evenings of Lord's days to the church to which he belonged, and for about three years he preached at Brampton and Yamacraw, in the neighborhood of Savannah. Mr. Sharp, his master, was kind to his servant and brother, and gave him his freedom not long after he began to preach; but he continued in the family until his master's death, who was killed in the war. George then went free; but some interested heirs, being dissatisfied with his liberation, threw him into

prison; but by producing the proper papers, he was released; his particular friend in this business, was a Colonel Kirkland.

At the evacuation of the country by the British, he went to Jamaica with Colonel Kirkland, to whom he was then an indented servant, for money which he owed him. The company landed at Kingston, and Colonel Kirkland recommended George to General Campbell, the Governor of the island, who employed him two years, and when he left Jamaica for England, he gave him a certificate for his good behavior. About this time he had procured money enough to settle Colonel Kirkland's demand on him, and then he received from the vestry and Governor, a certificate of the freedom of himself and family; for he had now a wife and a number of children. As soon as he had thus established himself in the country, he set up a meeting in a small private house in Kingston, in September, 1784; he immediately had a smart congregation, and his preaching was attended with very good effect among the poorer sort, especially the slaves. In a short time he formed a church of only five persons, including himself. **The people at first persecuted them**, both at their meetings and baptisms. It must have been rude fellows of the baser sort indeed, whatever were their pretensions, who would thus disturb these poor defenseless people. But they found friends in the magistrates, who appear, by a number of accounts, to have treated George and his religious associates with much humanity and kindness. They, in the early stage of their proceedings, presented a petition to the Honourable House of Assembly, in which they "set forth their distresses, and desired liberty to worship Almighty God, according to the tenets of the Bible." The Assembly sanctioned their proceedings, by granting them the liberty they desired; upon which, opposition ceased.

From this small beginning, the Baptist cause prevailed very rapidly among the poor Jamaica negroes, so that in seven years from the formation of the church, viz. in 1791, there were, according to Mr. Leile's statement, about four hundred and fifty, who had, in a judgment of charity, been converted to Christ; four hundred of whom had been baptized. And together with well-wishers and followers in different parts of the country, he reckoned about fifteen hundred people.

About six years after this church was planted, Dr. Rippon of London was informed of the pleasing event, by Mr Joseph Cook, of Ewhaw, (S.C.); and for the purpose of learning more of George Leile and his numerous converts, he immediately wrote letters to Mr. Cook, to Mr. Jonathan Clark, of Savannah, and to Mr. Wesley's people at Kingston; a number of communications were forwarded by different persons, the substance of which he inserted in his *Annual Register*, which he was publishing at that time, from which the preceeding sketches have been selected; and from the same work I shall now transcribe the following letters; as they will furnish the reader with a better view of the character of Mr. Leile and his followers, than can otherwise be given. Previous, however, to introducing the testimony of others, it may be proper to insert the account which Mr. Leile has given of himself and people, which he communicated to Dr. Rippon, in answer to more than fifty questions which the Doctor had proposed to him:

"I cannot justly tell what is my age, as I have no account of the time of my birth; but I suppose I am about 40 years old (in 1791) I have a wife and four children. My wife was baptized by me in Savannah, and I have every satisfaction in life from her. She is much the same age as myself. My eldest son is nineteen years, my next son seventeen, the third fourteen, and the last child a girl of eleven years; they are all members of the church. My occupation is a farmer, but as the seasons in this part of the country, are uncertain, I also keep a team of horses and wagons, for the carrying goods from one place to another, which I attend to myself with the assistance of my sons; and by this way of life have gained the good will of the public, who recommend me to business, and to some very principal work for Government. I have a few books, some good old authors and sermons, and one large Bible that was given me by a gentleman. A good many of our members can read, and are all desirous to learn; they will be very thankful for a few books to read on Sundays and other days.

"I agree to election, redemption, the fall of Adam, regeneration, and perseverance, knowing the promise is to all who endure, in grace, faith, and good works, to the end, shall be saved.

"There is no Baptist church in this country but ours. We have purchased a piece of land at the east end of Kingston, containing three acres, for the sum of 156 pounds, [140 pounds currency is 100 pounds sterling] currency, and on it have begun a meeting-house, 67 feet in length by 37 in breadth. We have raised the brick wall eight feet high from the foundation, and intend to have a gallery. Several gentlemen, members of the House of Assembly, and other gentlemen, have subscribed towards the building, about 40 pounds. The chief part of our congregation are slaves, and their owners allow them, in common, but three or four bits [a bit is about five pence half-penny sterling] per week for allowance to feed themselves; and out of so small a sum we cannot expect any thing that can be of service from them; if we did, it would soon bring a scandal upon religion; and the free people in our society are but poor, but they are all willing, both free and slaves, to

do what they can. As for my part, I am too much entangled with the affairs of the world to go on, as I would, with my design, in supporting the cause; this has, I acknowledge, been a great hindrance to the gospel in one way; but as I have endeavored to set a good example of industry before the inhabitants of the land, it has given general satisfaction another way. And, Rev. Sir, we think the Lord has put it in the power of the Baptist societies in England to help and assist us in completing this building, which we look upon will be the greatest undertaking ever was in this country for the bringing of souls from darkness into the light of the gospel. And as the Lord has put in your heart to inquire after us, we place all our confidence in you, to make our circumstances known to the several Baptist churches in England; and we look upon you as our father, friend, and brother.

"Within the brick wall we have a shelter, in which we worship, until our building can be accomplished.

"Your letter was read to the church two or three times, and did create a great deal of love and warmth throughout the whole congregation, who shouted for joy and comfort, to think that the Lord had been so gracious as to satisfy us in this country with the very same religion with our beloved brethren in the old country, according to the Scriptures; and that such a worthy -- of London, should write, in so loving a manner, to such poor worms as we are. And I beg leave to say, that the whole congregation sang out that they would, through the assistance of God, remember you in their prayers. They all together give their Christian love to you, and all the worthy professors of Jesus Christ in your church at London; and beg the prayers of your congregation, and the prayers of the churches in general, wherever it pleases you to make known our circumstances. I remain, with the utmost love, Reverend Sir, your unworthy fellow, laborer, servant, and brother in Christ, GEORGE LEILE.

"P.S. We have chosen twelve trustees, all of whom are members of our church, whose names are specified in the title; the title proved and recorded in the Secretary's office of this island."

The following letter, directed to Dr. Ripport, was dated Kingston, Jamaica, Nov. 26, 1791.

"Reverend Sir, The perusal of your letter of the 16th July last gave me much pleasure, to find that you had interested yourself to serve the glorious cause Mr. Leile is engaged in. He has been for a considerable time past, very zealous in the ministry; but his congregation being chiefly slaves, they had it not in their power to support him; therefore, he has been obliged to do it from his own industry; this has taken a considerable part of his time, and much of his attention from his labors in the ministry: however, I am led to believe that it has been of essential service to the cause of God, for his industry has set a good example to his flock, and has put it out of the power of enemies to religion to say, that he has been eating the bread of idleness, or lived upon the poor slaves. **The idea that too much prevails here amongst the masters of slaves is, that if their minds are considerably enlightened by religion or otherwise, that it would be attended with the most dangerous consequences; and this has been the only cause why the Methodist ministers and Mr. Leile, have not made a greater progress in the ministry amongst the slaves.** Alas! how much is it to be lamented, that a full quarter of a million of poor souls should so long remain in a state of nature; and that masters should be so blind to their own interest, as not to know the difference between obedience, enforced by the lash of the whip, and that which flows from religious principles. Although I much admire the general doctrine preached in the Methodist church, yet I by no means approve of their discipline set up by Mr. Wesley, that reverend man of God. I very early saw into the impropriety of admitting slaves into their societies, without permission of their owners, and told them the consequences that would attend it; but they rejected my advice; and it has not only prevented the increase of their church, but has raised them many enemies. Mr. Leile has very wisely acted a different part. He has, I believe, admitted no slaves into his society but those who had obtained permission from their owners, by which he has made many friends; and I think the Almighty is now opening a way for another church in the capital, where the Methodists could not gain any ground. A short time will determine it, of which I shall advise you. I really have not time to enter so fully on this subject as I wish, being very much engaged in my own temporal affairs, and at present having no clerk. The love I bear to the cause of God, and the desire I have of being any ways instrumental to the establishing of it in this land of darkness, has led me to write this; but before I conclude, I have some very interesting particulars to lay before you. Mr. Leile has, by the aid of his congregation, and the assistance of some few people, raised the walls of a church ready to receive the roof, but has not the means to lay it on and finish it; nor do I see any prospect of its going further, without he receives the aid of some religious intitution from home. One hundred and fifty pounds, I think, would complete it; and if this sum could be raised, it would greatly serve the cause of God, and might be the means of bringing many hundred souls, who are now in a state of darkness, to the knowledge of our great Redeemer. If this could be raised, the sooner the better. Our family contributed towards the purchase of the Methodist chapel; nor shall our mite be wanting to forward this work, if it meets with any encouragement from home. I am a stranger to you, but you may know my character from Daniel Shea, Esq. and John Parker, Esq merchants in your city; or from Mr. Samuel Yockney, tea-dealer, in Bedford Row.

"Perhaps you may expect me to say something of Mr. Leile's character, he is a very industrious man, decent and humble in his manners; and, I think, a good man. This is my opinion of him. I love all Christians of every denomination; and remain, with respect and sincere regard, Rev. Sir, your friend and Servant, "STEPHEN COOKE."

In 1793, Mr. George Gibbs Bailey, of Bristol, England, then at Kingston, wrote as follows respecting our worthy brother George: "I have inquired of those, who, I thought, could give me an account of Mr Leile_s conduct, and can say, with pleasure, what Pilate said, "I can find no fault in this man." The Baptist church thrives abundantly among the negroes, more than any denomination in Jamaica; but I am sorry to say, the Methodist church is declining greatly."

The following Letter to Dr. Rippon was dated Kingston, Jamaica, May 18, 1792.

"Reverend and dear Sir, In answer to yours, I wrote the 18th December last; and as I have not received a line from you since, I send this, not knowing but the other was miscarried. Mr. Green has called upon me, and very kindly offered his service to deliver a letter from me into your hands; he also advised me to send you a copy of our church covenant, which I have done; being a collection of some of the principal texts of Scripture which we observe, both in America and this country, for the direction of our practice. **It is read once a month here on sacrament meetings, that our members may examine if they live according to all those laws which they professed, covenanted, and agreed to: by this means our church is kept in scriptural subjection.** As I observed in my last, the chiefest part of our society are poor illiterate slaves, some living on sugar estates, some on mountains, pens, and other settlements, that have no learning; no, not so much as to know a letter in the book; but the reading of this covenant once a month, when all are met together from the different parts of the island, keeps them in mind of the commandments of God. And by shewing the same to the gentlemen of the Legislature, the justices, and magistrates, when I applied for a sanction, it gave them general satisfaction; and whenever a negro servant is to be admitted, their owners, after the perusal of it, are better satisfied. We are this day raising the roof on the walls of our meeting-house; the height of the wall from the foundation is seventeen feet. I have a right to praise God, and glorify him for the manifold blessings I have received, and do still receive from him. I have full liberty from Spanish-Town, the capital of this country, to preach the gospel throughout the island. The Lord is blessing the work every where, and believers are added daily to the church. My tongue is not able to express the goodness of the Lord. As our meeting-house is out of the town, (about a mile and a half) I have a steeple on it, to have a bell to give notice to our people, and more particularly to the owners of slaves that are in our society, that they may know the hour on which we meet, and be satisfied that their servants return in due time; for which reason, I shall be greatly obliged to you to send me out, as soon as possible, a bell, that can be heard about two miles distance, with the price. I have one at present, but it is rather small. The slaves may then be permitted to come and return in due time; for at present we meet very irregular, in respect to hours. I remain with the utmost regard, love, and esteem, Rev, Sir, yours, etc. "GEORGE LEILE."

The next January, Mr. Leile wrote again to Dr. Rippon as follows:

"Our meeting-house is now covered in, and the lower floor was completed the 24th of last month. We suppose we are indebted for lumber, lime, bricks, etc. between 4 and 500 pounds. I am not able to express the thanks I owe for your kind attention to me, and the cause of God. The school, master, together with the members of our church, return their sincere thanks for the books you have been pleased to send them: being so well adapted to the society, they have given great satisfaction. I hope shortly to send you a full account of the number of people in our societies, in different parts of this island. **I have baptized near 500.**

"I have purchased a piece of land in Spanish-Town, the capital of this island, for a burying-ground, with a house upon it, which serves for a meeting-house. James Jones, Esq. one of the magistrates of this town, and Secretary of the island, told me, that the Hon. William Mitchell, Esq. the Custos, had empowered him to grant me license to preach the gospel, and they have given me liberty, to make mention of their names in any congregation where we are interrupted. **Mr. Jones has given permission for all his negroes to be taught the word of God. The gospel is taking great effect in this town.** My brethren and sisters, in general, most affectionately give their Christian love to you, and all the dear lovers of Jesus Christ in your church at London, and beg that they and all the other churches will **remember the poor Ethiopian Baptists of Jamaica in their prayers.** I remain, dear Sir and brother, your unworthy fellow-laborer in Christ, GEORGE LEILE."

The April following, one of Mr. Leile_s associates thus wrote to the assiduous Doctor, who took much pains to learn the affairs of his sable brethren:

"Reverend and dear Sir. I am one of the poor, unworthy, helpless creatures, born in this island, whom our glorious Master, Jesus Christ, was graciously pleased to call from a state of darkness to the marvellous light of the gospel; and since our Lord hath bestowed his mercy on my soul, our beloved minister, by the consent of the church, appointed me deacon, school-master, and his principal helper.

"We have great reason in this island to praise and glorify the Lord, for his goodness and loving kindness, in sending his blessed gospel amongst us, by our well-beloved minister, brother Leile. **We were living in slavery to sin and Satan, and the Lord hath redeemed our souls to a state of happiness, to praise his glorious and ever-blessed name;** and we hope to enjoy everlasting peace by the promise of our Lord and

Master, Jesus Christ. The blessed gospel is spreading wonderfully in this island: believers are daily coming into the church; and we hope in a little time to see Jamaica become a Christian country.

"I remain, respectfully, Rev. and dear Sir, your poor brother in Christ, "THOMAS NICHOLAS SWIGLE."

I find no account of the progress of this church, nor of the affairs of our African brethren in this island, for about nine years from the last-mentioned date, until the following letter was written, by which it appears that they were in a prosperous state.

"Kingston, Jamaica, May 1, 1802.

"Reverend and dear Sir, Since our blessed Lord has been pleased to permit me to have the rule of a church of believers, I have baptized one hundred and eleven; and I have a sanction from the Reverend Dr. Thomas Rees, rector of this town and parish, who is one the ministers appointed by his Majesty to hold an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the clergy in this island, confirmed by a law passed by the legislative body. of this island, made and provided for that purpose.

"Our church consists of people of color,* and black people; some of free condition, but the greater part of them are slaves and natives from the different countries in Africa. Our number, both in town and country, is about five hundred brethren, and our rule is to baptize once in three months; to receive the Lord's supper the first Lord's day in every month after evening service is over; and we have meetings on Tuesday and Thursday evenings throughout the year. The whole body of our church is divided into several classes, which meet every Monday evening, to be examined by their class-leaders, respecting their daily walk and conversation and I am truly happy to acquaint you, that since the gospel has been preached in Kingston, there never was so great a prospect for the spread of the same as there is now. Numbers and numbers of young people are flocking daily to join both our society and the Methodists, who have about four hundred. Religion so spreads in Kingston, that those who will not leave the Church of England to join the Dissenters have formed themselves into evening societies. **It is delightful to hear the people, at the different places, singing psalms, hymns and spiritual songs; and to see a great number of them, who lived in the sinful state of fornication, (which is the common way of living in Jamaica) now married, having put away that deadly sin.** [* In most parts of the United States, the term people of color is intended to be a more respectful name for black people; but it is probable the writer here intends creoles.]

"Our place of worship is so very much crowded, that numbers are obliged to stand out of doors. We are going to build a larger chapel as soon as possible. Our people being poor, and so many of them slaves, we are not able to go on so quick as we could wish, without we should meet with such friends as love our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, to enable us in going on with so glorious an undertaking.

"I preach, baptize, marry, attend funerals, and go through every work of the ministry without fee or reward; and I can boldly say, for these sixteen years since I began to teach and instruct the poor Ethiopians in this island the word of God, (though many and many times traveling night and day over rivers and mountains, to inculcate the ever-blessed gospel) that I never was complimented with so much as a pair of shoes to my feet, or a hat to my head, or money, or apparel, or any thing else, as a recompense for my labor and my trouble, from any of my brethren or any other person. My intention is to follow the example set before me by the holy Apostle St. Paul, to labor with my hands for the things I stand in need of, to support myself and family, and to let the church of Christ be free from incumbrances.

"We have five trustees to our chapel and burying-ground, eight deacons, and six exhorters.

"I had the pleasure of seeing MR. V. of his Majesty's ship Cumberland, in this town, who has been at my house and at our chapel, and has seen all my church-books, and the manner in which I have conducted our society. He has lately sailed for England with Admiral Montague, and when he sees you, he will be able to tell you of our proceedings better than I can write.

"All my beloved brethren beg their Christian love to you and all your dear brethren in the best bonds; and they also beg yourself and them will be pleased to remember the poor Ethiopian Baptists in their prayers, and be pleased also to accept the same from, Reverend and dear Sir, your poor unworthy brother in the Lord Jesus Christ, THOMAS NICHOLAS SWIGLE.

"P.S. Brothers Baker, Gilbert, and others of the Africans, are going on wonderfully in the Lord's services in the interior part of the country."

The circumstance of Mr. Swigle's being in the care of the church at Kingston, led me to think that George Leile was dead. But I now conclude that he was then laboring in the interior of the country. I have lately learnt from Mr. Johnson of Savannah, and he received his information from the colored brethren there, that

letters were received in Savannah, about 1810, from Mr. Leile, stating that he had met with great success in his ministry; that he had constituted a respectable church in the interior of the country, as a branch of the mother church; that the meeting-house in Kingston, with the steeple and bell, cost four thousand pounds.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE AFRICAN BAPTISTS IN PROVIDENCE, ONE OF THE BAHAMA ISLANDS.

In 1791, George Leile wrote to Dr. Rippon as follows. "Brother Amosis at Providence. He writes me that the gospel has taken good effect, and is spreading greatly. He has about three hundred members." This Amos was a negro preacher, and probably went from Georgia with George Leile. It appears by Asplund's Register, that this church was gathered in 1788. I have also learnt from Mr. Johnson, that letters were received from Amos by the black brethren in Savannah, in the autumn of 1812, stating that his church had increased to eight hundred and fifty.

I know of no other Baptist churches in the West-Indies. The Methodists and Moravians have made numerous converts, and formed large establishments. In 1809, according to Lee's History of the Methodists, there were of that society, in all the West-India islands, upwards of twelve thousand.

The African Baptist churches in Philadelphia, New-York, and Boston, have been noticed under the heads of those respective cities.

We shall now close this chapter with **SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONDITION OF THE CONVERTED NEGROES, AND THE SLAVES GENERALLY IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.** We shall not enter into the merits of slavery, nor dwell much upon the arguments which are brought for and against it. We design to go no farther into the investigation of this unhappy policy, than to exhibit something of the circumstances of our African brethren, who are involved in it.

Slaves are the most numerous in Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. There are some in a number of the other States; but in these six, the great body of them is found, and Virginia alone contains about three hundred thousand, almost one-third of its whole population. And I know not but the proportion is as great in the five other States. In all the States under consideration there are multitudes of black people and creoles, who are not slaves. Some are the descendants of manumitted ancestors; many who were born slaves have been liberated by benevolent and conscientious owners, and others have purchased their own freedom.

Multitudes of the inhabitants of these States have nothing to do with slavery; some from principle, and others for the want of means to obtain them.

The Quakers, who are numerous in some of the southern States, to their praise be it spoken, would never hold slaves.

The Methodists in some places set out on this principle: their ministers preached against slavery; many set them at liberty; but I believe at present their scruples are mostly laid aside.

The Baptists are by no means uniform in their opinions of slavery. Many let it alone altogether; some remonstrate against it in gentle terms; others oppose it vehemently; while far the greater part of them hold slaves, and justify themselves the best way they can.

In the six States we have named, there are now about ninety thousand Baptist communicants; and I conclude as many as forty thousand of this great number are negroes. Many of them it is true are free, but the greatest part of them are slaves. Thousands of them are owned by Baptist masters, and others by other people. The owners of slaves have generally been loaded with reproachful invectives for their practice. They have been all, without discrimination, charged with a want of both principle and feeling, with tyranny, cruelty, and oppression. But "to discriminate is just." Many must be blamed, but others ought rather to be pitied. Many of the best of masters have slaves, who are idle, thievishly stupid, and suspicious, and every

way calculated to vex their feelings and mar all their enjoyments: and whatever may be said of the condition of their slaves, all must allow that the masters_ is more wretched than theirs. Many I have seen are heartily sick of having slaves about them, and think that the people at the northward, who are free from the incumbrance of this troublesome property, are far more happy than they.

In traveling to collect materials for this work, I spent about five months in the six States now under consideration. I set out with a determination to say nothing on the subject of slavery; but people would converse upon it. Some were very curious to learn the minds of the northern people respecting slavery; others wanted to know how we could do our work without negroes; and many were anxious to clear themselves of the unjust aspersions, which, in their opinions, had been cast upon them. There is a class of people, (though I am happy to say I do not find many in it who profess religion) that entrench themselves around with their laws, their customs, and their wealth, and spurn with indignity any scruple of the lawfulness of holding slaves. There is another class, who are so amazingly suspicious that you are about to censure them, that it seems really cruel to mention one word against the slave-holding policy. But by far the greater part of those brethren, who are concerned in slavery, converse upon the subject with much frankness, and the following are the principal reasons which they assign for their practice:

1st. They had no hand in bringing them into the country; but since they are brought, somebody must take care of them.

2d. They cost them much money, generally from three to five hundred dollars apiece, and sometimes more; if they set them free, all this must be sacrificed.

3d. Others observed they had inherited their slaves as a part of their patrimonial estate: they came to them without their seeking, and now they know no better way than to find them employment, and make them as comfortable as their circumstances would permit.

4th. Some mentioned that the Romans and other nations had slaves; that they were numerous at the introduction of Christianity; that neither Christ nor the Apostles, nor any of the New-Testament writers said any thing against it; that if it were contrary to the spirit of the gospel, it is strange that it is no where prohibited. The last of these arguments has just about as much weight as those which are brought in support of infant baptism; the others I shall leave without any comment.

The fact is, most of the people under consideration, awoke into being surrounded with slaves, and now they must make the best they can of their situation.

But it is a well-known and pleasing fact, that the evils of slavery are yearly diminishing. Worldly policy has done something towards ameliorating the condition of this numerous class of pitiful beings; but religion has done much more.

Anxious that these strictures should be made with candor and correctness, and give a true, impartial representation of the business of slavery, as it is practiced among our southern brethren, I addressed a number of ministers on the subject, and requested their assistance towards forming this article.

But few, however, seemed inclined to say much about it. But Mr. Botsford of Georgetown, South Carolina, entered cheerfully and ingenuously upon the subject, and the following is a part of his communication.

"I have now been in this country upwards of forty-six years, as I arrived in Charleston from England in 1766, then something more than twenty years of age, and had never heard much respecting the negroes, or had seen more than four or five. I had every prejudice I could have against slavery. I must confess to this day, I am no advocate for it. But it does not appear to me in the same light it did on my first arrival. It is true, the slaves have no hope of freedom, and it is also true, they have no proper idea of the nature of freedom. Many in their own country were slaves, and many who were not, were miserable. Several with whom I have conversed, have really preferred their present state in this country to their own country, though in that they were free. It is more than probable, however, were the slave-trade abolished, their own country would be more desirable. I will give you an anecdote of a middle aged woman, who came to me a few weeks ago, to tell me the good things God had done for her soul. Among other things, she very heartily thanked God for

bringing her into this country, to hear the blessed gospel. "Well but," said I, "You are a slave." She replied, "O, Massa, I am a slave for true, but I have a good massa and missis. I wish all my countrymen and women were here to hear this blessed gospel." "What, and be slaves too?" said I. "O Massa," said she, "my own country too bad; this the best country for poor negro, too much if he get good Massa." She is not the only one I have heard express themselves in much the same manner."

Mr. Botsford observes that there are but few plantations in South-Carolina, which have not an opportunity of attending worship, either among themselves or at some public place. Some masters, it is true, discourage all kinds of worship among their slaves; but many, who are not religious themselves, are yet willing that their slaves should attend to religion, and suffer them to go to places of worship, and permit exhorters to come on their plantations, etc.

Mr. Botsford has a few slaves in his possession, and his reasons for holding them are as follows: "Providence has cast my lot where slavery is introduced and practiced, under the sanction of the laws of the country. Servants I want; it is lawful for me to have them; but hired ones I cannot obtain, and therefore I have purchased some: I use them as servants; I feed them, clothe them, instruct them, etc.; -- as I cannot do as I would, I do as I can."

The existence of slavery in a country is calculated to awaken all the propensities of human nature, whether good or bad. Those who are so disposed, have abundant opportunities to play the tyrant, and to vent all their merciless and angry passions upon a set of poor, defenseless fellow beings; while those who are inclined to tenderness and compassion, may always find occasions for displaying these noble virtues. The following anecdotes will exemplify these remarks. A planter in the upper part of Georgia, went down to Charleston to purchase slaves. A cargo had just been landed -- they were set up at auctions -- declared to be sound in wind and limb, and were struck off to the highest bidder. This planter purchased his complement, and the driver conducted them off. On the way to Augusta, one of the women accidentally saw the man who had been her husband in Africa; the dissevered pair immediately recognized each other, and their feelings at this unexpected meeting may be conceived by those, who are acquainted with conjugal affection. The owner of the husband was moved at the scene, and proposed either to sell or buy, that the poor creatures might live together on the same plantation. But the other, hard-hearted man! would do neither. They of course were soon parted; the woman was conducted up the country, and soon after died with grief. I spent a night with a Baptist minister in Georgia, who had a plantation of about fifty slaves. By his request I took the lead in the devotion of the evening. A large company of negroes assembled in the hall. Their attention was solemn and devout, and their singing melodious. At the close of the exercises, the master exhorted his servants in a very affectionate manner to attend to what they had heard, among them was a very aged man, to whom he spoke in the tenderest manner, and inquired respecting his spiritual enjoyments, and so on. His answers were broken, but sensible. After the negroes had retired, my worthy brother gave the following account of the pious old Jack, who was supposed to be at least a hundred years old. He had belonged to a neighboring estate, which had been divided and run down, and the old worn-out servant was left without support. He went to another plantation among his kindred, but they treated him unkindly, and he concluded to go out into the woods and die. Mr. -- one day returning from Savannah, found him wandering in the road: he inquired who he was? and having heard his melancholy tale, took him into his carriage, carried him home, and had kept him a number of years, without any reward, or ever expecting any.

This old African was an example of piety, and had a striking discernment in spiritual things. One day he said to his master, "Massa, me no like dat a man who pray here and talk to us lass night." "Why, Jack, why you no like him?" "O, me dont know, Massa, he pray and tell well enough; but me no get hold of him." Soon after, it was found out that the man was an impostor.

I was at the house of a Baptist minister in Virginia, who had many slaves, and among them one, who was a brother in the ministry. He was a sensible man and a very acceptable preacher. He had a wife and family all comfortable and happy. He had a good horse, had money at interest, and was called abroad to preach oftener than his master. And here I would observe, that among the African Baptists in the southern States, there are a multitude of preachers and exhorters, whose names do not appear on the minutes of associations. They preach principally on the plantations to those of their own color; and their preaching, though broken and illiterate, is in many cases highly useful.

The following anecdote affords a cutting reproof to all whom it implicates. A poor ignorant negro came to a minister with a melancholy and dejected look, and desired him to come and baptize his master again. "Why, Sambo," replied the minister, "what is the matter of your master? " "O, my massa been one good massa when you baptize afore; but now he forget all his religion, and scold, and vex, and whip poor negro."

I saw a man in Virginia, who was bred in Massachusetts: he went to Virginia with all the prejudices of a New-England man against slavery, and was determined at all events he would never traffic in human flesh. He soon found it difficult to get servants. That class in society who cheerfully serve in New-England are above the business here. He hired his neighbor's slaves; but they were miserable help. At length a fine looking black woman, of about thirty years of age, came to him and begged him to buy her. She had a ticket from her master, signifying that she was for sale. She informed him that her master lived twenty miles off -- that she had lost her husband -- that she had two children, which her master intended to keep; but his affairs were such that he must sell her, and had given her leave to find a master for herself, a thing very common in these countries. She furthermore added, that a man stood ready to buy her, who wanted to carry her down the Mississippi river; and in case she was sold to him, she must be parted from her children forever. She wept and begged him to buy her, so that she might live near her children. The man knew not what to do, for he found his principles, his interest, and compassion, all thrown into immediate collision; but as interest and compassion were both on one side, they overpowered his principles, and he bought the woman. She has proved a faithful servant: he permits her to go twice in a year to see her children; and she is happy and contented, and blesses her master for making her his slave.

These anecdotes are absolutely matters of fact, without any fiction or coloring, and they are specimens of what is every where met with throughout the land of slaves.

African converts are numerous among the Methodists as well as Baptists. The Methodist church in Charleston, a few years since, consisted of about eighteen hundred members. It was supposed that fifteen hundred or more of them were negroes.

But after all we can say of the kindness of masters and the comforts of slaves, it must be acknowledged that thousands of these wretched beings are sunk beneath an enormous load of oppressive misery. But the rich grace of God, which has within a few years past been so remarkably diffused in these States among both masters and slaves, I hope, and am inclined to believe, will be the salt of this part of the earth, and preserve it from those dreadful calamities, which many have feared. Were it not for this, I should really fear that oppressed humanity would one day collect its energies to a point, and revenge itself in acts of terrible retaliation on the authors of its weighty woes.

Those, who may wish to gain further information of the religious negroes, may find many interesting accounts in Holcombe's Letters lately published, and in a little piece entitled Sambo and Toney, published not long since by Mr. Botsford.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

TENNESSEE

This State lies west of North-Carolina, to which it formerly belonged, and directly south of Kentucky, from which it is divided by an east and west line; it is naturally divided into two grand sections by the Cumberland Mountains, which are but thinly inhabited; the settlements of course are mostly in the east and west ends of the State. These two divisions are, for the sake of distinction, called, the one East and the other West Tennessee. Knoxville in East, and Nashville in West Tennessee, are considered the capitals or principal towns in their respective divisions. They are two hundred miles apart.

The Baptists were not, as in Kentucky, the first settlers in this State, nor have they been, as they are there, the most numerous denomination of Christians. **The Presbyterians took the lead as a religious denomination here, and in 1788, according to Morse's *Geography*, when there were but ten Baptist churches in the country, and most of these very small, they had twenty-three large congregations.** The Methodists also made an early beginning in this State, especially in its western part, where they have collected many societies, and they are probably now the most numerous of any one denomination in the State. The Presbyterians, however, are considerably numerous; and the Baptists have increased much within a few years, and are now increasing very fast, especially in West-Tennessee. The first settlements in this State were made on the Holston river and its waters, in East-Tennessee, and in the south-east corner of the State of Virginia; and in these settlements the first Baptist churches were established. **It is said there were two churches gathered in this part of Tennessee, which was then a dangerous wilderness, some time before any of those arose, whose history we are now about to relate; but they were broken up and scattered, during the time of the Indian war.** The circumstances under which they were gathered, I have not been able to learn. **They were probably collected some time after the year 1765, and broken up in that Indian war which happened in 1774.** One of these churches was on Clinch-River, a few of whose members returned after the war, and the church was re-constituted by the name of Glade Hollows, and now belongs to the Holston Association.

But the beginning of the first churches which have had a permanent standing was in the following manner: About the year 1780, William Murphy, James Keel, Thomas Murrell, Tidence Lane, Isaac Barton, Matthew Talbot, Joshua Kelly, and John Chastain, moved into what was called the **Holston country, when it was in a wilderness state, and much exposed to the ravages and depredations of the Indians.** These ministers were all Virginians, except Mr. Lane, who was from North-Carolina. They were accompanied by a considerable number of their brethren from the churches which they left, and were followed shortly after by Jonathan Mulky, William Reno, and some other ministers and brethren, and amongst the other emigrants there was a small body which went out in something like a church capacity. They removed from the old church at Sandy-Creek, in North-Carolina, which was planted by Shubael Stearns; and as a branch of the mother church, they emigrated to the wilderness, and settled on Boon's Creek. The church is now called Buffaloe Ridge, and is under the pastoral care of Jonathan Mulky.

In 1781, one year after the settlement of most of the persons above mentioned, five or six churches having been established by the emigrants, they, for their mutual advantage and edification, concluded to meet together in conference twice in a year; this conference, they, in a short time, organized into a temporary Association, which they chose to place under the patronage and direction of the Sandy-Creek Association in North-Carolina. To this body they made annual returns of their proceedings, which they submitted for their inspection and approbation. But the remoteness of their situation rendered this measure so inconvenient, that by the approbation of their North-Carolina brethren, they, in 1786, erected their body into a distinct and independent Association by the name of Holston. [Mr. Asplung in his *Register* dates this Association in 1788; but the date which I have given must be correct, as I took it from the records of the Association.] This Association, at this time, consisted of the seven following churches, viz. Kendrick's Creek, Bent Creek, Beaver Creek, Greasy Cove, Cherokee, North Fork of Holston, and Lower French Broad. The ministers belonging to it at this time, were Jonathan Mulky, Tidence Lane, Isaac Barton, James Keel, William Murphy, John Frost, and Alexander Chambers. A few of these ministers in a short time removed

to other parts, but most of them became permanently stationed in the country, and have been diligent and successful laborers in this part of the vineyard. Most of the early Baptists in this region were of the old Separate order: some, however, were Regulars; but the leading sentiments of both were Calvinistic, and there was so little difference in their notions of doctrine and discipline, that these names were soon forgotten, and they went on together with great union and harmony. This Association adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, at the time of its constitution, and still adheres to the doctrinal sentiments contained in that instrument. They held an occasional correspondence, for a number of years, with some of the Kentucky Associations; but the distance being so great, and the inconveniences attending it were found to be so many, that it has for some time been laid aside. There has been considerable debate at different times in this body about laying-on-of-hands; but it is left at present for ministers, churches, and brethren, each one to follow their own light and convictions on the subject. Some refreshing seasons were experienced at different times amongst the churches within the bounds of this Association, and it progressed with a good degree of prosperity until 1802, when, by a mutual agreement, a division, which had some time before been proposed, was effected. The Association at the time of this division contained thirty-six churches, and between two and three thousand members. The line of division was from Powel's River to the Flat Gap, on the Clinch Mountain, and thence by a crooked route to English's Mountain. All the churches to the north of this line remained with, and retained the name and constitution of the Holston Association; while those at the south of it were dismissed to form a new one, which they called Tennessee. A number of churches and some of the oldest in this body, are in the State of Virginia. In 1809, the Holston Association contained eighteen churches, 1213 members, and thirteen preachers, eight of whom were ordained, and five were not. The churches in the State of Tennessee are mostly in the counties of Green, Hawkins, Sullivan, Washington, Jefferson, and Carter. Those in Virginia are in the counties of Washington and Russel. [Mr. Scruple, in his history of the Virginia Baptists, makes ten churches of this Association to be in Virginia; but from the Minutes which I took when I visited it in 1810, there were but three. The reason of this disagreement is probably this. I was informed that a number of churches, which had formerly belonged to the Association, had, for some cause which I cannot now relate, withdrawn; these churches are probably the ones in question, and had not withdrawn when Mr. Semple received his information.] **In the time of the Great Revival, the bodily exercises of jerking, dancing, etc. were considerably prevalent in many of the churches in this Association** and in the Holston settlements generally; an account of which will be given in the history of that remarkable work.

TENNESSEE ASSOCIATION

This Association, as has been related, arose from the division of the Holston, in 1802. It did not, like the mother Association, adopt the Confession of Faith, but professed to hold its substance and spirit, with some modifications of some of the articles which it contains. Many of the churches in this body are in the neighborhood of Knoxville, and most of them are on the Holston, Tennessee, and Clinch Rivers. It received its name from the river, which gives name to the State. This Association has already become considerably large, and it now extends over the Clinch River, to the Cumberland Mountain; and a few churches have lately been gathered in the nooks and vallies of the mountain, on land which was, till within five or six years, inhabited by the aboriginal proprietors of the soil.

[The road from East to West Tennessee leads directly over the stupendous and terrible piles of the Cumberland Mountains. Eighty miles of this road are most rugged and dreary indeed. It leads through land till lately claimed by the Indians, and it was by paying an annual sum for the privilege, that the United States government obtained permission of the native proprietors of the soil, to lay open a road through this desolate region, and establish three or four stands where houses of entertainment were kept for the convenience of travelers. But five or six years ago a very large tract of country, in which this road was included, was purchased of the Indians, and their claim to it forever extinguished. Since that period a few settlements have been made in the inhabitable parts of the mountains, but a considerable part them are wholly unfit for settlement, as they are altogether incapable of cultivation. There are now many inns or ordinaries on the road for the entertainment of travelers, most of which are of a truly inferior kind. A few of them, however, are kept with a good degree of neatness and attention, and furnish more comforts to the lonesome traveler, than he could expect to find in such a barren and inhospitable desert. This road I found the most dreary and unpleasant of any which I traveled in any of the United States. One night I tarried at an inn where I was treated with much hospitality. Shortly after I arrived, the people informed me that two panthers had lately been seen by the side of the road which I had passed, and that one of these dreadful animals had, not long before, came near the house in the night, and screamed like a woman in distress, and

came near decoying the man of the house to go out into the woods to search for what he supposed at first a bewildered and unfortunate sufferer. They had but just finished this relation, when two men rode up to the door, of a most rustic and woodsy appearance; they informed us that they were in pursuit of a man who had lately broken a log jail, some distance off down the mountain, and that he was imprisoned for robbing and murdering a traveler on the road. This was unpleasant news for me. They also informed us there were lurking a few miles off, two noted horse-thieves on foot, one of whom had lately broken jail in South-Carolina, and had fled to these remote mountains for protection, and that they were supposed to be waiting to furnish themselves with horses to expedite their escape to remoter regions, as horse-stealing in South-Carolina is a capital crime; and this, I thought, was bad news for myself and horse too. The people also informed me, that the wolves were at that time very numerous and voracious, and that a company of them had, a day or two before, shown alarming signs of insolence and hostility to some travelers on the road. After hearing all these unpleasant relations, I committed myself to the divine protection, and retired, to rest as composedly as I could; but I could not help reflecting that I must ride in the morning, if my horse was not stolen, over rocks and mountains, through mud and snow, ten miles, without a house or inhabitant.]

This Association in 1809, contained thirty churches, fourteen ordained and two unordained preachers, and 1466 communicants. The churches are principally in the counties of Knox, Claiborne, Seveir, and Jefferson. The dispute about the laying-on-of-hands has also been, at different times, agitated in this Association as well as in the Holston, and the subject is also left on the same ground. Robert Fristoe of this Association, a native of Stafford county, in Virginia, and nephew to the famous Virginia preachers of the name, usually officiates as the Moderator of its meetings, and is considered a principal minister in the body.

WEST TENNESSEE

The settlements in this part of the State were not commenced till a number of years after those in East Tennessee had become large and flourishing. In the year 1780, a party of about forty families, invited by the richness of the Cumberland country, under the guidance and direction of General James Robertson, passed through a wilderness of at least 300 miles to the French Lick, there founded the town of Nashville, on the Cumberland River, and commenced settlements on the luxuriant soil in its vicinity. But I have not learnt that there were any Baptists in this company. **The first church of this denomination in West Tennessee was gathered in 1786**, on one of the branches of Red River, called Sulphur Fork, some considerable distance from Nashville. Who were its constituents I have not been able to learn; they must, however, have been an adventurous set of people. to have settled in such a remote region, where they were exposed to continual alarms, and destructive depredations from the Indians. The founders of this church probably emigrated from North-Carolina or Virginia, about the year 1783, when a swarm of emigrants poured into this region from many different quarters. One John Grammar was for a short time their pastor; but he removed from them, and the church was dissolved before any of those were formed which are now in existence. A considerable number of families of the Baptist persuasion had settled in many parts of the Cumberland country, but it was not till the year 1790, that Baptist churches began to be established, or the denomination to flourish. [As the first settlements in this part of Tennessee were made on the Cumberland River and its vicinity, the whole region was distinguished, by the name of the "Cumberland Country, or Cumberland Settlements," and it was not until the settlements became extensive, that the name of West Tennessee was adopted.] In the course of five or six years from this date, five churches were gathered; and in 1796, they were embodied into an Association called Mero District, after the name of a civil department, which then comprehended all the counties in West-Tennessee. This Association has become the mother of two others, viz. the Red River and Concord, which are both considerably large, and very respectable and flourishing establishments. The five churches, which at first composed the Mero Association, were Mouth of Sulphur Fork, White_s Creek, Head of Sulphur Fork, which has generally been known by the name of Dorris_s church, Middle church on Sulphur Fork, and the church on the west Fork of Station Camp. The ministers, who had assisted in raising up these churches, were Daniel Brown, Joseph Dorris, Nathan Arnett, and Patrick Mooney. The number of members at the commencement of the Association is not recorded, but they must have been few. [It is a uniform practice with all the Associations in the western and most of those in the southern States, to procure a blank book at their commencement, in which they record all their proceedings and all remarkable events. Many Associations could not conveniently print their Minutes, until a number of years after their commencement. But in these records they are preserved. This commendable practice is not generally adopted by the Associations in the middle and eastern States, but it is certainly worthy their attention. These records have afforded me peculiar service, and have often saved me much riding and labor.] The church at the Mouth of Sulphur Fork is the oldest now in existence in West-

Tennessee. It was constituted in 1791, by the assistance of Elder **Ambrose Dudley and John Taylor**, from the Elkhorn Association in Kentucky. **These ministers by the request of the brethren in this place traveled not far from two hundred miles, mostly through a wilderness, where they were continually exposed to be destroyed by the Indians.** This church was at first called Tennessee; it united with the Elkhorn Association, where it continued until the Mero District Association was formed. This church remained alone in the wilderness, having no other within more than a hundred miles of it, until 1794, when that on White_s Creek in Davidson county, about six miles to the north of Nashville, was gathered. The church at the Head of Sulphur Fork was constituted in North-Carolina in 1795, and immediately after emigrated to this country in a church capacity, having before their removal chosen Joseph Dorris for their pastor; from this circumstance, this has been generally distinguished by the name of Dorris_s church. The Middle church on Sulphur Fork was constituted in 1796, and partly of members, who had belonged to the church, which was gathered in 1786; the one on Station Camp was raised up the same year. These were the beginnings of the Mero Association, and it will be seen by recurring to the geography of the country, that most of the churches were on the waters of the Red River, and that all of them were north of the Cumberland.

At the annual meeting of the Association in 1797, the churches on Richland Creek, Mill Creek, and the Head of Red River, were admitted as members of the infant establishment. That on Richland Creek was the first Baptist church which was gathered on the south side of the Cumberland River. The Reverend **John Dillohanty** took the care of this church at its commencement, and still continues their much respected pastor. He emigrated from the Neuse Association in North-Carolina, and has been an eminent and successful Baptist preacher for fifty-five years.

The church on Mill Creek was the second one raised on the south side of the Cumberland River; it is like that on Richland Creek in the neighborhood of Nashville. The same day the church was constituted, Mr. **James Whitsett**, who is a native of Virginia, was ordained as their pastor, in which office he still continues. He is now in the meridian of life, and by a kind Providence placed in easy circumstances, and is laborious, successful, and highly esteemed, throughout an extensive circle of brethren and churches. **Robert C. Foster, Esq. a planter of considerable opulence, and one of the Senators in the State Legislature, is a member of this church.** From 1797 till 1801, the Association traveled on in a prosperous manner, and had increased to eighteen churches, in which were sixteen ministers and about 1200 members; but now its progress was impeded, and its former harmony much interrupted. Some **reports had gone abroad against Joseph Dorris**, who had at this time become very popular as a preacher, and a number of things had appeared in his conduct, which had, for some time, been a source of peculiar trial to many of his brethren. But no steps of gospel labor were taken with him, until the matter was abruptly introduced before the Association at Mill Creek in the year 1800, by the delegates from the church on White_s Creek. They, pursuant to instructions received from their constituents in open assembly, declared a non-fellowship with both Dorris and his church; with Dorris for unchristian behavior, and with his church for not dealing with him. The matter, being thus brought before the Association, the churches were advised to send brethren to examine into the grounds of complaint against Dorris and his church. An examination in due form was accordingly made; and though the charges against Mr. Dorris were many and grievous, yet nothing could be sufficiently proved to justify the Association in excluding either him or his church from their seats. The report of these proceedings was made at the Association in 1802, on the reception of which the churches of White_s Creek and Richland Creek immediately withdrew. No further steps were taken at this meeting. But at an extra session of the Association in the April following, appointed for the special purpose of attending to this business, it was resolved that Mr. Dorris_s case should be reconsidered; and the Association proceeded to try their obnoxious brother the second time for the same offenses. He however acceded to the proposal, and professed to desire a full and fair investigation of all the charges exhibited against him. But this examination issued like the former; the brethren concerned could not, by substantial proofs, convict him; nor could they, in their own minds, acquit him. His friends declared him innocent, but others alleged that he had, by the connivance of his party, and his own artful measures, so entrenched himself on every side, that matters could not be fairly examined. The Association now relinquished their pursuit of Mr. Dorris, and began to study how they should extricate themselves from the difficulty in which they were involved on his account. They would have been glad to have dismissed him and his church at first, but he was as much determined to maintain his seat, as his brethren were to displace him. The Association, therefore, at last, resorted to the singular expedient of dissolving their body and forming a new one, into which they would not receive him. This event took place in the year 1803. The new Association, which originated in this curious transformation, was called Cumberland; and all the churches, which had

belonged to the old Association, united with the new one, except Dorris's and three other small ones, which sided with him. These four churches continued to meet under the name of the Mero Association; their number in 1805, amounted to about 200; but they have never prospered, nor increased, nor been admitted into the fellowship of any of the neighboring Associations. Mr. Dorris, of whom so much has been said, and who has been the cause of so much trouble to his brethren in these parts, is a native of North-Carolina, where he commenced his ministry. The manner of his removal to this country has been related. His reputation was sullied before he left his native State, and he always moved under a misty cloud of censures and complaints since he settled in Tennessee. The burden of the charges against him have been for imprudent or criminal conduct with women, that fruitful source of iniquity and slander, from which have issued a thousand polluted streams, to spot the garments and ruin the usefulness of many, who have assumed the ministerial character. But amidst all the evil reports, which have been circulated against him for twenty years, Mr. Dorris has continued to preach abundantly, with great confidence and zeal; for notwithstanding all the censures which his brethren have passed upon him, and the warnings which they have published against him, such are his talents and address, that he has ever found means to attach many to his person and ministry. He is said to be a man of great art and intrigue; and it has also often been said of him (as it may in truth be said of many others) that if he had been as careful and skillful in avoiding occasion for censures and reproaches, as he has been in entrenching and defending himself when they were brought against him, that he would doubtless have enjoyed, through life, much more reputation, innocence, and ease.

CUMBERLAND ASSOCIATION

The singular origin of this body has already been related. It contained fifteen churches at its beginning; and in 1806, three years after, so great was its prosperity that it had increased to thirty-nine churches which contained about 1900 members. Its bounds had now become so extensive, that a division was thought necessary; and the mountainous tract of land called the Red River Ridge, which lies between the Red and Cumberland Rivers, was agreed upon for a general line of division. The churches south and south-east of this ridge retained the name and constitution of the Cumberland Association, while those on the other side of it formed themselves into a new one, by the name of Red River. The Cumberland, from this division, traveled on with a prosperous course until 1809, when its boundaries had become so extensive, that it was thought expedient that it should divide again. Another division was accordingly amicably effected, and the line was as follows. To begin on the Red River, and at the place where the road from Lexington, Kentucky, to Nashville, crosses it, and to follow this road southwardly by Haysborough to Nashville, thence to the Harpeth Licks, and thence to the Tennessee River. This line runs about north and south, and all the churches west of it retained the name and constitution of the Cumberland Association, while those east of it were formed into a new one, by the name of Concord. By this division the mother Association was reduced to ten churches; but it has since greatly increased. In 1811 and 1812 there was a very extensive revival in the bounds of this Association. At its annual session in 1812, it appeared that in twelve months past 1081 members had been added to its churches. This Association, as will be seen by the line of division above mentioned, lies wholly to the west of Nashville. A number of its churches are not far from that town in the county of Davidson, the oldest county in West-Tennessee; and of the rest some are in the counties of Dickson, Montgomery, and Humphries.

RED RIVER ASSOCIATION

The manner in which this body originated has already been related. It contains some of the oldest churches in the country. The river which gave name to it has its rise in the State of Kentucky, but its course, which is generally south-west, is mostly in Tennessee; it empties into the Cumberland River at Clarksville, about twenty-five miles below Nashville. A good degree of prosperity has attended this Association from its beginning, and it has now become large. It lies on the line between Tennessee and Kentucky, and a part of its churches are in the latter State.

CONCORD ASSOCIATION

This body was organized in 1810, of churches dismissed from the Cumberland Association. Between eight and nine hundred members were added to it in 1812. The churches in it lie on both sides of the Cumberland River, and extend eastward from Nashville about fifty miles, near to the western side of the

Cumberland Mountains. I have not ascertained the names of all the counties in which they are situated. A number of them, however, are in those of Davidson, Sumner, Wilson, and Rutherford.

ELK RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This is a new Association, which was formed in 1808, in a remote and newly settled region, on the south side of the State of Tennessee, and in the neighborhood of the Tennessee river, about opposite the Muscle Shoals. This extensive tract of land, known at present by the name of the Elk and Duck River country, much of which is said to be very fertile, was included in that extensive purchase which the United States_ government made a few years ago of the Chickasaw and Cherokee Indians. As soon as the Indian claim was extinguished, and the white people were permitted to make purchases in the country, they pressed into it with great eagerness from many different parts. Most of the earliest settlers, however, are said to have emigrated from the back parts of the State of Georgia; and amongst them were many of the Baptist order. By them a number of churches were soon gathered. The Association at its commencement contained seven churches; the next year after it was constituted, it received five new churches, and the year following ten; it contains twenty-four churches, and upwards of two thousand members. Upwards of a thousand of them were added in 1812.

The Union church on War Trace in Bedford county, formerly belonged to the Cumberland Association. One or more of the churches in this body are in the Mississippi Territory. The others are principally in the counties of Franklin, Madison, Bedford, Warren, and White.

The Associations in West Tennessee have devised and adopted the following "Abstract of Principles," by which the reader will discover the doctrinal sentiments which prevail amongst them.

- 1st. We believe in one only true and living God, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost.
- 2d. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God, and the only rule of faith and practice.
- 3d. We believe in the doctrine of election, and that God chose his people in Christ before the foundation of the world.
- 4th. We believe in the doctrine of original sin.
- 5th. We believe in man_s impotency to recover himself from the fallen state he is in by nature, by his own free will and ability.
- 6th. We believe that sinners are justified in the sight of God, only by the imputed righteousness of Christ.
- 7th. We believe that God_s elect shall be called, converted, regenerated, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit.
- 8th. We believe the saints shall persevere in grace, and never fall finally away.
- 9th. We believe that baptism and the Lord_s supper are ordinances of Jesus Christ, and that true believers are the subjects; and we believe that the true mode of baptism is by immersion.
- 10th. We believe in the resurrection of the dead, and general judgment.
- 11th. We believe the punishment of the wicked and the joys of the righteous will be eternal.
- 12th. We believe that no ministers have a right to the administration of the ordinances, only such as are regularly baptized, called, and come under the imposition of hands by the presbytery, etc.

Most of these accounts of Tennessee were made out in 1811. Since that time great additions have been made to the churches in this State, particularly in West Tennessee. Our brethren in these parts have been favored with a number of great and precious revivals. While the great work was going on in Kentucky, in 1800 and onward, this country was visited with a part of the copious shower of grace. We have seen that great numbers were added to the churches here in 1812. In this year, Mr. Whitsett, near Nashville, baptized about 350, and among the number were five students of Cumberland college, in that town.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

KENTUCKY

This State lies west of Virginia, which it joins, and to which it formerly belonged. It was admitted into the Union as an independent State in 1792. Kentucky was well known to the Indian traders long before its settlement. James Macbride, with some others, explored it as early as 1754. Colonel Daniel Boon visited it in 1769; and four years after, he and his family, with five other families, who were joined by forty men from Powel's Valley, began the settlement of this fertile region. I do not learn that any of these first settlers were Baptists; but they soon after began to flock to this western wilderness.

The first settlers of Kentucky, and indeed of all the western States, were for a long time much harassed by the aboriginal proprietors of the soil, and against the united opposition of all the western Indians their settlements were made. **The Indians were always jealous of the encroachments of the white people on the territories which the God of nature had given them; and in this case their resentment was the more enraged, because these settlements were made in violation of the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, which expressly stipulated that this tract of country should be reserved for the western nations to hunt upon,** etc. With these provocations to revenge, the red men of the wilderness were most troublesome neighbors to the first adventurers into the western country. Many lost their lives either on their way hither, or after they had settled. Excited by a thirst for blood and the hope of plunder, and encouraged by the traders from Detroit and Niagara, these barbarous people continued almost without intermission to harass the frontier settlers, until **Wayne's Treaty in 1795**. From that period until lately, they have been peaceably disposed, and very few depredations have been committed.

A number of Baptist ministers visited Kentucky about 1779; and among them were John Taylor, who is yet living in it, and Lewis Lunsford, who died in Virginia, who was at that time called The Wonderful Boy. The object of these ministers, says Mr. Taylor, was more to look than to preach. They found a few of their brethren in the country; but they were in an uncomfortable state in every respect, being very cold as to their religious enjoyments, and much exposed to danger on every side. These ministers had a few meetings at the stations; they found the country destitute of almost every thing except grass for their horses, and meat from the woods, which was procured at the risk of their lives. They could do but little more than feast their eyes with the luxuriant soil, which the Indians had determined they should not cultivate. They I believe, all returned to Virginia; but some of them afterwards went out and settled in the country.

About 1781, some Baptist preachers and many Baptist members began to settle in Kentucky. From that period the emigration became very rapid, so that by the year 1786, the following ministers, viz. Lewis Craig, Joseph Bledsoe, George S. Smith, Richard Cave, James Smith, James Rucker, Robert Elkin, John Taylor, William Taylor, John Tanner, John Bailey, Joseph Craig, Ambrose Dudley, and probably some others, had taken up their residence in different parts of the Kentucky woods, some on the north and others on the south side of the Kentucky river.

A flood of Baptist emigrants, mostly from Virginia, poured into this country at the close of the American war, and by them a considerable number of churches were soon established and as early as 1785, three Associations were organized, which were called Elkhorn, Salem, and the Separate or South Kentucky Association.

The emigration from Virginia to this western region was a hazardous business, and was conducted in a somewhat singular manner. They had a vast tract of wilderness to go through, in which they were constantly exposed to the assaults of the Indians. Their safety consisted in traveling in as large companies as they could collect. There were, on the frontiers of the old settlements, a number of places of rendezvous, which were called stations. Here the first families which arrived would tarry until others came up, and after a sufficient number had collected, the whole would move off like a caravan through the wilderness. I have been informed, if I mistake not, that some of the companies amounted to three hundred men, women and

children. In some instances the Baptist emigrants would form themselves into a church before they set out, and in that capacity they settled in Kentucky. While on the way, as one of their ministers humorously observes, they might, like the children of Israel, be styled the church in the wilderness. By this rapid emigration, Kentucky soon abounded with Baptists; and they have been from the first, and I conclude now are, the most numerous denomination in the State.

In 1790, according to *Asplund's Register*, there were in Kentucky forty-two churches, forty ordained and twenty-one unordained ministers, and a little more than three thousand members. Since that time, the number has greatly increased, so that there are now over two hundred and fifty churches, and somewhere between fifteen and twenty thousand members. The whole statement will be given, so far as it can be ascertained in the general table. There are now eleven Associations in this State in professed fellowship with each other, besides three other establishments of the kind, which for different reasons are not in fellowship with the main body of their brethren. A brief account of these respective Associations, will form the substance of the history of the Baptists in Kentucky.

ELKHORN ASSOCIATION

This body, at its constitution, contained only the three churches of Tate's Creek, Clear Creek, and South Elkhorn, all of which were formed in 1785, the same year in which they associated. Some churches were gathered the same year, and a number shortly after, which united with this establishment; so that in seven years from its constitution, it had increased to twenty-three churches and 1700 members. The bounds of this Association were for a number of years very extensive, as it comprehended all the churches north of the Kentucky River, and some of those which were south of it; the church at Columbia, in the North-Western Territory, now the State of Ohio, and a church in the Cumberland settlements in the State of Tennessee. It has also contained from the first a number of very large and flourishing churches, which have sent forth many preachers, and many surrounding branches. The churches of South Elkhorn, Clear Creek, Bryan's Station, and the Great Crossing, are among those which have been the most distinguished for numbers and prosperity. During the great revival, these four churches together, received in one year the addition of 1378 members. This Association has, at different times, comprehended a number of laborious and successful ministers. A number of the preachers who emigrated from Virginia were men of the above description. And in 1738, when there were not more than twenty churches in the State, and but twelve in the Elkhorn Association, Mr. John Gano, a man famous both for counsel and war, moved from the city of New-York, and became the pastor of the Town Fork church, in the neighborhood of Lexington, belonging to this body. Possessed of these advantages, this Association was much resorted to in difficult cases for counsel and assistance. Under these prosperous circumstances, it continued to progress with great harmony and order for about twenty years, receiving yearly additions of churches gathered within its extensive boundaries. **In the happy days of the great revival, many of the churches in this body experienced refreshing seasons of an uncommon nature**, and shared largely in that powerful work, which prevailed in such a rapid and astonishing manner in different parts of the State. At its annual meeting in 1801, it received the addition of 3011 members. In 1802, twelve churches more were added, which made its whole number of members 5310. **But these joyful scenes were of short duration: very gloomy and perilous times have succeeded; and the course of this body, from the close of this remarkable enlargement to the present time, has been generally difficult and unprosperous.** It has been often and almost annually diminished, by dismissing churches to unite with the neighboring Associations. But as their brethren were dismissed in harmony, and still continued in fellowship, though these things have diminished their number, yet they did not constitute their trials: these arose from other quarters and the zeal produced by the great revival had hardly abated before they began; and the intervals of tranquillity have been but short from that to the present time. About the year 1802, the Reverend Augustin Easton, a preacher of considerable eminence, and the pastor of a respectable church at Cooper's Run, in the county of Bourbon, and His Excellency James Gerrard, a member of the same church, formerly a preacher in the Elkhorn Association, but then Governor of the State of Kentucky, began to disclose **some speculations of an Arian or Socinian cast**, and led their brethren to suspect that they were dangerously inclined, if not fully established in these sentiments. For some time, the minds of many were much agitated by these new subjects of speculation; and the eminence and ability of the men by whom they were propagated, excited fearful apprehensions of their extensive prevalence. The majority of the church at Cooper's Run, of which Mr. Easton was pastor, and to which the Governor belonged, had already espoused their sentiments, and three other smaller neighboring churches had done the same. Anxious to make every proper exertion to reclaim their brethren, and prevent the progress of what they supposed a growing heresy, the Association held an

occasional session in April, 1803, and appointed the five following ministering brethren, viz. David Barrow, John Price, Ambrose Dudley, Joseph Redding, and Carter Tarrant, a committee to visit these four churches, and endeavor to convince them of their error. But the attempt proving unsuccessful, they were dropped from the Association, and no extensive effects were produced by this new scheme of doctrine.

About two years after this difficulty had subsided, another was introduced into the Association on **the subject of slavery**, which arose to a very serious and distressing affair. For several years, there had been a number of preachers and members of churches in this and the neighboring Associations, who were in principle and practice opposed to the holding of slaves, in the manner in which such multitudes are held by the Baptists in this and many other States; but they had hitherto made the circumstance a matter of burden and forbearance. But a resolution of the Association, at its annual session in August, 1805, expressing their disapprobation of ministers, churches, or Associations meddling with the subject of emancipation from slavery, gave great offense to the emancipators: a number immediately left the assembly; and being previously matured for a separation, some slight attempts, which were afterwards made for a reconciliation, served only to extend the breach, and an open and painful rupture ensued.

The subject of emancipation was about the same time agitated in the Bracken and North District Associations, where it produced similar divisions. The emancipators, being thus separated from the communion of their slave-holding brethren in three Associations, collected from different parts, and in 1807 formed an Association of their own, and Messrs. Barrow and Tarrant, two members of the committee in the Arian affair, were the principal leaders in this new separation.

The difficulties of this unhappy community, which seemed destined to suffer internal trouble and commotion, followed each other in quick succession. At the same time that the controversy about emancipation was agitated, a dispute had begun between two individuals, which, after going through a number of trials in different forms, was introduced into the Association in 1806, where it was improperly and unsuccessfully tampered with about four years, when it divided into two contending parties this once flourishing and harmonious body. **The unpleasant dispute which has been the cause of so much evil, was at first very small and inconsiderable, and originated between Elder Jacob Creath and Mr. Thomas Lewis, in a bargain respecting the exchange of two poor slaves.** Mr. Creath was the pastor, and Mr. Lewis one of the principal members of the Town Fork church, in the neighborhood of Lexington. This church was under the pastoral care of Mr. Gano, a number of years after his removal to Kentucky. But this eminent servant of the Lord, and skillful arbitrator in religious disputes, had been taken from the evil to come before this painful contest commenced.

As it may appear strange that a personal disagreement should be the cause of such extensive divisions, the reader ought to be informed, that the opponents of Mr. Creath soon lost sight of the first subject of dispute, in the midst of a number of grievous allegations of various kinds, which at every stage of the difficulty were brought against him. Amongst other things, a pamphlet, entitled "A Portrait of Jacob Creath," containing fourteen charges, some of them of a very weighty and a number of a frivolous nature, was published by Elder Elijah Craig, one of the oldest, but we cannot say best, ministers in the Association. In consequence of this pamphlet, the church in which the difficulty begun, proceeded to call a committee or council from sixteen of the neighboring churches, to investigate the charges exhibited against their pastor. Forty-two delegates assembled, and after four days' investigation of the business, this numerous convention voted Mr. Creath an unanimous acquittal of all the charges, which Mr. Craig in his Portrait had exhibited against him. But notwithstanding this, an influential minority of the Association still continued dissatisfied with Mr. Creath, and by this time they had also conceived many grievances against their brethren, who had acted in the affair. The controversy now became a subject of general concern, and was altercated by the Association when collected, by most of the churches of which it was composed when at home, and by a number of families of very considerable influence. The prospect of an accommodation appeared still farther removed, and the affair became more embarrassing at every stage. The Association had imprudently intermeddled with a dispute, which it could not consistently decide, and after a lengthy and painful attention to it, its division appeared inevitable. Mr. Creath had sustained a number of trials in different forms for nearly the same things, in all of which he had been acquitted, and many were desirous that these decisions should terminate the dispute. The Association progressed as usual, but the minor party still continued their dissatisfaction, and in 1809 they declined attending its annual session. Mr. Lewis, with whom the contest began, died about this time, but this event had no apparent effect on the minds of his

advocates. They were now prepared for the unhappy result, which had long been expected; but being unwilling to appear as a seceding faction, they alleged that the majority had departed from the original constitution of the Association; and at a meeting of consultation for the purpose, they adopted the singular resolution of meeting in a different place at the same time with them, and to claim the name and prerogatives of the Elkhorn Association. Such was the conduct of a number of aged ministers, who had always before been highly esteemed for their wisdom and prudence; but they afterwards concluded to give up the name of Elkhorn, which they had absurdly assumed, and call their new establishment the Licking Association.

These measures were peculiarly distressing to the friends of Zion throughout an extensive circle. The ministers, who promoted them, were John Price, Ambrose Dudley, Joseph Redding, Lewis Corben, Absalom Bainbridge, and some others, whose influence was not so great. These ministers were among the oldest and most respectable in the State; they had long borne the burden and heat of the day, and their names were every where mentioned with respect. Considering their age and experience, none could suppose they would contend for trifles, and yet it was difficult for any to discover sufficient reason for their dividing measures. The most active among them was John Price, a man of an unpleasant temper, of great asperity of manners, and whose zeal, on all occasions, has partaken too much of the nature of party spirit. Mr. Creath, against whom their united efforts were directed, is in the meridian of life, of popular talents, but not the most amiable in his manners, nor conciliating in his address. He evidently in many cases displayed too much of the air of triumph towards his aggrieved brethren. While I was in Kentucky in the winter of 1809-10, these disputes were warm, and engaged the attention of almost every individual minister and member throughout an extensive circle. This circumstance made my visit peculiarly unpleasant. I saw much to admire in my brethren on both sides, but I could not approve their treatment of each other. I was grieved to see a number of aged ministers, whom I had been taught to respect a thousand miles off, and who now appeared to be men of wisdom and men of God, so deeply engaged in a frivolous dispute. The major party appeared more bent on conquest than reconciliation. On the whole, I was led to think there must be bad leaven somewhere, to produce such a sour fermentation.

In the end, the Association was divided in a most painful manner, and a number of churches which took different sides were torn to pieces. All attempts at reconciliation have proved ineffectual, and nothing but the obliterating hand of time seems capable of healing the breach. The Elkhorn Association has in a good degree recovered from the distressing shock, and the new one appears to be rising to a degree of consistency and respect.

BRACKEN ASSOCIATION

This body was organized in 1798. Most of the churches, of which it was at first composed, were dismissed from the Elkhorn Association. The church at Washington was constituted in 1785. It is not only the largest and the oldest in this Association, but is also one of the oldest in Kentucky. It was for some time under the care of Mr. William Wood, who lost his fortune and character by land speculation. It was principally by the solicitation of Mr. Wood, and by his encouraging proposals of worldly advantage, that Mr. John Gano was influenced to leave the city of New-York, and remove to the wilds of Kentucky. He landed June, 1787, at Limestone on the Ohio River; and at Washington, which is only four miles from it, he tarried two years before he removed to the place of his final settlement. The Washington church united with the Elkhorn Association soon after that body was formed, in which connection it continued till dismissed to form the Bracken. This Association was small at its beginning, and has never had any great increase; and in 1805, its harmony suffered a temporary interruption, by the dispute which then prevailed in many parts of Kentucky respecting the emancipation of slaves. This controversy issued in the final separation of a number of ministers and churches from the Association, who united with the emancipating party. The churches are in the counties of Mason, Bracken, and Fleming, in the north-east part of the State.

NORTH BEND ASSOCIATION

This Association is also on the north side of the State, to the west and south-west of the Bracken. It was formed, in 1802, of churches which were mostly dismissed for the purpose from the Elkhorn Association, and it received its name from that of a distinguished place in the Ohio River, about twenty miles below the town of Cincinnati. It is a small establishment, which has traveled from its beginning in harmony and love

The churches are in the counties of Campbell, Pendleton, and Boone, along the Licking and Ohio Rivers. The first beginning of that powerful and extensive work, which has been generally denominated the great revival, began in 1799, in what are now the bounds of this Association, and in 1810 and 1811, a refreshing season was again granted to some of the churches in this connection, and to the one at Bulletsburg 130 were added in the course of a few months. This church is the largest and most distinguished in this Association. It now (1812) contains 270 members, and is under the care of Absalom Graves. The late William Cave, who was a very distinguished character, was a member of this body. Mr. John Taylor, who preached to this church a number of years, gives it a very pleasing character for skillful discipline, and also for harmony and brotherly love. From it have proceeded a number of other churches, the names of which I am not able to give.

SEPARATE OR SOUTH KENTUCKY ASSOCIATION

This name was given to an Association, which was formed in 1785, on the south side of Kentucky River, and which remained on its first foundation about sixteen years. Robert Elkin, Joseph Bledsoe, and James Smith, were some of the principal instruments of gathering the churches of which it was composed. The preachers as well as the first members, emigrated principally from Virginia, and were amongst the earliest Baptist adventurers to the attracting wilderness of Kentucky. The Baptists in Virginia, at the time they began to send forth such populous colonies of their brethren to the western country, were divided into Regulars and Separates, although the Separates were much the most numerous. The Regulars were professedly and some of them very highly Calvinistic; but the Separates were far from being unanimous in their doctrinal sentiments. A majority of them, however, were Calvinists, and of the rest a part were much inclined to the Arminian side of the controversy; and some of the most distinguished among them in opposing the high strains of Calvinism, which were incessantly and in many instances dogmatically sounded by their orthodox brethren, had gone nearly the full length of the doctrine of Arminius. Others, with different modifications of the objectionable articles of both systems, were endeavoring to pursue a middle course. Such was the state of the Virginia Baptists, with regard to doctrine, at the period under consideration, and some of all these different classes were amongst the early emigrants to the fertile regions of the west; but a majority of them were Separates in their native State. But the same people who had traveled together before their removal, so far at least as it respected their associational connection, pursued a different course when settled in Kentucky. The Calvinistick Separates united with the few Regular Baptists amongst them, and established the Elkhorn Association, which, at its commencement, adopted the Philadelphia confession of faith; while those who inclined to the Arminian system, as well as those who adopted some of the Calvinistic creed in a qualified sense, united with the Association whose history we now have under consideration.

Thus the names of Regular and Separate were transported beyond the mountains, and two separate interests were established in the neighborhood of each other.

This Association, like the rest in the country, was small in its beginning, but its course was generally prosperous, and no special event occurred until 1789, four years from its commencement, when there was an unsuccessful attempt to abolish the names of Regular and Separate, and effect an union and correspondence between this and the Elkhorn Association. This measure was attempted in consequence of recommendations of the United Baptists in Virginia, whose advice the Kentucky brethren were generally inclined to receive, and whose examples they generally imitated. The Regulars and Separates in North and South Carolina had united before, and in 1787, a happy reconciliation was effected between these two parties in Virginia, both of which had at that time become very numerous. And having found that a reconciliation was practicable and pleasant, the United Baptists in Virginia sent letters to the Elkhorn and Separate Associations, informing them of the successful steps they had taken, and recommending the same to them, with earnest desires that their endeavors might prove successful. But the set time for this desirable event was not yet come. The union was ardently desired by many individuals of both parties, and the bodies at large appeared favourably disposed towards the attempt; but they knew not by what means to accomplish it, nor could they agree on the terms on which they should unite. The Separates were afraid of being bound and hampered by Articles and Confessions, and the Regulars were unwilling to unite with them, without something of the kind. A general convention of delegates met on the business, and overtures were made on both sides; but both parties being too tenacious of their favourite maxims to make sufficient abatements, their endeavors at that time proved unsuccessful.

A similar attempt was made in 1793, which, like the other, terminated without accomplishing the desirable object. In this year, five churches being dissatisfied with the Separate Association, respecting their proceedings in this affair, and also in some other matters, withdrew, and formed the Tate_s Creek Association.

But in the time of **the great revival**, the outpourings of the Divine Spirit, and its softening influence on the minds of the saints, prepared the way for that reconciliation and union, which all their weighty arguments and assiduous endeavors had not been able to accomplish. This astonishing work, in the year 1800 and following, prevailed most powerfully amongst the Separates as well as the Regulars. The churches and members were now much intermixed. All were visited and refreshed by the copious and abundant rain of righteousness which was poured upon the land; and, regardless of names, they unitedly engaged in enjoying and forwarding the precious and powerful work. By this means, those little party asperities, which had unhappily prevailed, were much modified and diminished; their cold and indifferent charity for each other was inflamed; and with most of them their notions of doctrine were found to be not so different as they had supposed. An union was now proposed in earnest, and soon effected with ease. Both Associations had become large, containing together between seven and eight thousand members. Committees were appointed by both bodies to confer on the subject of an union, who, after mature deliberation, agreed to the following terms:

"Terms of Union between the Elkhorn and South Kentucky or Separate Associations.

"We the committees of the Elkhorn and South Kentucky Associations, do agree to unite on the following plan.

"1st. That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the infallible word of God, and the only rule of faith and practice. 2d. That there is one only true God, and in the Godhead or divine essence, there are Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. 3d. That by nature we are fallen and depraved creatures. 4th. That salvation, regeneration, sanctification, and justification, are by the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ. 5th. That the saints will finally persevere through grace to glory. 6th. That believers_ baptism by immersion is necessary to receiving the Lord_s supper. 7th. That the salvation of the righteous, and punishment of the wicked will be eternal. 8th. That it is our duty to be tender and affectionate to each other, and study the happiness of the children of God in general; to be engaged singly to promote the honor of God. 9th. And that the preaching Christ tasted death for every man, shall be no bar to communion. 10th. And that each may keep up their associational and church government as to them may seem best. 11th. That a free correspondence and communion be kept up between the churches thus united.

"Unanimously agreed to by the joint committee.

"Ambrose Dudley, Daniel Ramey, John Price, Thomas J. Chilton, Joseph Redding, Moses Bledsoe, David Barrow, Robert Elkin, Samuel Johnson."

Matters being thus prepared, a general convention, composed of delegates from all the churches in both Associations, met October, 1801, at Howard_s Creek meeting-house, in the county of Clark, when they unanimously acceded to the terms of union, which their committees had prepared, and agreed to lay aside the names of Regular and Separate, and to travel together in future in communion and fellowship as united brethren.

This was the last body of the Separate Baptists, which relinquished the appellation by which they had been distinguished for almost fifty years. In 1802, the year after this union took place, the Association having become very extensive in its boundaries, found it convenient to make a division; and as nearly an equal number of the churches were situated on both sides of the Kentucky River, this river was fixed upon as the dividing line, and the two divisions were called the North and South District Associations. These names were assumed merely for the purpose of distinction, as there were no geographical or civil departments of the country to which they referred.

The North District Association has moved on in fellowship with the neighboring Associations, and has also enjoyed internal harmony from its commencement to the present time, except that it sustained a temporary interruption, when David Barrow and some other brethren, openly espoused the side of the Emancipators. The Association is now one of the largest in Kentucky.

But the South District Association has experienced great trials and changes; and was most miserably torn asunder by religious discords, shortly after it was organized. It soon appeared that in the southern department of the old Separate community, there were a number who had gone far into doctrinal errors. Some were decided Arminians, and others had adopted Winchester's chimerical notion of universal restoration. But they had all acceded to the terms of union, etc. lately mentioned. But it soon appeared that they did it with much mental reservation. When these things came to be known in the Association, they produced much confusion and distress. Mr. John Bayley was one who had propagated the doctrine of universal restoration. It was plead that "though he had preached this doctrine, yet he had done it in such a manner as not to give offense to the most delicate ear." The Association soon became divided into two contending parties, and what was still worse, the greater part appeared on the side of error. At its session in 1803 some ministers publicly declared themselves no more of the Association, and withdrew. This is the mode of dissolving fellowship in Kentucky. Others followed their example; but after all, the erroneous party retained about two thirds of the Association. The minor seceding party formed themselves into an Association by the name of South District, or rather they claimed the right of being considered the original body, and the neighboring Associations admitted them to correspondence as such. This Association is not large, but it comprises a number of very respectable churches, which are situated mostly in the counties of Mercer and Lincoln: some are scattered in Gerrard, Washington, and Nelson. Gabriel Slaughter, Esq. late Lieutenant-Governor

of Kentucky, belongs to one of the churches in this connection. The other party also claimed the name and prerogatives of the South District Association, and if the majority ought to govern, this claim was well founded: but the other Associations have never admitted them to fellowship. This body is situated in a part of Kentucky which I did not visit. I have taken much pains to learn its history, and have written many letters for the purpose, but nothing has been communicated. The last account I had of it was in 1804, when, according to their minutes, they had twenty-two churches, about thirty ministers, and upwards of eight hundred members. I conclude that many of these churches and members, like the followers of Elias Smith, would have done much better, with better leaders, or with less leading. It is highly probable, that the number of this body has greatly declined since 1804, and I know not but it has by this time become extinct.

TATE'S CREEK ASSOCIATION

It has already been observed that this Association originated in 1793, when five churches withdrew from the old Separate party, and embodied by themselves. They united without any definite Articles of Faith, but in general assented to those of the Elkhorn Association. This Association received its name from that of a small water-course, which empties into Kentucky River from the south. The most remarkable circumstance in the history of this body is, that in the year 1801, it received by baptism 1148 members.

SALEM ASSOCIATION

This Association was formed of four churches in 1785. The first settlers in this region were from Virginia; but they were soon joined by a considerable company from the Redstone country, in the back part of Pennsylvania. Among this company was that worthy minister William Taylor, whose praise is in all the churches in this quarter. This part of Kentucky settled slowly for a number of years. The first settlers were often molested by the Indians, and Elder John Gerrard and a number of his brethren fell victims to their rage. The Salem Association was formed on Cox's Creek, a small distance below the Salt River, about fifty miles south of Frankfort, and not far from the place where Bairdstown now stands. Its ministers at first were William Taylor, Joseph Barnet, and John Whitaker; the names of the first four churches were Severn Valley, Cedar Creek, Cox's Creek, and Bear Grass. They did not all contain but about a hundred and thirty members. And so slow was its progress, that fourteen years after, its number was a little less than five hundred. But the great revival, which began here about 1800, prevailed in a most astonishing manner.

This Association in the course of three years received the addition of upwards of two thousand members, and became so large that it was necessary to divide it.

This Association, at its beginning, adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, and for a few years corresponded by letter with that body, as it did also with the Charleston Association in South-Carolina, and the Kettocton in Virginia. The churches of which it was composed were for a number of years principally in the county of Nelson; but by the subdivisions of that county, and the enlargement of the Association, they are now in the counties of Hardin, Brackenridge, Washington, Bullet, and Ohio.

William Taylor was a very diligent and successful laborer in this part of the vineyard, and was esteemed a father in this Association from its beginning till his death, in 1807. He was born in New-Jersey in 1744. While he was young his parents moved to Virginia, and settled near Winchester, where he was brought up. Having arrived at manhood, he went back to his native State, where he tarried a short time, married, and then returned to Virginia, and began to preach in the early part of his life. From Virginia, he went to the Redstone country, where he continued eight years, and then went down the Ohio River, and settled in Kentucky in 1784. Mr. Taylor was one of those ministers whose private life gave the most conclusive evidence of the sincerity of his public ministrations; his gifts were not considered great, but they were employed with unwearied diligence, and to great advantage.

LONG RUN ASSOCIATION

The remarkable increase of the Salem Association has been mentioned. In the progress of that great work by which it was so much enlarged, a number of churches were gathered north of the Salt River; and when its division was proposed, that river was fixed upon as the dividing line. All the churches north of it were dismissed to form a new Association, which was organized in 1807, and was called Long Run, from a small water-course near to which its first session was held. This Association has experienced some refreshing seasons since it was formed, particularly in 1809 and 1810. It is now a large and very respectable body, and is situated mostly between the Salt and Kentucky Rivers, and extends westward as far as the Ohio River; and a few of its churches are over in the Indiana Territory.

GREEN RIVER ASSOCIATION

The terms Green River Settlements, and Green River Country, are generally applied by the people in Kentucky to all that part of the State which lies south of the Green River. The settlements here were begun about 1793, when the whole territory was comprehended in the county of Logan; but as early as 1809, it was divided into fourteen counties. What divisions have taken place since, I have not learnt.

The Association, whose history we are about to relate, was formed in 1800, and contained at first nine churches, eight ministers, and about 350 members. This was about the beginning of the great revival, which had already extended to this region; and so rapidly did it prevail here, that this body at its next session contained upwards of a thousand members, and in 1804 it had increased to thirty-eight churches, which embraced 1876 communicants.

This Association had now become so extensive in its boundaries, that it was thought proper to divide it; but it being scattered over such a wide extent of country, they found it the most convenient to divide it into three, and accordingly the Russell_s Creek and Stockton_s Valley were formed from it. By this measure the original body was much reduced, and the two which were formed from it were smaller still.

The churches in the Russell_s Creek Association are mostly in the counties of Green and Adair; those of the Stockton_s Valley are mostly in Tennessee; those in Kentucky are in the counties of Cumberland and Barren. Both of these Associations remain small.

The Green River has again become large; partly by revivals, and partly by the following circumstance. There was an Association formed in the south-west part of this State, in 1806, which was called the Union. But its name was not altogether descriptive of its character; for not long since, it was divided and

dissolved, and most of the churches united with the Association whose history we have under consideration.

Carter Tarrant, who has since been considerably famous amongst the Emancipators in the northern counties in Kentucky, was one of the most active and successful ministers in raising up the churches in this body, and organizing them into an Association. Robert Stockton, a native of Culpepper county, Virginia, who was highly esteemed in his native State, from which he removed to Kentucky about 1800, has, from the beginning of this Association, been its Moderator, and is esteemed a father among the churches. The late John Hall, Esq. one of the Judges for Barren county, who finished his earthly course in a most joyful manner in 1809, was a member of this Association; and his son, Michael W. Hall, who succeeds his father on the bench, now serves it as Clerk.

EMANCIPATING SOCIETY

This society is composed of ministers and churches, who have separated from their former connection on account of slavery, and who differ in nothing except this article from the main body of the Calvinistic Baptists. They denominate themselves "Friends to Humanity; " but they are **generally known by the name of "Emancipators,"** which name they are by no means unwilling to receive. The people, who composed this body, belonged formerly to the Elkhorn, the North District, and Bracken Associations, from which they separated in the year 1805; some of their own choice, and others by the expulsoy measures of the respective churches and associations to which they belonged.

The people whose history we now have in view, have taken a decided stand against slavery, in every branch of it, both in principle and practice, as being a sinful and abominable system, fraught with peculiar evils and misteries, which every good man ought to abandon and bear his testimony against. These are, in substance, their sentiments respecting slavery; and their desires and endeavors are, to effect, as soon as it can be done, and in the most prudent and advantageous manner both to the slaves and their owners, the general and complete emancipation of this numerous race of enslaved, ignorant, and degraded beings, who are now, by the laws and customs of the land, exposed to hereditary and perpetual bondage. And with sentiments so noble and humane, one would think they must certainly meet the approbation of every benevolent man. But truth may be unskilfully defended, and the noblest sentiments may become suspicious, by the unseasonable and intemperate zeal with which they are propagated. To declaim against slavery and slave-holders, in the hearing of a multitude of ignorant negroes, who will pervert the most proper reasonings to improper purposes, is certainly an imprudent conduct. Of this, the Emancipators were continually accused, and not without some grounds; and the perversion of their discourses by the negroes was laid to their charge as a peculiar evil. It is altogether probable that in this thing the Emancipators were much to blame. Some of them, however, ought to be excused from these charges. They have not dwelt upon slavery in their public discourses, but their principal object has been to devise plans in a prudent way for the execution of their noble purposes. The advocates for slavery oppose the Emancipators with such arguments as these: What can a few individuals do in this business? Government has sanctioned the holding of slaves; and unless they interpose their influence, nothing effectual can be done towards setting them free. This may be true; but "what measure of great public utility was ever executed by church or State, which was not first proposed by individuals? which was not first resisted by the great body, and perhaps defeated for a time?

According to Tarrant's *History of the Emancipators*, Elders Dodge and Carmen with their congregations, were the first who separated from the Baptists in Kentucky, on account of slavery. These men were settled in Nelson county, the next minister who made much noise in Kentucky on this subject, was Elder John Sutton, a native of New-Jersey. In the course of a few years, Donold Holmes, David Barrow, Carter Tarrant, Jacob Grigg, George Smith, and a number of other minister_s, some Europeans and some native Americans, moved into the State, and propagated the doctrine of the emancipation of slaves. Most, if not all these ministers, officiated as pastors of churches where slavery was tolerated; and the Emancipators generally, who were scattered throughout the State, traveled in fellowship and communion with their brethren who held slaves, until the year 1805. The occasion of their separating from them and uniting in a body by themselves, has been related in the history of the Elkhorn Association. The first meeting of the Emancipators as a body, was in August, 1807, when they convened in conference, to deliberate on the mode of their future proceedings. At this meeting, eleven ministers and nineteen private brethren entered

their names as advocates for emancipating principles. Eleven queries were presented to this Conference, and most of their time appears to have been taken up in discussing and resolving them. One query was, Can any person be admitted a member of this meeting, whose practice appears friendly to perpetual slavery?

Answer. We think not. Another was, Is there any case in which persons holding slaves may be admitted to membership into a church of Christ? Answer. No; except in the following, viz. - 1st. In the case of a person holding young slaves, and recording a deed of their emancipation at such an age as the church to which they offer may agree to. - 2d. In the case of persons who have purchased in their ignorance, and are willing that the church shall say when the slaves or slave shall be free. - 3d. In the case of women, whose husbands are opposed to emancipation. - 4th. In the case of a widow, who has it not in her power to liberate them. - 6th In the case of idiots, old age, or any debility of body that prevents such slave from procuring a sufficient support; and some other cases, which we would wish the churches to be at liberty to judge of, agreeably to the principles of humanity. The 5th query was, Shall members in union with us be at liberty in any case to purchase slaves? Answer. No, except it be with a view to ransom them from perpetual slavery, in such a way as the church may approve of. The last query which we shall notice, was, Have our ideas of slavery occasioned any alteration in our view, of the doctrine of the gospel? Answer. No.

The September following, these people met, and reduced their fraternity into an organized body, under the name of "The Baptized Licking-Locust Association, Friend to Humanity." The Association received its name from that of a church called Licking-Locust, which is in the north part of the State, near the Ohio River, and is considered a mother establishment to the emancipating interest in Kentucky.

At the next meeting of the Emancipators, they resolved, "That the present mode of Associations or confederation of churches was unscriptural, and ought to be laid aside." They then proceeded to form themselves into an Abolition Society. This was innovation without improvement. It would be as difficult to find Abolition Societies in the Scriptures, as Associations. The reasons for this change are not stated in the Minutes; it is probable, however, that they had become disgusted with Associations, on account of the rough manner in which many had been handled by them.

About this time **David Barrow published a pamphlet with this title-page, "Involuntary, Unmerited, Perpetual, Absolute, Hereditary Slavery, examined, on the principles of Nature, Reason, Justice, Policy, and Scripture."** This piece is written in a grave and manly style, and with those nice discriminations, those candid and weighty reasons, which certainly deserve the attention of all who are concerned in slavery, and is worth the perusal of those who are desirous of making inquiries on the subject. Mr. Barrow is doubtless the most distinguished minister amongst the Emancipators. The pamphlet above mentioned shows him to be a man by no means deficient in abilities, either natural or acquired. He is a native of Virginia, where he commenced his ministry in 1771; in the early part of which he suffered much by the insolence and persecuting rage of his rude countrymen.* He also early imbibed his emancipating principles, and in consequence of which freed a considerable number of slaves. Having long been distinguished in his native State for piety and abilities, he removed to Kentucky in 1798, and settled in Montgomery county. In Virginia and Kentucky, until the stir about emancipation, Mr. Barrow traveled in fellowship with his brethren, who were the holders of slaves. When this dispute came on, they appear to have fixed on him as the object of their peculiar resentment, and carried their opposition to him to such an extreme, that the North-District Association to which he belonged, and which professes to be nothing more than "An Advisory Council," put forth its horns, and publicly expelled their brother from his seat "for preaching emancipation, and sent a committee to take him under dealings in the church at Mount Sterling, of which he was a member." How ardent and blind must have been that zeal, which hurried a large and respectable body into such overbearing and inconsistent measures! The reader will discover from this circumstance the spirit with which the emancipating dispute was conducted. But for the honor of this Association, we are happy to be able to state, that at their next session they "voted to reconsider and revoke all the acts, which they had passed respecting Mr. Barrow." But he had now united with the Emancipators, and chose not to return.

[* In 1778, Mr. Barrow received an invitation to preach at the house of a gentleman, who lived on Nansemond River near the mouth of James River. A ministering brother accompanied him. **They were informed on their arrival, that they might expect rough usage, and so it happened. A gang of well dressed men came up to the stage, which had been erected under some trees, as soon as the hymn**

was given out, and sung one of their obscene songs. They then undertook to plunge both of the preachers. Mr. Barrow they plunged twice, pressed him into the mud, held him long under the water, and came near drowning him. In the midst of their mocking, they asked him if he believed? and throughout treated him with the most barbarous insolence and outrage. His companion they plunged but once. The whole assembly was shocked, the women shrieked, but no one durst interfere; for about twenty stout fellows were engaged in this horrid measure, They insulted and abused the gentleman who invited them to preach, and every one who spoke a word in their favor. Before these persecuted men could change their clothes, they were dragged from the house, and driven off by these outrageous church-men. But three or four of them died in a few weeks, in a distracted manner, and one of them wished himself in hell before he had joined the company, etc.]

The zeal of the Emancipators has in some measure abated, and of course they are less opposed; and it is hardly probable that any lasting effects will be produced by their means. Their leading maxims are approved of by many who have not united with them, but who still hold slaves with many scruples respecting its propriety. But there is such a strong current against the emancipation of slaves, and custom, covetousness, indolence, and ambition, find so many arguments in favor of slavery, that there seems but little prospect, that any material change will at present be effected, in the condition of this numerous race of enslaved and degraded beings.

[In Mr. Barrow's piece against slavery, we find the following note: "To see a man (a Christian) in the most serious period of all his life -- making his last will and testament -- and in the most solemn manner addressing the Judge of all the earth -- In the name of God, Amen -- Hearken to him -- he certainly must be in earnest! -- He is closing all his concerns here below! -- He will very shortly appear before the Judge, where kings and slaves have equal thrones! -- He proceeds: Item. I give and bequeath to my son -- , a negro maid named -- , a negro woman named -- , with five of her youngest children. Item. I give and bequeath to my daughter -- , a negro man named, also a negro woman named -- , with her three children. Item. All my other slaves, whether men, women or children, with all my stock of horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, I direct to be sold to the highest bidder, and the monies arising therefrom (after paying my just debts) to be equally divided between my two above-named children! The above specimen is not exaggerated; the like of it often turns up. And what can a real lover of the rights of man say in vindication thereof? Suppose for a moment, that the testator, or if the owner, dies intestate, (which is often the case) was ever so humane a person, who can vouch for their heirs and successors? This consideration, if nothing else, ought to make all slaveholders take heed what they do, "For they must give an account of themselves to God."]

From the preceding accounts, we see that the Baptists have become numerous in Kentucky. The Lord has truly done great things for this State; revivals have followed each other in quick succession, and many thousands have hopefully been born into the kingdom of God. The Baptist churches in Kentucky have, in many cases, been built up, and in others greatly enlarged by emigrants from other parts. They have also been greatly diminished, by multitudes removing to remoter regions.

As religion is left wholly free from civil control, our brethren in this State have met with no difficulties, except what have arisen from among themselves, and these, we are sorry to say, have been considerably numerous. The churches were made up of people from different parts; their notions of gospel doctrine were essentially alike, but in smaller matters they could not always agree. **The Kentuckians, whether saints or sinners, are rather inclined to a fretful impatience and undue resentment of opposition, in matters of no great moment.** From this spirit have produced painful disputes about trifling concerns. Many of the ministers, who settled in this country from other parts, had acquired considerable fame before their removal; and it is painful to relate, that in some cases they have discovered a censurable ambition for applause and pre-eminence. But notwithstanding these things, there is in Kentucky a very large body of our brethren, who travel together in harmony and love, and who adorn the doctrine of God our Savior.

The churches do but little for their preachers; very few receive to the amount of a hundred dollars a year for their ministerial services; but few of them however are very poor. They have from necessity found the means of supporting themselves. Many of those who settled early in the country have become wealthy.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT REVIVAL IN KENTUCKY AND OTHER PARTS.

As this peculiar work prevailed to a greater extent in Kentucky than elsewhere, it seems proper under this head to give some account of it. **From 1799 to 1803, there were, in most parts of the United States, remarkable outpourings of the Divine Spirit, among different denominations;** multitudes became the subjects of religious concern, and were made to rejoice in the salvation of God. The revival among the Baptists in the southern and western States, has already been frequently referred to, and accounts of the astonishing additions to their churches have been given. This great revival in Kentucky began in Boone county on the Ohio River, and in its progress extended up the Ohio, Licking, and Kentucky Rivers, branching out into the settlements adjoining them. It spread fast in different directions, and in a short time almost every part of the State was affected by its influence. **It was computed that about ten thousand were baptized and added to the Baptist churches in the course of two or three years.** This great work progressed among the Baptists in a much more regular manner than people abroad have generally supposed. They were indeed zealously affected, and much engaged. Many of their ministers baptized in a number of neighboring churches from two to four hundred each. And two of them baptized about five hundred a-piece in the course of the work. But throughout the whole, they preserved a good degree of decorum and order. Those camp-meetings, those great parades, and sacramental seasons, those extraordinary exercises of falling down, rolling, shouting, jerking, dancing, barking, etc. were but little known among the Baptists in Kentucky, nor encouraged by them. They, it is true, prevailed among some of them in the Green River country; but generally speaking, they were among the Presbyterians and Methodists, and in the end by a seceding party from them both, which denominated themselves Christians, but which were generally distinguished by their opposers by the name of New-Lights and Schismatics. These strange expressions of zeal, which have made so much noise abroad, came in at the close of the revival, and were, in the judgment of many, the chaff of the work. There was a precious ingathering of souls among the Presbyterians and Methodists, at which they rejoiced; but when the work arose to an enthusiastic height, many different opinions were expressed respecting it. The Methodists had no scruples of its being genuine; but among the Presbyterians some doubted -- some opposed -- but a considerable number overleaped all the bounds of formality, fanned the flame as fire from heaven, bid up camp-meetings, and sacramental seasons, and finally run religious frenzy into its wildest shapes. Soon a number of these ministers separated from the rest, formed a new Presbytery, called the Springfield, upon New-Light principles, soon dissolved that, and five or six of them in a few years became Shaking Quakers. [The Springfield Presbytery was formed by five ministers, who separated from the Kentucky Synod, and renounced the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian church. They made innovations upon almost every part of Presbyterianism, but yet retained something of its form. But at length they resolved to renounce every thing belonging to it, and made its LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT, as follows: "The Presbytery of Springfield, sitting at Cane Ridge, in the county of Bourbon, being, through a gracious Providence, in more than ordinary bodily health, growing in strength and size daily; and in perfect soundness and composure of mind; but knowing that it is appointed for all delegated bodies once to die, and considering that the life of every such body is very uncertain, do make, and ordain this our last Will and Testament, in manner and form following, v/z, "Imprimus. We will, that this body die, be dissolved, and sink into union with the body of Christ at large; for there is but one body, and one spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling. "Item. We will, that our name of distinction, with its Reverend title, be forgotten; that there be but one Lord over God's heritage, and his name one. "Item. We will, that our power of making laws for the government of the church, and executing them by delegated authority, forever cease; that the people may have free course to the Bible, and adopt the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus. Item. We will, that candidates for the gospel ministry henceforth study the Holy scriptures with fervent prayer, and obtain license from God to preach the simple gospel, etc. "Item. We will, that the church of Christ assume her native right of internal government, etc. "Item. We will, that each particular church, as a body, actuated by the same spirit, choose her own preacher, and support him by a free-will offering, etc. "Item. We will, that the people henceforth take the Bible as the only sure guide to heaven; and as many as are offended with other books, which stand in competition with it, may cast them into the fire if they choose; for it is better to enter into life having one book, than having many to be cast into hell. "Item. We will, that preachers and people cultivate a spirit of mutual forbearance; pray more, and dispute less, etc. The three next items regard the Synod of Kentucky. Item. Finally, we will, that all our sister bodies read their Bibles carefully, that they may see their fate there determined, and prepare for death before it is too late. "Springfield Presbytery, June 28th, 1804 "ROBERT MARSHALL, JOHN DUNLAVY, RICHARD M_NEMAR, B. W. Sc, JOHN THOMPSON, DAVID PURVIANCE, Witnesses. Three, at least, of these witnesses afterwards joined the Shakers, who having heard of the dancing, and so on, among the Kentucky people, sent three of their apostles into the country from New-Lebanon, in New-York. They found matters just as they would have them, and a great number fell in with their principles. Marshall continued his New-Light career, became the head of a large party who were called

Marshallites. Many of them have lately been immersed, but I do not learn as they have any connection with the Baptists. And indeed they can be no great acquisition to the Baptist cause, unless they are much reformed both in principle and practice.]

The great camp-meetings and sacramental feasts, described in a book, called "Surprising Accounts," etc. were promoted mostly by these zealous Presbyterians. The Methodists were a party concerned, but very few Baptists attended them, except as spectators. At these great meetings, astonishing crowds assembled; they encamped upon the ground, and kept together three or four days, and sometimes a week. **In the course of the meeting the Lord's supper was administered, and all Christians of every denomination were invited to partake of it. The Methodists and Presbyterians communed together, but the Baptists could not consistently unite with them.** These meetings were sometimes bid up a month beforehand; great preparations were made for them, and **all went expecting to hear much crying out, see much falling down, etc.** In these meetings there assembled, in the opinion of spectators, from four to ten or twelve thousand, and at one of them eight hundred fell down under religious impressions, and five hundred communicated. The falling down exercise needs no description, as it is presumed every reader will understand what is meant by it. **There was also in these meetings, what was called the rolling exercise, which consisted in a person's being cast down in a violent manner, turned over swiftly like a log,** etc. These rolling disciples often met with mud in their way, and got up from their devotions in a sorrowful plight. **Dancing was a very common practice;** many pleaded they could not help it, and others justified themselves from David's dancing before the ark, and other passages of scripture. **The most singular exercise of all was the jerks.** "Nothing in nature could better represent this strange and unaccountable operation, than for one to goad another, alternately on every side, with a piece of red-hot iron. The exercise commonly began in the head, which would fly backward and forward, and from side to side, with a quick jolt, which the person would naturally labor to suppress, but in vain; and the more any one labored to stay himself, and be sober, the more he staggered, and the more rapidly his twitches increased. He must necessarily go as he was stimulated, whether with a violent dash on the ground, and bounce from place to place like a foot-ball; or hop round, with head, limbs, and trunk, twitching and jolting in every direction, as if they must inevitably fly asunder. And how such could escape without injury, was no small wonder to spectators. By this strange operation, the human frame was commonly so transformed and disfigured, as to lose every trace of its natural appearance. Sometimes the head would be twitched right and left, to a half round, with such velocity that not a feature could be discovered, but the face appear as much behind as before; and in the quick progressive jerk, it would seem as if the person was transmuted into some other species of creature. Head dresses were of but little account among the female jerkers. Even handkerchiefs bound tight round the head, would be flung off almost with the first twitch, and the hair put into the utmost confusion," etc. [Kentucky Revival, p. 61. 62.]

There was something altogether unaccountable in this jerking exercise. At first it was experienced only by those under religious concern; but in the end it became a nervous affection, which was sympathetically communicated from one to another. A Presbyterian minister heard that a congregation of his brethren, which he highly esteemed, had got to jerking. He went to persuade them out of the frantic exercise, but in conversing with them he got the jerks himself. On his return home, his people assembled to hear the result of his visit. While he was describing how people appeared with the jerks, he was suddenly taken with them, and the whole assembly soon caught the distemper.

Wicked men were often taken with these strange exercises, and many would curse the jerks, while they were under their singular operation. Some were taken at the tavern with a glass of liquor in their hands, which they would suddenly toss over their heads, or to a distant part of the room. Others were taken with them at the card-table, and at other places of dissipation, and would, by a violent and unaffected jerk, throw a handful of cards all over the room.

These accounts were taken from people of unquestionable veracity, and no doubt can be entertained of their correctness. **These jerking exercises were rather a curse than a blessing. None were benefited by them. They left sinners without reformation, and Christians without advantage. Some had periodical fits of them seven or eight years after they were first taken;** and I know not as they have got over jerking yet.

There was among these enthusiastic people one more exercise of a most degrading nature, called **the barks**, which frequently accompanied the jerks. Many persons of considerable distinction, in spite of all the efforts of nature, as it was said, were "forced to personate that animal, whose name, appropriated to a human creature, is counted the most vulgar stigma. These people would take the position of a canine beast, move about on all fours, growl, snap the teeth, and bark in so personating a manner, as to set the eyes and ears of the spectator at variance." Some might be forced to these degrading exercises, but it is certain that many turned dogs in a voluntary manner. A minister in the lower parts of Kentucky informed me, that it was common to hear people barking like a flock of spaniels on their way to meeting. There they would start up suddenly in a fit of barking, rush out, roam around, and in a short time come barking and foaming back. But enough has been said of these frantic scenes.

The above accounts are not fabulous tales, but they are real and melancholy facts. **In the upper counties in Kentucky, where the revival was the greatest among the Baptists, they were not at all affected with these delirious exercises.** In the Green River country and in East-Tennessee, they prevailed considerably amongst them. With the Methodists they prevailed generally. The Presbyterians were divided respecting them; some opposed, while others encouraged them. Some of these exercises seemed really forced upon the subjects of them by some invisible power, whether good or bad the reader must judge for himself; but dancing, barking, rolling, shouting, and so on, were undoubtedly, for the most part, works of choice and imitation, which were hypocritically played off by a set of deluded, mistaken people. **Where these fantastic exercises were opposed, they were the least prevalent.** Those ministers who encouraged them, had enough of them to attend to.

In West-Tennessee the Baptists were not troubled with these works of delusion, but they prevailed here among the Presbyterians and Methodists; and some, who came from other parts, attempted to introduce them in the Baptist meetings. **A Baptist minister by the name of Mr. Connico, was once preaching where one of the jerkers began his motions. The preacher made a pause, and with a loud and solemn tone, said, "In the name of the Lord, I command all unclean spirits to leave this place." The jerker immediately became still, and the report was spread abroad, that Mr. Connico cast out devils.**

On the whole, it appears there was in Kentucky in 1799 and for two or three succeeding years, a precious work of grace, Towards the close of it, a set of men arose, who attempted to carry the work farther than the Lord had done; and among them were exhibited those astonishing scenes of fanaticism we have described. Some of the promoters of these scenes became convinced of their delusion, and returned to a sober course of piety; but many went off into errors of different kinds, and not a few of them became Shaking Quakers. Richard M. Nemar, formerly a Presbyterian minister of great celebrity, was one of the principal promoters of these extraordinary exercises; he was also one of the first who embraced the principles of the Shakers. After he had joined the dancing fraternity, he reproached his brethren for stopping short of perfection. These exercises, he said, led on to Shakerism; and most people, who had seen them, were of his mind.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

OHIO AND THE WESTERN TERRITORIES

Ohio has been pronounced the most delightful of any of the Western States. Its fame has traveled far, and adventurers from New-England, from Georgia, the Carolinas, and all the other States, and indeed from many parts of Europe, have populated its fertile plains with an astonishing and almost incredible rapidity. In 1790, the number of white inhabitants, French and English, was estimated at 3,500, but by the census of 1810, they had increased to 230,760. The holding of slaves has never been permitted in Ohio, and many of the Emancipators from the neighboring States, where they abound, have had this circumstance particularly in view, in fixing on this State as a place of settlement. The Legislature has guarded against the introduction of slaves, and even the residence of black people in this retreat of freedom, by a strong and rigorous prohibition. And many of the leading members of the Baptist churches here, have taken a determined stand against every article of that policy, which subjects to degrading and perpetual servitude so many of the unhappy soils of Africa. This favourite maxim the Ohio brethren have often pushed to an enthusiastic extreme,* and in many instances have doubtless been too uncharitable towards their brethren who have been surrounded by slaves from their infancy, who have been nurtured by the sweat of their wretched brows, and who have inherited them from their fathers, as a principal part of their fortune. [* The Miami Association will not correspond with any of the neighboring Associations in Kentucky, on account of slavery nor with the Red-Stone Association in Pennsylvania, because a few of the churches of this body are in Virginia, and hold slaves. And a church not long since withdrew from the Miami Association, because she corresponded with the Philadelphia Association, and this Association corresponded with that of Charleston, South-Carolina, where the abomination was discovered. This far-fetched argument was in their estimation sufficient to justify their withdrawal.]

Though some of the first settlers in this State were Baptists, yet they have not, as in Kentucky, been the prevailing sect. The Methodists have been and probably are at present, the most numerous of any one denomination in Ohio. The late Governor Tiffin was a Methodist preacher, before his elevation to that dignified office. But the Baptist cause has prevailed considerably, and is now increasing with great rapidity throughout the State; churches are formed in almost every part of it, and many individuals and little bodies are settled where churches have not yet been established. In 1809, there were in this State about sixty churches, in which were about twenty-five hundred members. Since then, the number has probably greatly increased.

MIAMI ASSOCIATION

This Association was formed in 1797 of only four churches, in which there were not probably more than a hundred members. It is situated between the Miami Rivers, in the south-west corner of the State. The church formerly called Columbia, now Duck Creek, is not only the oldest in this Association but in the State. It was raised up in the following manner. In the autumn of **1789**, a number of families went down the Ohio River, and commenced a settlement at the mouth of the Little Miami River on Colonel Symmes's Purchase, where the town of Columbia now stands. This was about six miles from Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. In this company were Mr. Isaac Ferris from Connecticut, the late Judge Goforth from New-York, General John Gano from the same city, and Messrs. Benjamin and Elijah Stites originally from New-Jersey. Some others were in the company, whose names I have not learnt. **This settlement was made in perilous times.** The Indians made every exertion to cut them off and prevent their settlement: they tried by many stratagems to decoy them ashore on their passage down the river; and after they had settled, they were continually lurking to destroy them. They were obliged, for a number of years, to live mostly in forts and block-houses; but notwithstanding all their precautions, a number of the first settlers fell victims to the rage of their savage neighbors. A number of the company above mentioned were Baptist professors, but having no preacher among them, they set up a meeting among themselves, which they conducted by turns. In 1790, **Stephen Gano**, of Providence, Rhode-Island, took a journey into the western country to visit his father and family relations; he also visited this settlement, baptized three persons, and **formed the little company into a church**, which was the first, of any denomination, raised north of the Ohio River, in that

extensive country, then called the North-Western Territory. This church soon received considerable accessions from emigrants to the Miami country, and as the fears of the Indians subsided, they extended their settlements farther out, and the Columbia church became the mother of most of the first churches, which arose in this region. Its seat is now removed from Columbia to a place called Duck Creek. **Daniel Clark** and **John Smith** were the first ministers who settled in this quarter. Mr. Clark is now the aged and respected pastor of the church at Turtle Creek, in the neighborhood of Lebanon. Mr. Smith became pastor of the church at Columbia, and for a number of years was well esteemed and apparently useful. But riches and honors spoiled him for a preacher, and he relinquished the employment. He has also abandoned his religious profession, and remains a melancholy example either of successful hypocrisy or of woeful apostasy. He was suspected of being concerned in the ill-fated expedition of Colonel Aaron Burr, although nothing was proved against him. At that time he was a Senator in Congress, where he was impeached and acquitted. He had become very remiss in the duties of his station before he arose to the senatorial rank; but this, with the Burr affair, seems to have completed his downfall. He had acquired a large estate, but Providence frowned upon him, and he lost it by various means; and he has now become a poor, apostate, wretched man, and lives somewhere among the Spaniards in West-Florida. The church is now supplied by Mr. **William Jones**, a native of Wales, but who removed hither from the back part of the State of New-York.

Of the other churches in this connection, I have not gained sufficient information, to say much respecting them. They were formed in a gradual way, mostly of Baptist members, who emigrated from other parts. Nothing very remarkable has occurred in the progress of the Miami Association; its circumstances have generally been prosperous, and in the time of the great revival, it experienced considerable enlargement. The church at Columbia received the addition of ninety members in one year. This Association has corresponded with the Philadelphia since 1800.

Attempts have also been made to open a correspondence with some of the Associations in Kentucky, a number of which are sufficiently near; but the prevailing prejudices on the part of the Ohio brethren have hitherto prevented that profitable intercourse, which is usually maintained by neighboring Associations.

A division of this Association took place by agreement in 1809, and a new Association was formed from it by the name of White Water, the history of which will be given in the account of the Indiana Territory.

SCIOTO ASSOCIATION

This Association is in a central part of the State, and was formed in 1805. It contained at the time of its constitution only four churches, but it has since considerably increased. It is situated on both sides of the beautiful Scioto River, from which the Association takes its name, and a number of the churches are in the neighborhood of Chilicothe. The church at Ames was constituted in 1800; it is composed of people mostly from New-England, and was the first church which was gathered within the bounds of the Association. The German or High Dutch church at Pleasant Run, in the county of Fairfield, and near the town of New-Lancaster, is the most distinguished on some accounts of any one in this Association, and is remarkable for having emigrated from Virginia, to its present situation, in a church capacity. In 1801, six families, among whom were fifteen church members, removed from Virginia, and in the wilderness of Ohio began the settlement, which is now pleasant and flourishing. A number of others have since followed; some English people have also united with them; so that their church in 1809 contained upwards of seventy members. The German brethren, who took the lead in forming this church, came principally from Rockingham county, and the church, which they transported to Ohio, was constituted in Virginia about 1790. It came out from what was called the White-House church in the county of Shenandoah. **The members of this church, in Kentucky, would be called rigid Emancipators; they were constituted on their present principles in Virginia, and carried their opposition to slavery so far as to resolve, that they would hold no slaves themselves, or have any communion or visible fellowship with their brethren who did.** On account of these principles, they were subjected to many inconveniences in their native State, which led them to seek an asylum in the wilderness, where they might enjoy unembarrassed and unreprouched the free exercise of principles which they held most dear. They settled on a very fertile tract of land, and are an industrious and happy community. The church is supplied by three preachers, whose names are Lewis Sites, Samuel Comer, and Martin Coffman, who preach both in German and English. When the congregation is mostly made up of German people, they preach in the German language, and in

the English when it is otherwise; and besides supplying their own church, these respectable preachers travel and labor much in the surrounding settlements, and with the young and destitute churches. This account of the German church was made out when I visited it in 1809. What alterations have taken place in it since, I have not heard.

BEAVER ASSOCIATION

In 1808, the churches of Providence, Hopewell, Chenango, New-Lisbon, Warren, and Little Beaver, most of which were of recent origin, were dismissed from the Red-Stone Association, and were shortly afterwards formed into the one we now have in view, which received its name from a creek, which empties into the Ohio River from the north, about thirty miles below Pittsburg. The churches in this Association are partly in Ohio and partly in Pennsylvania. Some of them were raised up by David Phillips, Henry Frazer, and some other ministers belonging to the Redstone Association; but the most extensive and successful laborer in this part of the vineyard, is Mr. Thomas G. Jones, a native of Wales, who settled here a few years since. Mr. Jones has been employed as a Missionary a part of the time by the Philadelphia Missionary Board; and by a divine blessing on his labors, many have been turned to the Lord, and a number of flourishing churches established.

This account of the Beaver Association I received from Mr. David Phillips, near Pittsburg, in 1809. I have written a number of letters for further information, but none has been communicated.

Besides the churches in these Associations, there are many others in this State, which, on account of their scattered and remote situations, do not belong to any associate connection.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BAPTISTS IN THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS

Besides the three States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, there were, before the State of Orleans was formed, beyond the Allegheny mountains, six territorial governments. Three of these, viz. the **Indiana**, the **Illinois**, and **Michigan**, together with the State of Ohio, are subdivisions of that extensive tract of country, formerly called the North-Western Territory. The **Mississippi** Territory, which was formerly included in the State of Georgia, lies between that State and the river from which it received its name. The **Louisiana** and Orleans Territories, the last of which has lately been admitted the eighteenth State in the Union, comprehend that extensive tract known by the name of the Louisiana Country, which was lately purchased by the United States, of France, about which politicians, many of whom knew not whether it was on the Western or Eastern Continent, have had so much talk and disputation.

All these territories are rapidly settling by emigrants from almost every part of the United States; in most of them Baptist churches have been established, and throughout all of them Baptist families are more or less scattered; but I have found it difficult to gain sufficient information of these remote and wide-spread regions, to be able to give much account of our brethren in them: the following statements, however, I believe may be depended upon as correct.

The **INDIANA TERRITORY** lies west of the State of Ohio, from which it is separated by a line running north and south. It is bounded south by the Ohio River, north by the Michigan Lake and Territory. In this Territory there are three Associations, and a considerable number of churches which are not associated.

WHITE WATER ASSOCIATION

This Association was formed by a division of the Miami, in 1809. It commenced with nine churches, and has now increased to eleven. It is a small body, but is well supplied with preachers, who are well spoken of as men of ability and usefulness. A few of the churches in this connection are in the State of Ohio, but most of them are in the Indiana Territory.

WABASH ASSOCIATION

This was also formed in 1809, of five churches, in all which there were but a little more than eighty members; but in about two years many new churches were added to it, and its number of members amounted to over eight hundred. But many of them have probably been scattered by the troubles of the present Indian War. At the beginning of this Association it contained only two ministers, whose names were Alexander Deven and Isaac M_Coy. Its churches are on the Wabash River, and some of them near the town of Vincennes.

SILVER CREEK ASSOCIATION

This Association was formed in 1811, of nine small churches, which formerly belonged to the Long Run Association in Kentucky. It is situated near the falls of the Ohio.

The **ILLINOIS TERRITORY** was formed but a few years since, by a division of the Indiana, and lies between that and the Mississippi River. About 1807 or 1808, an Association, the name of which I have not learnt, was formed of churches, which were situated on the Mississippi, some in this Territory, and a few over in the Louisiana country. In 1809, it had increased to ten churches, eight or ten ministers, and about two hundred members. On what part of the Mississippi River these churches were situated, I have not been informed; but they must have been somewhere between the mouths of the Ohio and Missouri. This Association traveled in union but a short time. Disputes about slavery were introduced in it, and effected its division in 1809. Three churches maintained the holding of slaves, and the rest opposed it. Disputes rose so high, that they could no longer travel in fellowship; they, however, agreed to part in peace, and accordingly the Association was dissolved. What has been the progress of the Baptist cause in this region since that period, I have not learned.

There are many Baptists scattered throughout the **LOUISIANA COUNTRY**, but I conclude there are not many churches. In Kentucky, I saw a Baptist family, which was about moving a considerable distance up the Missouri, where, they were informed, were many of their brethren, and it is probable a church or churches have been established there before this time. But these people must all be in an uncomfortable situation, on account of the barbarous depredations of the Indians.

MISSISSIPPI ASSOCIATION

This Association, I conclude, was formed about 1807. It now contains about twelve churches, many of which are situated at no great distance from the Natchez, and some of the members of one of the churches reside in that town.

The Baptists by whom these churches were planted, emigrated mostly from Georgia and South-Carolina.

There are a very few Baptists in the city of **New-Orleans**. Mr. Edmund J. Reis, from Nova-Scotia, lately spent about six months in preaching there. Most of the inhabitants of this city speak the French language, in which Mr. Reis was brought up, as he was born in Paris, and lived there until he was fifteen years of age. His preaching here was well attended; and since he left the city, we are informed that a religious stir of considerable extent has taken place.

Thus we have endeavored to describe the progress and circumstances of the Baptists throughout the great American Continent. We see that their progress has been great, and that they have extended their communion over a vast extent of country from Nova-Scotia to New-Orleans. A number of miscellaneous articles remain yet to be given; but before we proceed to them, we shall insert a number of biographical sketches, which will be arranged in alphabetical order.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNTS OF A NUMBER OF CHARACTERS, WHOSE HISTORY COULD NOT BE WITH CONVENIENCE INSERTED ELSEWHERE.

JOHN ASPLUND (c. 1755-1807)

This singular man is, on account of his extensive travels, very generally known throughout the United States. According to information received from Mr. John Leland, he was born in the interior of Sweden. He was bred to the mercantile business, went to England about the beginning of the American war, where he acted some time as clerk in a store. He was either pressed or entered voluntarily into the British naval service, which he deserted on the American coast, and made his way into North-Carolina. There, about 1782, he embraced religion, and was baptized by David Walsh. Soon after, he joined the South-Hampton church in Virginia, then under the care of David Barrow. About 1782, he went back to his native country, visited England, Denmark, Finland, Lapland, Germany, and returned to Virginia. Not long after his return, he began to make preparations for his *Register of the Baptist churches in America*, which he published in a small quarto pamphlet in 1791. **This work cost him about seven thousand miles travel, chiefly on foot, which mode of traveling he seems to have preferred. After this, Mr. Asplund traveled ten thousand miles more, and published a second Register in 1794.** By this time he had become personally acquainted with seven hundred ministers of the Baptist denomination. Mr. Asplund was a preacher of no great gifts, but was generally respected for a number of years. But at length he got entangled with land speculation, for which he was altogether unqualified. Some other things of an unfavorable nature exposed him to the censures of his brethren. The latter part of his life was spent on the eastern shore of Maryland, and there he was drowned from a canoe, in Fishing Creek, in 1807. He left a wife and one child. The Baptist churches in America have reason to respect the memory of this diligent inquirer into their number, origin, character, etc. His *Register* has been of peculiar service in the preparation of this work.

ISAAC BACKUS (1724-1806)

It is much to be lamented, that he who took such unwearied pains to record the lives of others, has found no one among all his friends to write his own. Mr. Backus was one of the most useful ministers, that has ever appeared among the American Baptists. For about fifty years he was a laborious servant of their churches, and a considerable part of about thirty of the last of them, was devoted to historical pursuits. This excellent man still lives in the memory of thousands of his brethren; but scarcely any biographical sketches of his life are preserved, except what are found in his own writings. The author

of this work never saw him but once, of course he knows but little about him, except from report. He has solicited those, who were well acquainted with this renowned father for many years, to draw a characteristic portrait, which should set in a proper light his distinguished merit. But as no one has been found to pay this tribute of respect, all that can be now done is to collect a few incidents of his life from his public writings and his voluminous journals and diaries.

Mr. Backus was born at Norwich, Connecticut, Jan. 9, 1724. His parents were pious and respectable members of the Pedobaptist church in that town, by whom he was brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. His mother was a descendant of the family of Winslows, who came over to Plymouth in 1620; his father sprung from one of the first Planters in Norwich. In the New-Light Stir, in Whitefield's time, some of Mr. Backus's connections united with the Separates, for which they were harassed and persecuted by the ruling party. His mother, when a widow, and some more of his relatives, were cast into prison for adopting religious principles contrary to law. It was in the midst of the New. Light Stir, that the subject of this memoir was brought to the knowledge of the truth, in the 18th year of his age. He united with a Pedobaptist church in his native town, and began in the ministry in 1746. About two years after, he was ordained pastor of a church in Middleborough of the same persuasion. In this town, he spent sixty years of his useful life. In 1749, he was married to Susanna Mason of Rehoboth, with whom he lived in the greatest harmony about fifty-one years. She, according to his own words, "was the greatest earthly blessing which God ever gave him." As yet Mr. Backus was a Pedobaptist of the Separate order, and the church, of which he was pastor, was of the same character. They experienced blessings from the Lord, but persecutions from men. The publicans of the parish soon began to distress them for the support of their worship. Mr. Backus, among the rest, was **taxed, seized, and imprisoned a short time**, and then released without paying the tax, or coming to any compromise.

Disputes respecting baptism were agitated in this church about this time, which were continued a number of years, and some of the members were constrained from time to time to go into the water. In 1751, Mr. B. was himself baptized, with six of his members, by Elder Pierce, of Warwick, Rhode-Island. From this period until 1756, this church practiced open communion, but in that year those who had become Baptists came out and formed a church upon the gospel plan, and Mr. Backus became its pastor. This was the nineteenth Baptist church in the three States of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Vermont. From this date to the death of this venerable man was a period of about fifty years, Nothing remarkable appears to have occurred in the discharge of his pastoral duties; but the part which he took in the general welfare of the Baptist churches, furnishes a number of incidents which ought to be recorded.

Mr. Backus early imbibed a settled aversion to civil coercion in religious concerns; he was taught its iniquity both by experience and observation; and few men have exerted themselves more than he in the support of the equal rights of Christians. In 1772, he was

chosen an agent for the Baptist churches in Massachusetts, in the room of Mr. Davis, formerly pastor of the second church in Boston, then lately deceased. This agency was merely in civil affairs, and was executed by him, who was entrusted it, with much ability, and to some effect. Our brethren in this government were then so continually harassed for the support of the established clergy, that they found it necessary to have some one upon the watch, to advise on sudden emergencies, and to afford assistance to those who were in trouble. Their great object was to obtain the establishment of equal religious liberty in the land, which the predominant party were determined to prevent. About a year before Mr. Backus accepted the agency of the churches, **he was requested to write their history, which he accordingly set about, and published his first volume in 1777.**

When the disputes came on, which terminated in the Revolutionary War and the Independence of the United States, **the Baptists united with the rest of the American people in resisting the arbitrary claims of Great-Britain;** but it seemed to them unreasonable that they should be called upon to contend for civil liberty, if after it was gained, they should still be exposed to oppression in religious concerns. **When, therefore, the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, the Warren Association, viewing it as the highest civil resort, agreed to send Mr. Backus as their agent to that convention, "there to follow the best advice he could obtain, to procure some influence from thence in their favor."** When he arrived in Philadelphia, the Association there appointed a large committee, of whom Dr. Samuel Jones was one, to assist their New-England brethren. "But our endeavors," says Dr. Jones, "availed us nothing. One of them told us, that if we meant to effect a change in their measures respecting religion, we might as well attempt to change the course of the sun in the heavens" [*Century Sermon*, etc. p. 14. Whether this strong expression was made seriously by a Massachusetts member, or ironically by one from some other State, I am not sure. But it is certain from Mr. Backus's account, that **the Massachusetts Delegates were peculiarly insensible to the complaints of the oppressed Baptists.**] Mr. Backus, failing of success at Philadelphia, on his return met the Baptist committee at Boston, by whose advice a memorial of their grievances was drawn up, and laid before the next Congress at Cambridge, near Boston, to which the following answer was returned:

"In Provincial Congress, Cambridge, Dec. 9, 1774.

"On reading the memorial of the Reverend Isaac Backus, agent to the Baptist churches in this government:

"Resolved, That the establishment of civil and religious liberty, to each denomination in the province, is the sincere wish of this Congress; but being by no means vested with powers of civil government, whereby they can redress the grievances of any person whatever; they therefore recommend to the Baptist churches, that when a General Assembly shall be convened in this colony, they lay the real grievances of said churches before the same, when and where their petition will most certainly meet with all that attention due to the memorial of a denomination of Christians, so well disposed to the public weal of their country.

"By order of the Congress, JOHN HANCOCK, President. A true extract from the Minutes, John Lincoln, Secretary."

Such an Assembly as is here mentioned, convened at Watertown, July 1775, to which our brethren presented another memorial, in which they said,

"Our real grievances are, that we, as well as our fathers, have from time to time been taxed on religious accounts where we were not represented; and when we have sued for our rights, our causes have been tried by interested judges. That the Representatives in former Assemblies, as well as the present, were elected by virtue only of civil and worldly qualifications, is a truth so evident, that we presume it need not be proved to this Assembly; and for a civil Legislature to impose religious taxes, is, we conceive, a power which their constituents never had to give, and is, therefore, going entirely out of their jurisdiction. Under the legal dispensation, where God himself prescribed the exact proportion of what the people were to give, yet none but persons of the worst characters ever attempted to take it by force. How daring then must it be for any to do it for Christ's ministers, who says, My kingdom is not of this world! We beseech this honorable Assembly to take these matters into their wise and serious consideration before Him, who has said, With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again. **Is not all America now appealing to Heaven, against the injustice of being taxed where we are not represented, and against being judged by men, who are interested in getting away our money? And will Heaven approve of your doing the same thing to your fellow servants! No, surely.** We have no desire of representing this government as the worst of any who have imposed religious taxes; we fully believe the contrary. Yet, as we are persuaded that an entire freedom from being taxed by civil rulers to religious worship, is not a mere favor, from any man or men in the world, but a right and property granted us by God, who commands us to stand fast in it, we have not only the same reason to refuse an acknowledgment of such a taxing power here, as America has the abovesaid power, but also, according to our present light, we should wrong our consciences in allowing that power to men, which we believe belongs only to God."

This memorial was read in the Assembly, and after laying a week on the table, was read again, debated upon, and referred to a committee, who reported favourably. A bill was finally brought in, in favor of the petitions, read once, and a time set for its second reading; but their other business crowded in, and nothing more was done about it. In this manner have the Baptists always been shuffled out of their rights. **After this, they made a number of attempts to get some security for their freedom from religious oppression, but none was ever formally given them.** They had many fair promises, which were never fulfilled; and when the State Constitution was formed, the Bill of Rights was made to look one way, but priests and constables have gone another. The first article of the Bill of Rights declares "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights," etc. The second declares, "No subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience," etc.

But notwithstanding all these declarations, many have been molested and restrained in their persons, liberties, and estates, on religious accounts. These things we have thought

proper to insert in Mr. Backus's biography. He was undoubtedly the draftsman of some of the memorials of his brethren, and he was certainly the able and undaunted expositor of them all. His whole soul was engaged in the prosecution of his agency; insomuch that he became the champion of non-conformity in England, and was, on that account, much vilified and abused by the established party. **When he waited on the Congress at Philadelphia, he was accused of going there on purpose to attempt to break the union of the colonies. The newspapers abounded with pieces against him,** some of which he answered, and others he treated as beneath his notice. In one, he was threatened with a halter and the gallows; but he had been too long inured to the war, to be terrified by such impotent threats.

In 1789, Mr. Backus took a journey into Virginia and North-Carolina, in which he was gone about six months, preached a hundred and twenty-six sermons, and traveled by land and water going and coming over three thousand miles. This journey was undertaken in consequence of a request from the southern brethren, for some one of the ministers of the Warren Association to come and assist them, in the great field of labor which was then opened before them.

These sketches give us some view of Mr. Backus's labors abroad; the following list of his writings will inform the reader how he employed his time at home. This list was made out by himself, and was found among his papers.

His first publication was a *Discourse on the Internal Call to preach the Gospel*, in 1754.

2d. *A Sermon on Galatians, 4:31*. So then, brethren, we are not children of the bond-woman, but of the free. 1756.

3d. *A Sermon on Acts 18:27*. 1763.

4th. *A Letter to Mr. Lord*. 1764.

5th. *A Sermon on Prayer*. 1766.

6th. *A Discourse on Faith*. 1767.

7th. *An Answer to Mr. Fish*. 1768.

8th. *A Sermon on his Mother's Death*. 1769.

9th. A second edition of his *Sermon on Galatians 4:31*, with an Answer to Mr. Frothingham. 1770.

10th. *A Plea for Liberty of Conscience*. 1770.

11th. *Sovereign Grace vindicated*. 1771.

12th. *A Letter concerning Taxes to support Religious Worship*. 1771.

13th. *A Sermon at the ordination of Mr. Hunt*. 1772.

14th. *A Reply to Mr. Holly*. 1772.

15th. *A Reply to Mr. Fish*. 1773.

16th. *An Appeal to the Public in Defence of Religious Liberty*. 1773.

17th. *A Letter on the Decrees*. 1773.

18th. *A History of the Baptists*, Vol. 1. 1777.

- 19th. *Government and Liberty described*. 1778. 251
20th. *A Piece upon Baptism*. 1779.
21st. *True Policy requires Equal Religious Liberty*. 1779.
22d. *An Appeal to the People of Massachusetts against Arbitrary Power*. 1780.
23d. *Truth is great and will prevail*. 1781.
24th. *The Doctrine of Universal Salvation examined and refuted*. 1782.
25th. *A Door opened for Christian Liberty*. 1783.
26th. *A History of the Baptists*, vol. II 1784.
27th. *Godliness excludes slavery, in Answer to John Cleaveland*. 1785.
28th. *The Testimony of the Two Witnesses*. 1786.
29th. *An Address to New-England*. 1787.
30th. *An Answer to Remmele on the Atonement*. 1787.
31st. *A Piece on Discipline*. 1787.
32d. *An Answer to Wesley on Election and Perseverance*. 1789.
33d. *On the Support of Gospel Ministers*, 1790.
34th. *An Essay on the Kingdom of God*. 1792.
35th. *A history of the Baptists*, Vol. III. 1796.
36th. *A second edition of his Sermon on the Death of his Mother*; to which was added a Short Account of his Wife, who died in 1800. Published 1803.

Most of the pieces in the foregoing list were small but a number of them, besides his History, were considerably large.

In 1800, our historian published in a small octavo volume, *An Abridgment of his History of the Baptists*; and in 1805, the year before his death, he published a discourse under the title of *A Great Faith described*. After this he wrote a *Sermon on the Kingdom of Christ*, which has not yet been published. Besides these publications, Mr. Backus wrote a number of Circular Letters, and inserted a large number of pieces in different public prints. These newspaper communications were not upon the common political topics but were designed to expose ecclesiastical oppressions, and to defend his noble maxims of religious freedom.

This distinguished man finished his earthly course with great composure, November 20, 1806, in the 83d year of his age, and 60th of his ministry. He had been laid by from his public labors a few months previous to his death, by a paralytic stroke, which deprived him of his speech and the use of his limbs. But his reason was continued to the last, and **in his expiring moments, he manifested an entire resignation to the will of Heaven**. He left behind him a number of children, all of whom are respectable members of society. He never received much from his people; but by the blessing of Providence, he had accumulated an estate of considerable value. It is presumed that but a few Baptists of the present day are sufficiently sensible how much they are indebted to the labors of this departed champion of their cause.

"As a preacher, he was evangelical and plain. His discourses, though not ornamented with the rhetoric of language, were richly stored with Scripture truth." His historical works contain a vast fund of materials of the utmost importance towards a history of our denomination, which must have sunk into oblivion, had it not been for his unwearied care.

[The following description, etc. was furnished by Reverend Dr. Baldwin.]

Mr. Backus's personal appearance was very grave and venerable. He was not far from six feet in stature, and in the latter part of life considerably corpulent. He was naturally modest and diffident; which probably led him into a habit, which he continued to the day of his death, of shutting his eyes, when conversing or preaching on important subjects. His voice was clear and distinct, but rather sharp than pleasant. In both praying and preaching, he often appeared to be favored with such a degree of divine unction, as to render it manifest to all that God was with him. Few men have more uniformly lived and acted up to their profession than Mr. Backus. It may be truly said of him, that he was a burning and shining light; and, though dead, he left behind him the good name which is better than precious ointment.

[This biography is taken almost verbatim from Semple's *History of the Virginia Baptists*, as are most of those which follow of the Virginia brethren.]

ELIJAH BAKER (1742-1798)

Elijah Baker was born in 1742, in the county of Lunenburg, of honest and reputable, but not opulent parents. When grown to the years of maturity, he was much addicted to frolics and sports of all sorts. Going to hear Mr. Jeremiah Walker preach, he became thoroughly convinced of the necessity of vital religion. His volatile disposition, nevertheless, kept him from seeking for it. However resolved when under preaching, all his resolutions would fail at the sound of a fiddle, or the cordial invitation of his pleasant, but carnal companions. He at last came to a determination to give his old companions one more frolic, and then forsake them forever. This resolution he kept, and was no more to be found among the sons of carnal pleasure. He listened now, not to the music of the violin, but to sublimer music, the faithful preaching of the gospel. **Thus, giving up the world, after many previous ineffectual efforts, his convictions soon became exceedingly sharp and pungent.** Sometimes he was so convulsed as not to be able to stand. Heaven ultimately smiled; and Mr. Baker was constrained by the love of God, now shed abroad in his heart, to make profession of grace, and was baptized, anno 1769, by Mr. Samuel Harris. Illiterate as he was, he immediately commenced public speaking. When he first made a profession, he was remarked for being often cast down with doubts respecting the reality of his conversion. This, however, did not hinder him from making great exertions, first as an exhorter and singer, and then as a preacher. Having exhorted about twelve months, his first labors were laid out chiefly in the county of his nativity, and the adjacent ones, where he was happily instrumental in planting and watering several

churches. After about three years, he gave up all worldly cares, and devoted his whole time to preaching and other ministerial duties. About 1775, he began to stretch his lines, and to travel more extensively. Coming down into the lower end of Henrico, he, in conjunction with one or two others, planted Boar Swamp church, then, as his way would be opened, he extended his labors gradually downwards, and was the chief instrument in planting all the churches in the counties of James City, Charles City, York, etc. Then crossing over York river into Gloucester, preached in the lower end of that county with considerable success. There he formed acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Elliot, then a resident of Gloucester, but who had not long before moved from the eastern shore. Mr. Elliot, discovering a beauty in religion, felt his heart's desire that his brethren in the flesh might be saved. Accordingly in the spring of 1776, they set sail, and arrived on the eastern shore of Virginia, on Easter Sunday, and went immediately to church, where an established clergy-man was that day to preach and administer the sacrament. After waiting for some time, and finding the minister did not come, Mr. Baker told the people that he would preach for them, if they would go down to the road. The novelty of the scene excited their attention, and the people went. Mr. B. had no other pulpit than the end of a large tree; which having mounted, he began one of the most successful ministerial labors that has fallen to the lot of any man in Virginia. Many wondered; some mocked; and a few were seriously wrought upon. He continued his ministrations from house to house, for several days; and when he left them he appointed to return again at Whitsuntide. At his second visit, he was accompanied by his brother Leonard, who was at that time only an exhorter. When they arrived, they were informed that the minister of the parish had appointed to preach against the Baptists, and to prove them to be in an error. Mr. Baker and his company went to hear him; but his arguments proved ineffectual, and the people followed Baker. His brother continued with him about a week. They had meetings both day and night. The effects were not remarkable at first, but at every meeting there were good appearances. This encouraged Mr. Baker so much, that he resolved to remain there for some time: his brother left him laboring in the vineyard. His labors were greatly blessed. He became at once almost a resident; for, indeed, filled as he was with increasing solicitude for the prosperity of the gospel, he could not be found elsewhere than at the places where he had evidences that God called him. After he married, he settled in Northampton county.

In doing so much good, it fell to Mr. Baker's portion, as it generally happens, to give offense to the enemy of souls and his subordinate agents. **They put him into Accomack prison**, and kept him there many days. The most atrocious attempt upon this harmless man, was that of seizing him by a lawless power and **carrying him on board of a vessel in the adjacent waters, where they left him, having contracted with the Captain to make him work his passage over the seas**, and then leave him in some of the countries in Europe; alleging that he was a disturber of the peace. This took place on Saturday night. He was immediately put to work, and kept at it until late at night. The next day being the Lord's day, he asked and obtained leave of the Captain to sing and pray among the crew. The Captain attended, and was convinced that he was a good man. Without

delay, he set him on shore. In the meantime, his friends had dispatched a messenger to the Governor, to obtain authority to prevent his being carried forcibly away. This they obtained; but Mr. B. was discharged before his return. [This story respecting Mr. Baker, I find differently related. Some parts of the narrative, as some have given it, partake considerably of the marvellous; but the above relation is the most simple, and probably the most correct.] **He met with various kinds of persecution, which only served to confirm his faith, and inflame his zeal in his Redeemer's cause.**

Mr. B. was a man of low parentage, small learning, and confined abilities. But with one talent he did more than many do with five. He is said to have planted ten churches on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake bay. At the last Salisbury Association, which he attended when nearly worn out with disease, at the close of the meeting, he addressed the audience in a most melting and powerful manner; then returning to Doctor Lemon's, soon died.

He had declined in health a considerable time before his death; and having a wish to see his brother Leonard, of Halifax, Virginia, to whom he was fondly attached, he wrote him a letter dated September 21, 1798, of which the following is an extract:

"And now, brother, are you struggling through the trials of this life, leaning upon your Beloved? laboring, and waiting for the coming of the Lord Jesus, who shall change our vile bodies and fashion them according to his glorious body? Or have you got into a lukewarm state, which I fear has been too prevailing amongst some!

"Dear brother, some of my complaints are such, that I do not expect to continue long in this world. However, I leave that to my dear Redeemer, who has the power of life and death in his own hands. But in all probability I shall never be able to come out as far as your house again: dear brother, I should be very glad to see you, if you could make it convenient to come over once more, while I live. I will pay all your expenses. And if our dear mother is yet alive, I can send out some relief to her. As to religion, thanks be to God, there is some stir amongst us. I have baptized eight lately."

It seems his brother could not go immediately; but started in a few weeks, and arrived just time enough to see him die: which took place, November 6th, 1798.

As he died at Doctor Lemon's, it will be most suitable to quote the Doctor's own words respecting him.

"In Mr. Baker, I found the Israelite indeed; the humble Christian; the preacher of the gospel in the simplicity of it; and the triumphant saint in his last moments. In his preaching he was generally plain and experimental, always very express on the doctrine of regeneration; never entering upon the doctrines by which he conceived he should give offense to one or another. In his last illness, I attended his bed-side day and night, for three weeks, and had many most agreeable conversations with him, on the glorious things of the kingdom of Christ. He retained his senses to the last minute, and seemed rather translated, than to

suffer pain in his dissolution. **Death was to him as familiar in his conversation, as if he talked of an absent friend from whom he expected a visit."**

He was twice married. His first wife was Sarah Copeland, a lady of respectable connections, by whom he had one son, now living. She died, and he then married a widow lady on the eastern shore, who had no child by him.

ROBERT CARTER

Robert Carter, Esq. once a member of the Virginia Executive Council, and on that account, commonly called Counsellor Carter, was baptized by Mr. Lunsford, shortly after he began to preach in these parts. He was one of the richest men in the State of Virginia, having, as some say, seven or eight hundred negroes, besides immense bodies of land, etc. After being baptized some years, he became conscientious about the lawfulness of hereditary slavery. In a letter to Mr. Rippon of London, he says, "**the toleration of slavery indicates very great depravity of mind.**" **In conformity to this sentiment, he gradually emancipated the whole that he possessed.**

["It is said that Mr. Robert Carter of Nominy, Virginia has emancipated slaves. This is a sacrifice on the altar of humanity of perhaps an hundred thousand dollars. If this be true, vote him a triumph, crown him with laurels, and let the million listen while he sings

'I would not have a slave to till my ground,
To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,
And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
That sinews bought and sold have ever earn'd.
No, dear as freedom is, and in my heart's
Just estimation prized above all price,
I had much rather be MYSELF the slave,
And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him.'" Rippon's *Register*]

This was a noble and disinterested sacrifice. For fourteen or fifteen years he continued an orderly Baptist. But being a man naturally of an unstable disposition, and falling in with certain Arminian writings, he fully embraced their doctrines. Had he stopped here, he might still have continued in the Baptist society, though not so happily as before. But, alas! there are so many wrong roads in religious pursuits, that when a man once gets wrong, it is impossible to foresee where he will stop. From the Arminian errors, Mr. Carter fell into the chimerical whims of Swedenborg. When he first heard of the books of that singular author, he made very light of them; but upon reading them, having a mind naturally fond of specious novelty, he fully embraced the whole of that absurd system, and was, of course, excluded from the Baptists. He was now as zealous for the New-Jerusalem church, as he had been formerly for the Baptists. He moved to Baltimore, in order to find a preacher and a society of his own sentiments, and expended large sums of

money to have Swedenborg's writings republished. He continued orderly in his moral conduct, and died a few years since, after having lived to a considerable age.

JAMES CHILES

James Chiles appears to have been a Virginian. Before he embraced religion, having a sturdy set of limbs and a resolute spirit, he often employed them in bruising his countrymen's faces. Gambling was also with him a favorite employment. But God, who is rich in mercy, plucked him as a brand from the burning. He gave evidence to his friends that his heart was changed, but from his oddities he was never converted. He was a member of the first Separate Baptist church north of James River. He was always wrapped up in visions, and pretended to be taught of God how any matter was to eventuate. It happened, however, with him, as with the Trojan prophetess, that if he had the gift of prophecy, his contemporaries had not the gift of faith. But notwithstanding all his imperfections, his success as a preacher was great. He was the first instrument of planting the gospel upon Blue Run. He also broke the way into Albemarle, where many were converted by his means. In various other places, God set seals to his ministry. After a few years, he moved to South-Carolina, where he planted a large church. He retained his notions about visions to his last. Report says, that after meeting with misfortunes, and being reduced in his property and health, he went to the house of a woman, and told her that his God said, he must die there that day. She said, "I hope not, Mr. Chiles." "Yes," said he, "my God says so: but, however, I will return a while, and consult my God again!" He retired for the consultation, and returning said, "Yes, madam, my God says, I must die today." The woman again expressed doubts. She said, "You look too well, Mr. Chiles, to die so soon." He said, "I will try my God once more." After retiring for some time in prayer, he came back and said, "It is fixed; the decree is irrevocable; today I must die in your house." Having so said, he stretched himself upon the bed, and yielded up the ghost.

JOSEPH COOK

Mr. Cook was born of pious parents in the city of Bath, Somersetshire, England, and **called by divine grace in the early part of life, under the ministry of the late celebrated and much-esteemed Reverend George Whitefield, at the chapel of the late Countess Dowager of Huntingdon**, at Bath. Mr. Whitefield was exceedingly kind to him, and often took him out with him in his carriage, to converse with him about divine things. As he very soon gave clear evidence, not only of a sound conversion, but also that he had ministerial gifts, Lady Huntingdon, who had a great regard for him, which continued to her dying day, sent him, in the 19th year of his age, to her college at Trevecka, in Brecknockshire, South Wales. Here he applied himself closely to his studies, and made considerable improvement. He was much esteemed by his tutors and fellow-students, being of a good, obliging temper; but what most endeared him was his lively, spiritual turn of mind, and his readiness to help and comfort any who were in trouble of

soul. His very first excursions in the villages, to exercise his gifts, the Lord owned, so that he preached with acceptance and success.

In September 1771, Lady Huntingdon received a sensible anonymous letter, requesting her to send a minister to Margate, in the Isle of Thanet, describing it as a licentious place, particularly at the watering season. She made known the contents of it to one of her senior students, Mr. William Aldridge, and gave him the liberty of choosing any student he pleased in the college to accompany and assist him in this important work. He fixed upon Mr. Cook, who cordially approved of the design. Preparations, therefore, were made for the journey, and after taking an affectionate leave of all at college, attended with many hearty prayers for their safety and prosperity, they proceeded to the place of action. Being utterly unknown to any person at Margate, they began to preach out of doors. Many attended, and not in vain. Several were savingly wrought upon, and turned from the error of their ways, while old professors were stirred up, who seemed to have been settled upon their lees; and now these itinerants preached not only at Margate, but at many other places in the Isle of Thanet.

About this time, many persons in Dover, not satisfied with Mr. Wesley's ministers and doctrine, having left his meeting, and assembled in a private room for exhortation and prayer, sent a very pressing invitation to Messrs. Aldridge and Cook, which they accepted. The former preached at Dover for the first time, in the market-place, on a Sabbath day, but met with great opposition. A Presbyterian meeting-house, which had been shut up for a considerable time, was therefore procured by the persons who had given them the invitation, in which Mr. Aldridge and his colleague ever afterwards preached, while they continued at Dover. It was now agreed on by all parties, that Messrs. Aldridge and Cook should supply Margate and Dover constantly, and change every week; accordingly, Mr. Cook came to Dover, and preached on the next Tuesday evening. His first text was Hebrews 2:3, "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation."

Many attended, and were much struck at the sight of such a youth, who delivered his discourse extempore, which was a new thing to most of them. This sermon was, he believes, peculiarly blessed to Mr. Atwood, now one of the Baptist ministers, at Falkstone, in Kent, so that he was obliged to say, "Here is a man that has told me all things that ever I did: surely he is a servant of Christ." Mr. Cook continued to supply Dover, in his turn, for some time, and was remarkably useful in winning souls to Christ. Mr. Cook and Mr. Aldridge occasionally preached also at Deal; and at Falkstone their word was signally blessed: to many, several of whom afterwards joined the Baptist interest, and one of them became a Deacon in Mr. Atwood's church.

Two years after, the students were called in from all parts of the country to the college in Wales, to form a mission for North-America, as very pleasing and encouraging letters had been received by Lady Huntingdon, desiring her to send faithful and zealous ministers

thither. She therefore willingly entered into the plan, laying the whole of it before the students, with her earnest request that they would take the same into mature consideration, and especially make it matter of prayer; and that then, those who saw their way clear to go, would declare it. At length, Mr. Cook, with others, freely offered themselves for this service, came up to London, and related their views of this work before many thousands in the Tabernacle, Moorfields, and elsewhere; an account of which was printed. After taking a very affecting farewell, they embarked for America, with the Reverend Mr. Percy, who afterwards returned, and had a meeting-house, at Woolwich, in Kent. However, the ship was detained in the Downs by a contrary wind. Mr. Cook, being so near, wished to see his friends at Dover once more. He went therefore unexpectedly, and preached a lecture, which was remarkably owned. Several of his fellow-students also went the next Sabbath to Dover to preach. A fair and brisk gale sprung up in the night; the ship sailed, and they were all left behind. Two of them remained in England, Mr. Henry Mead, a minister now belonging to the establishment, in London, and Mr. William White, since deceased. Mr. Cook, with the rest, were yet determined on the voyage, and prosecuted the plan. On their arrival in America, as they had all preached in England, and considered themselves authorized to do so on their general plan, they traveled about the country, and preached with much acceptance among serious Christians of different denominations, but particularly among the Baptists, whom they found in a lively state of religion at that time. Though these students, were commonly considered as belonging to the Episcopal church, then the established religion of the Southern colonies, and seemed fond to keep up this idea among the populace, yet they generally appeared pleased with the company and conversation of the Baptists; and the most of them gave it to be understood, that they had received convictions respecting the justice and propriety of the Baptists' distinguishing sentiments, which, by one or two of the students, was represented to have arisen from the introduction of a young man of Baptist principles into the Countess's Seminary at Wales, whose arguments had made so great an impression on the minds of the students, that her Ladyship thought proper to discard him. Mr. Cook, however, kept himself considerably reserved, and more at a distance from the Baptist churches than the rest. Messrs. Hill and Cosson, after fully professing Baptist sentiments, in their conversation among the Baptists, joined the Presbyterians. Mr. Roberts, who had professed the same in a letter to one of the Baptist ministers, united himself with a respectable congregation of Independents in Georgia, and, on some misunderstanding arising, left off preaching, took a commission in the army, rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and died. Mr. Lewis Richards for a while suppressed his convictions, and engaged in a parish, as candidate for the rectorship, but some time after united himself to the Baptist church at the High Hills of Santee, was baptized by the Reverend Mr. Furman, and is now pastor of the Baptist church in Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. Cook had obtained the office of a parish, but on his marriage with a young lady, Miss Elizabeth Bulline, of Baptist parents, then dead, at the village of Dorchester, about eighteen miles from Charleston, he determined to settle there, and preach to a mixed people: in respect of religious profession, a great part of them were, and are

Episcopalians; a number, the posterity of a Baptist church, which has become extinct, that once flourished under the ministry of the Reverend Isaac Chanler, a pious and eminent divine; and the remains of an Independent congregation, removed to Georgia, the same mentioned above, to which Mr. Roberts had united. With the latter, Mr. Cook formed his closest connection, preaching ordinarily in the place of worship belonging to them.

The dispute between Britain and the Colonies was now become very serious; the sword was drawn; blood had begun to deluge the field of battle, and a general concern for religious as well as civil liberty, possessed the breasts of the Americans. A temporary form of government, agreed on by South-Carolina, while a reconciliation to Britain on equitable principles was hoped for, had continued the partial establishment, and legal support of the Church of England. This convinced the Dissenters of the necessity of uniting and making vigorous exertions for obtaining the equal enjoyment of all the privileges proper to a free people. For they now saw, that the Episcopalians, who generally possessed the most conspicuous stations, with their usual appendages of wealth and influence, while they declaimed against the unconstitutional claims of Britain, and were very fond of receiving the assistance of their dissenting brethren in the national struggle, were determined to secure to themselves every exclusive and partial advantage in their power. An invitation was now given to ministers and churches of various denominations, but principally to the Baptists, among whom the business originated, to meet at the High Hills of Santee, at the seat of the Baptist church there, which is nearly the center of the State, to consult their general interests. To this meeting, which was held early in 1776, came Mr. Cook, with two other of the young gentlemen mentioned above, and continued there to the next Sabbath, after the business was concluded, which being the season for the administration of the Lord's supper in that church, divine worship was publicly attended on the two preceding days. On Saturday, Mr. Cook had all invitation to preach; and a little before service began, he took aside Mr. Hart, the minister of the Baptist church in Charleston, who had staid to assist at the solemnity, and Mr. Furman, the pastor of the church at Santee, who was then very young in the ministry, and has since succeeded Mr. Hart in Charleston, requesting their advice on a matter under which his mind labored. They were informed by him, that he had, for a considerable time, felt strong convictions respecting the propriety of believers' baptism, and its necessity in order to a universal obedience of Christ, in a becoming manner. That he had endeavored to silence his conscience, and avoid the means of conviction, during a great part of the time; but that of late he had felt such guilt and shame in reflecting on his past conduct, as compelled him to a serious consideration of the subject, with a full determination of heart to do whatever appeared to be the will of God; and that the result of this investigation was the most satisfactory evidence in favor of what he had so long thought his duty. This, with the forcible application to his mind, of Ananias's address to Paul, "And now, why tarriest thou? Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling upon the name of the Lord," made him anxious to comply with his duty without delay, especially as a favorable opportunity then offered. "I have only to add, gentlemen," concluded he, "that I

should be glad of your advice, whether to embrace the ordinance immediately, or defer it to be administered among the people where I live; and if I submit to it immediately, seeing my sentiments and intention have been hitherto unknown to the public, whether it would be proper to make Ananias's address to St. Paul, just now mentioned, and from which I have felt so much conviction, the subject of the discourse I am about to deliver, and just in the light I now behold it, as it applies to myself? This, I confess, is the dictate of my own mind, and I would not wish to act unadvisedly."

The ministers were both of opinion, that it would be best not to delay the administration, and that it was proper he should follow the dictate of his mind respecting the subject, and method of preaching proposed. He preached accordingly to the surprise and conviction of many, and **was the next day baptized by the pastor of that church, the Reverend Mr. Furman, after satisfying the church respecting his acquaintance with experimental religion;** and on farther consideration, having enjoyed his visits before, and being fully satisfied with his ministerial qualifications, they began to contemplate his ordination. He was accordingly ordained a few days after by Mr. Hart and Mr. Furman. A vacancy having taken place in the church of Euhaw, by the death of an excellent divine, the Reverend Francis Pelot, Mr. Cook soon received a call to take the pastoral care of it, which he accepted, and preached there without interruption for some time; but the invasion of the State taking place, and his exposed situation, near the sea-coast, having already subjected him to losses and distress, he removed to an interior part of the country, where he continued to the conclusion of the war, but **suffered anew in the ravages of the State by the troops under Lord Cornwallis and other commanders; so that when he returned to the Euhaw, on the commencement of the peace, he was reduced to a state of poverty.** Previous to his leaving Euhaw, he had lost his first wife, and married a second; some circumstances attending this marriage, gave displeasure to a number of his friends, and himself acknowledged he was chargeable with imprudence in the transaction, for which he was sorry. Hitherto nothing very considerable had appeared in Mr. Cook's ministry in America, towards promoting the kingdom of Christ; but on his return to his church, having passed through some humbling scenes, and entering more fully into the gospel spirit, he labored with much success. The church had been greatly reduced before he took charge of it, and at his return was almost become extinct; yet it pleased God, by his ministry to add a pleasing number to it in a few years. The account of additions, by baptism, presented to the Association, for the five last years of his life, was 78; many of these are persons of real worth and respectability. In the September of 1790, he wrote a letter to Mr. Rippon, of London, in which he gave a pleasing account of the believing Negro church at Savannah, and then added, "My sphere of action is great, having two congregations to regard, at a considerable distance from each other, exclusive of this where I reside; as, also, friendly visits to pay to sister churches, and societies of other denominations, who are destitute of ministers, frequently riding under a scorching sun, with a fever, twenty miles in a morning, and then preach afterwards. Our brethren in England, have scarcely an idea of what hardship we struggle with, who travel to propagate the gospel. I have been in a very poor state of health for two months, but it has not

prevented an attention to the duties of my station. O, what a blessing is health! We cannot be too thankful for it."

This good man had now almost finished his course. The circumstances of his dissolution may be collected from a letter, written by one of his dear friends, of which the following is an extract:

- "To the Reverend Mr. Rippon, London. Euhaw, South-Carolina, Oct. 4, 1790, Reverend Sir, I could have wished a more agreeable event than the present had been the occasion of my address to you; but, when I consider I am fulfilling the promise made to the Reverend Mr. Cook, of this place, now with God, it seems to afford a kind of melancholy pleasure. About ten weeks before his decease, he returned in the middle of a sultry day, from preaching to a congregation about twenty miles from hence, complaining of feverish symptoms, with a dry cough, a tightness of the breast, and great lassitude; notwithstanding which, he relaxed not his labors. In this state he continued, till two weeks before his exit, when he delivered his last sermon from Ephesians 1:6, 'To the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved.' He was then so weak, that I feared he would not be able to proceed, but he was greatly supported, and much engaged. He reminded the congregation of the truths he had taught, assured them he felt acquitted of the blood of all men, having fully declared the counsel of God in his ministry. He pathetically addressed himself to his hearers of every age, rank and station, confident, as he told them, that this was to be the last sermon they were ever to hear from him; and then concluded with a solemn farewell. The succeeding Sabbath he was to have preached on St. Helena Island. On Thursday following, the symptoms began to be so alarming, that I feared he could not continue long. He desired me to read to him the 324th hymn in your Selection, entitled, 'The Christian remembering all the way the Lord has led him.' Some time after, he assured me, he died in the firm belief of the doctrines he had preached, and requested I would write to his friends in England. He sent for Mr. Bealer, an amiable man, and Deacon of his church, since dead, and consulted with him about the interests of the church, particularly about obtaining a successor to the pastoral office; and as the following Sabbath was the sacramental season, when he was assured the ordinance would be administered by his brethren in the ministry, who were to be present on the occasion, he said, 'Next Sabbath, when you are feasting below, I shall be at the banquet above.' He fixed on the place of his interment, and requested that the Reverend Mr. (now Dr.) Froman, of Charleston, should be desired to preach his funeral sermon from 2 Timothy 1:12, 'For I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.' From this time he inclined to be silent, and seemed engaged in secret prayer. On Friday was rather easier; and on Saturday morning, he joined in prayer with me Rev. Mr. (Now Dr.) Holcombe, of Philadelphia, who came to assist at an ordination. About noon he grew worse. Dr. Mosse, one of the members of his church, who attended him in the last stages of his illness, writes thus, in a letter to a friend, concerning the last day of Mr. Cook's life: 'Mr. Cook appeared to me to have a heart fully resigned to the will of God; some time before his death, he told me, that his whole hope of eternal salvation was built on the sure foundation-stone, Jesus Christ; but I do not feel, said he, that great comfort and joy I have often experienced, and which I felt twelve or fourteen days ago, as noted in my diary.'

"Visible tokens of dissolution inducing a friend to ask if he should pray with him, he gave assent, and, at the conclusion, audibly said, AMEN; after which, he spoke no more intelligibly, but continued struggling with the last enemy till half past three, Lord's day morning, Sept. 26, 1790; when he was released from all his labors, leaving a disconsolate widow under great affliction; an only child, a son by his first wife, about 15 years of age, in whom all his earthly hopes seemed to center, as he possesses a love of

religion, with a thirst for learning [this son, Joseph B. Cook, was afterwards educated at Providence College, R.I. and is now a respectable minister in South-Carolina], and a church, almost every member of which looked to him as a common brother in Christ. His remains were interred the same evening, immediately after the administration of the sacrament, when a very tender and animated exhortation, to an audience dissolved in tears, was delivered at the grave by Dr. Holcombe, who succeeded him in the charge of the church. The funeral sermon, by Dr. Furman, was not delivered for a considerable time after, owing partly to the distance of 80 miles, and partly to several unavoidable hindrances. Mrs. Cook survived her husband but a few weeks, being taken off by a short and severe illness. Mr. Cook was of a middle stature, and slender make, but had acquired a degree of corpulency a few years before his death. His mental powers were good, and had received improvement by an acquaintance with the liberal arts and sciences, though his education had not been completed. His conversation was free and engaging. As a preacher he was zealous, orthodox, and experimental. He spoke with animation and much fervor; though his talent lay so much in the persuasive, that at the end of his sermon he frequently left the audience in tears. He was taken from his labors at a time when his character had arisen to considerable eminence, and a spacious field of usefulness was opening all around him, and at a time when he was greatly endeared to his people. He was a little in advance of 40 years, at the time of his death. "

This account of Mr. Cook is found in Rippon's *Register*, from which it has been copied, with little variation. Some expressions which regard affairs in America have been altered, to make the narrative conform to the present time. What changes have taken place in the persons and events described in England, I'm not able to state, only that Mr. Percy, who went back to England, is I conclude the same person who is now an Episcopal minister in Charleston, South-Carolina.

LEMUEL COVEL

Lemuel Covell was, it is believed, a native of the State of New-York; he was sent out into the ministry by the church in Providence, Saratoga county, thirty or forty miles above Albany. He commenced his ministerial labors under great disadvantages, being both poor and illiterate; and most of his life was spent under the pressure of poverty and worldly embarrassments. But notwithstanding he was obliged to labor almost constantly for his support, such were the astonishing powers of his mind, that he became one of the most distinguished preachers in the Baptist connection. His talents were far above mediocrity, his voice was clear and majestic, and his address was manly and engaging. The doctrine of salvation by the cross, was the grand theme on which he dwelt with peculiar pleasure; and his preaching was of the most solid, perspicuous, and interesting kind. He lived the religion he professed, and exemplified by his conduct the rules he laid down for others. As an itinerant preacher, his zeal and success were equalled by few; and perhaps exceeded by none among the American preachers. **Missionary concerns lay near his heart;** and in every thing pertaining to them, he seems to have been a kindred spirit to the famous Pearce of Birmingham. He traveled much among the churches in New-York and New-England, and had often explored new and destitute regions. A little while before his death, the church in Cheshire, with which John Leland is connected, had settled him as their pastor, had assumed the debts in which misfortunes had involved him, and his prospects

for comfort and usefulness were never greater. As he was much inclined to travel, the church had settled him under the expectation, that he would be with them but a part of the time, and the Missionary Society of Boston most gladly afforded him their patronage what time he wished to itinerate. Dark and mysterious indeed was that providence, which cut off, in the meridian of life, and in the midst of usefulness, this worthy man. His constitution, naturally slender, had been much impaired by frequent attacks of disease, and by his too extensive labors of various kinds; and while traveling as a missionary in upper Canada, in October, 1806, he, after a short illness, finished his earthly course. Elders Elkanah Hohnes and David Irish were, at that time, engaged in the same field of missionary labors; the last of whom thus describes the mournful event of Mr. Covell's death.

- "At this meeting, (that is, at Charlotteville) I heard that my dear brother Covell was dangerously ill. I therefore concluded to leave them, and go and see him, and then return again. The attention appeared so great in many places, that I could not believe it to be my duty to leave them yet. Accordingly, on Wednesday I set out, accompanied by two brethren. We were at this time 60 miles from the place where brother Covell was sick. We rode until we came within about 20 miles, when we heard he was dead and buried! Oh, how my poor heart felt! I was left among strangers almost 300 miles from home, and one of the most dear and intimate friends I ever had, taken away in such an unexpected time! But the Judge of all the earth has and will do right. Brother Covell had done his work, and went off in the triumphs of faith. We came to the place the next morning, and found Elder Holmes preaching his funeral sermon, and a solemn time it was. After sermon we attended to settling brother Covell's business, and the next day set out to return to Townsend, where we arrived the day following, and found the church met together; and when we informed them of the death of brother Covell, the whole assembly appeared to be most deeply affected. It appears that this church was mostly the fruit of his labors in his former visits. When he was with them last year, he assisted in their constitution. I think I may truly say, that there has never been any preacher in these parts more highly and more universally esteemed than he was; and a greater and more universal lamentation I never heard in any place for any man, than in Upper Canada for him. But alas! he is gone. May God grant, that like Samson, he may slay more at his death than he has done in all his life. Some of the church in Townsend, in their lamentation, would break their silence and cry out, 'O, my father in the gospel!' 'O that blessed minister of Christ, who was used as God's instrument to open my eyes -- shall I never see him again in this world!' We then joined and sang the third hymn of the second book of Dr. Watts, and concluded the opportunity in prayer to Almighty God, that he would sanctify this dispensation to the good of many precious souls."

Mr. Covell left a widow and five children to mourn his loss. ELIJAH CRAIG was one of the first converts to the Baptist preaching in Virginia. When Mr. Samuel Harris came and preached an experience of grace in Pittsylvania, he found his heart could testify to the truth of it, having some time previously experienced a change, which he had not viewed as conversion, but only the encouragement of Heaven to go on to seek. He was now so strengthened, that, in conjunction with certain young converts in his neighborhood, who were of the Regular Baptists, he undertook to exhort, etc. and to hold little meetings in the neighborhood. His tobacco-house was their chapel. Being most of them laboring men, they used to labor all day, and hold meetings almost every night, at each other's houses,

and on Sundays at the above-mentioned tobacco-house. By these little prayer and exhortation meetings, great numbers were awakened and several converted.

Mr. Craig was one of the constituents of the Upper Spottsylvania church; he was also one of those who were afterwards dismissed from it, to form the church on Blue Run, over which he was soon afterwards ordained pastor. He was certainly a great blessing to Blue Run church, for under his care they flourished. He was accounted a preacher of considerable talents for that day; which, united to his zeal, honored him with the attention of his persecutors. **They sent the sheriff and posse after him, when at his plough.** He was taken and carried before three magistrates of Culpepper. They, without hearing arguments, pro or con, ordered him to jail. At court, he, with others, was arraigned. One of the lawyers told the Court, they had better discharge them; for that oppressing them, would rather advance than retard them. He said, they were like a bed of camomile; the more they were trod, the more they would spread. The Court thought otherwise, and were determined to imprison them. Some of the Court were of opinion, that they ought to be confined in a close dungeon; but the majority were for giving them the bounds. After staying there one month, preaching to all who came, he gave bond for good behavior, and came out. He was also confined in Orange jail, at another time. He was a preacher of usefulness for many years after he commenced; but finally falling too much into land speculations, his ministry was greatly hindered. In 1786, he moved to Kentucky, where, continuing his land speculations, that bewildering pursuit, which has ruined the reputation and usefulness of so many in Kentucky and elsewhere, he became obnoxious to the church, and was excommunicated 1791. How long he stayed out, is not known. He was, however, restored; and continued in the church until the year 1808, when he died.

He was naturally of a censorious temper; and always seemed better pleased to find out the faults than the virtues of mankind. This, however, so long as he was warm in religion, was checked by a superior principle; but after he declined in his religious exercises, and became a land speculator, he could seldom be pleased. As good a proof as any that can be named, of this peevish temper, may be gathered from two pamphlets, his only writings that have ever been published. In the one, he undertakes to prove that stationed preachers or pastors of churches, are precluded, by the Scriptures, from receiving any compensation for their services. In this pamphlet, he takes so many opportunities to condemn preachers for being money-seekers, that it would seem the main design of the publication was, to indulge a fault-finding temper. The maintaining of such a sentiment was censurable, because it is contrary to Scripture and reason and it was certainly ridiculous to advance it in Kentucky, where preachers are so much and so generally neglected by the churches. A person, acquainted with the negligent spirit and parsimonious maxims of the Kentucky Baptists, in viewing the title-page of this pamphlet, would be led to think that the author intended ironically to reprove the churches, rather than to censure the avarice of their ministers. His other pamphlet was a personal philippic against Jacob Creath, on account of some private dispute between Creath and a Mr. Lewis; the former the pastor, and the latter one of the principal members of the Town-Fork church, in the neighborhood of

Lexington. Without saying any thing about the merits of the case, or the provocation given by Mr. Creath, candor compels us to say, that no provocation can justify the style of this pamphlet. It is written with a pen dipt in poison. The Baptists are a free people; and every one in these matters, says and does that which seemeth right in his own eyes: but it is to be hoped, that the present, nor any other generation, will ever witness another publication, written in the style or temper of the above pamphlet; and that, too, by one Baptist preacher against another.

SAMUEL ECCLES

Samuel Eccles was a native of Roscoramon, in Ireland, and began professional life in the capacity of a merchant in his own country; but proving unfortunate in trade, soon after his engaging in it, he went to France, and as a friend to liberty, took an active part in the revolutionary war, in which that country was then engaged. But the enormities practiced there, under the name of liberty, both by the government and army, induced him, in a little time, to resign his commission, and come to America. He landed in South-Carolina; and here it pleased God, shortly after his arrival, to impress his mind with the importance and excellence of religion; and, from being a man of the world and a soldier, he became eminent for piety and devotion. Having made a serious profession of religion, his attention was turned to the ministry; and that he might be qualified to perform the duties of this important station to advantage, he availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the establishment of the Baptist Education Fund, belonging to the Charleston Association, and engaged in the course of classical and theological studies, which he pursued about four years, with close application, under the Reverend Mr. Roberts, near Stateburg. He had been for some time pastor of a church in the upper part of this State; and though living at a distance, preached at stated times in Orangeburg, where he was solicited to settle; but having, about two months before his death, married a daughter of the late Reverend Timothy Durgan, of Jeffer's Creek, he had just changed his residence to that place, and was entered on an apparently extensive field of usefulness, when it pleased God, who is infinitely wise and sovereign in his counsels and dispensations, by a short but sharp illness, to remove him to the world of spirits, August 12, 1808. Mr. Eccles' age is not mentioned, but he was, probably, about 40 years old.

His natural and acquired abilities were respectable; his character fair; his disposition amiable, and his usefulness conspicuous. As a preacher he was zealous and active, and manifested an extensive acquaintance with the heart and conscience, which he addressed with great seriousness. In his preaching, he insisted much on the great peculiarities of the gospel, considered as a dispensation of free, sovereign, and glorious grace, extended through a Redeemer to guilty, dying men, and strongly enforced the necessity of experimental, practical godliness. One who knew him well and felt as a friend, in giving information of his death, writes, "He bore his last affliction with placid resignation and unrepining patience."

MORGAN EDWARDS (1722-1795)

The following biographical sketch of this truly eminent man, and distinguished promoter of the Baptist cause in America, was drawn by Dr. William Rogers of Philadelphia, in a sermon preached at his funeral, and by him communicated to Dr. Rippon, of London, who published it in the 12th No. of his *Annual Register*, from which it is now extracted. The sermon, which for some cause was not printed, was preached in the 1st Baptist Church in Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1795, on 2 Corinthians 6:8, "By honor and dishonor; by evil report and good report; as deceivers and yet true." The Doctor, after a general and pertinent illustration of his text, thus proceeds:

"My highly esteemed friend and father, the Reverend Mr. Morgan Edwards, requested, as you have already been informed, that these words should be preached from, as soon as convenient after his decease. I presume he found them descriptive of what he met with in the course of his ministry.

"Honour, Mr. Edwards certainly had, both in Europe and America. The College and Academy of Philadelphia, at a very early period, honored him as a man of learning, and a popular preacher, with a diploma, constituting him Master of Arts; this was followed by a degree *ad eudem* in the year 1769, from the College of Rhode-Island, being the first commencement in that institution. In this seminary he held a Fellowship, and filled it with reputation, till he voluntarily resigned it in 1789; age and distance having rendered him incapable of attending the meetings of the Corporation any longer.

"He also met with dishonor; but he complained not much of this, as it was occasioned by his strong attachment to the Royal Family of Great Britain, in the beginning of the American war, which fixed on him the name of a Tory: this I should have omitted mentioning, had not the deceased expressly enjoined it upon me. For any person to have been so marked out in those days, was enough to bring on political opposition and destruction of property; all of which took place with respect to Mr. Edwards, though he never harbored the thought of doing the least injury to the United States, by abetting the cause of our enemies.

"A good report our departed brother also had. The numerous letters brought with him across the Atlantic, from the Reverend Dr. John Gill and others, reported handsome things of him; and so did, in return, the letters that went from America to the then parent country.

"Evil reports also fell to his share; but most of these were false reports, and therefore he gave credit for them as a species of persecution. And even the title of deceiver did not escape him. Often has he been told that he was an Arminian, though he professed to be a Calvinist; that he was a Universalist in disguise, etc. Yet he was true to his principles. These may be seen in our confession of faith, agreeing with that republished by the

Baptist churches assembled at London, in the year 1689. He seldom meddled with the five polemical points; but when he did, he always avoided abusive language. The charge of Universalism brought against him was not altogether groundless; for though he was not a Universalist himself, he professed a great regard for many who were, and he would sometimes take their part against violent opposers, in order to inculcate moderation.

"Mr. Edwards was born in Trevethin parish, Monmouthshire, in the principality of Wales, on May 9th, 1722, old style; and had his grammar learning in the same parish, at a village called Trosnat; afterwards he was placed in the Baptist seminary at Bristol, in Old-England, at the time the president's chair was filled by the Reverend Mr. Foskett. **He entered on the ministry in the sixteenth year of his age.** After he had finished his academical studies, he went to Boston in Lincolnshire, where he continued seven years, preaching the gospel to a small congregation in that town. From Boston, he removed to Cork, in Ireland, where he was ordained, June 1, 1757, and resided nine years. From Cork he returned to Great-Britain, and preached about twelve months at Rye, in Sussex. While at Rye, the Reverend Dr. Gill,* and other London ministers, in pursuance of letters which they received from this church (Philadelphia) urged him to pay you a visit. He complied, took his passage for America, arrived here May 23, 1761, and shortly afterwards became your pastor. He had the oversight of this church for many years; voluntarily resigned his office, when he found the cause, which was so near and dear to his heart, sinking under his hands; but continued preaching to the people, till they obtained another minister, the person who now addresses you, in the procuring of whom he was not inactive. [* It is said, that the church in Philadelphia sent to Dr. Gill of London to assist them in obtaining a pastor; but that they required so many accomplishments to be united in him, that the Dr. wrote them back, that he did not know as he could find a man in England who would answer their description; informing them, at the same time, that Mr. Morgan Edwards, who was then preaching in Rye, in the county of Sussex, came the nearest of any one who could be obtained.]

"After this, Mr. Edwards purchased a plantation in Newark, New-Castle county, State of Delaware, and moved thither with his family in the year 1772; he continued preaching the word of life and salvation in a number of vacant churches, till the commencement of the American war. He then desisted, and remained silent, till after the termination of our revolutionary troubles, and a consequent reconciliation with this church. He then occasionally read lectures in divinity in this city, and other parts of Pennsylvania; also in New Jersey, Delaware, and New-England; but for very particular and affecting reasons could never be prevailed upon to resume the sacred character of a minister. [The delicate circumstances in which Dr. Rogers was placed, at the time he delivered this discourse, was probably the reason why he was not more explicit on the subject here referred to. It is said that Mr. Edwards, in the midst of his troubles, was guilty, in a few instances at least, of using intemperately an antidote, too often resorted to in the time of trouble [apparently referring to liquor]. And as he had always maintained the sentiment, that it was improper for a minister of the gospel, after what may be called a capital fall, ever

again to resume his ministerial office, he, for the remainder of his days, carried his belief into practical operation. It is painful to have occasion to relate an affair, so much against the reputation of a man so good and great as Mr. Edwards, his slips and mistakes notwithstanding: but it is hoped the Baptists generally will profit by the unpleasant story; and that those ministers, (and some it must be acknowledged there are) who are so unhappy as to be left to similar falls, would imitate his example, instead of crowding themselves forward, with their bespattered garments, to the grief of their brethren, and to the injury of the cause which they endeavor to promote. **A preacher, whose reputation is sullied, either by women or wine, (his greatest foes) is like a broken looking-glass. which may be mended, it is true, so as to do its former service; but it will always be a broken thing.]**

"Our worthy friend departed this life, at Pencader, New-Castle county, Delaware State, on Wednesday the 28th of January, 1795, in the 73d year of his age; and was buried, agreeable to his own desire, in the aisle of this meeting-house, with his first wife and their children; her maiden name was Mary Nunn, originally of Cork, in Ireland, by whom he had several children, all of whom are dead, excepting two sons, William and Joshua; the first, if alive, is a military officer in the British service; the other is now present with us, paying this last public tribute of filial affection to the memory of a fond and pious parent. Mr. Edwards's second wife was a Mrs. Singleton, of the State of Delaware, who is also dead, by whom he had no issue.

"Several of Mr. Edwards's pieces have appeared in print, viz. 1. *A Farewell Discourse*, delivered at the Baptist meeting-house in Rye, Feb. 8, 1761, on Acts 20:25,26. 'And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more: wherefore, I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men.' This passed through two editions, 8vo. 2d. A Sermon preached in the College of Philadelphia, at the ordination of the Reverend Samuel Jones, (now D.D.) with a narrative of the manner in which the ordination was conducted, 8vo. 3d. *The Customs of Primitive Churches, or a set of Propositions relative to the Name, Materials, Constitution, Powers, Officers, Ordinances, etc. of a Church*; to which are added, their proofs from Scripture, and historical narratives of the manner in which most of them have been reduced to practice, 4th. This book was intended for the Philadelphia Association, in hopes they would have improved on the plan, so that their joint productions might have introduced a full and unexceptionable treatise of church discipline. 4th. *A New-Year's Gift*; a Sermon preached in this house, Jan. 1, 1770, from these words, 'This year thou shalt die'; which passed through four editions. What gave rise to this discourse will probably be recollected for many years to come.* 5th. *Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania*, both British and German, distinguished into First-day, Keithian, Seventh-day, Tunker, and Rogerene Baptists, 12mo. 1792. The motto of both volumes is, 'Lo! a people that dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.' 7th. *A Treatise on the Millennium*. 8th. *A Treatise on the New Heaven and New Earth*: this was reprinted in London. 9th. *Res Sacra*, a Translation from the Latin. The subject of this

piece is an enumeration of all the acts of public worship, which the New-Testament styles offerings and sacrifices; among which, giving money for religious uses is one; and therefore, according to Mr. Edwards's opinion, is to be done in the places of public worship, and with equal devotion.

[* "It has often been said, that when great men err, they err egregiously. So did Mr. Edwards in the instance to which his biographer here refers. **Led by a mere foolish impulse, and not by Scripture, the good man persuaded himself, that he should die on a certain day, and accordingly preached his own funeral sermon; but the event did not answer to the prediction: he could not die for his life.** Wisdom was learnt from folly, and many said, we have the Scripture to walk by; a more sure word than voices, new revelations and impulses, to which we do well to take heed, as to a light that shineth in a dark place. This was a teaching lesson. **The late excellent Mr. George Whitefield was, in his earlier days, under a similar delusion.** His wife was with child; he conjectured she would bring forth a son; she did -- they called his name John; in all this there was no harm; but Mr. Whitefield believed that the child was not only to be continued to him, but to be a preacher of the everlasting gospel. 'Satan was permitted,' says he, 'to give me some wrong impressions, whereby, as I now find, I misapplied several texts of Scripture.' About a week after the birth of the child, his father baptized him in the Tabernacle. Thousands went away big with hopes, that the child would hereafter be employed in the work of the ministry, and Mr. Whitefield as much so as any of them; but little John died when he was about four months old, without being great in the sight of the Lord, as his father had promised himself. This mistake was over-ruled in mercy, and the great and good man himself thus concludes the narrative of this affair, (Letter 547th, vol. 2d of his works:) 'I hope what happened before his birth, and since at his death, has taught me such lessons, as, if duly improved, may render his mistaken parent more sober minded, more experienced in Satan's devices, and consequently more useful, in his future labors, to the church of God.' How proper, that ministers and Christians should learn from these instances, to avoid all enthusiastic impulses, and be concerned to put God's meaning on God's word!" Rippon's *Register*. I find that some of Mr. Edwards's friends are unwilling to admit that he intended the discourse above mentioned for his funeral sermon. But I have been assured by one of his most confidential friends, that the story is literally true, and that he did actually request one of the senior ministers in the Philadelphia Association to preach a sermon at his interment. Although Mr. Edwards lived twenty-five years after this event, yet he did actually die, at the time, in a figurative sense. And it is reported of him, that he said to a friend, some time after this unpleasant affair happened, that he was mistaken in his impulses; for he thought it was the man, and not the minister, that should die.]

"Besides what he gave to his intimate friends as tokens of personal regard, he has left behind him 42 volumes of sermons, 12 sermons to a volume, all written in a large print hand; also about a dozen volumes in quarto, on special subjects, in some of which he was

respondent, and therefore they may not contain his own real sentiments. These, with many other things, unite to show that he was no idler.

"He used to recommend it to ministers to write their sermons at large, but not to read them in the pulpit; if he did, he advised the preacher to write a large, fair hand, and make himself so much master of his subject, that a glance might take in a whole page. Being a good classic, and a man of refinement, he was vexed with such discourses from the pulpit as deserved no attention, and much more to hear barbarisms; because, as he used to say, 'They were arguments either of vanity or indolence, or both; for an American, with an English grammar in his hand, a learned friend at his elbow, and close application for six months, might make himself master of his mother tongue.'

"The Baptist churches are much indebted to Mr. Edwards. They will long remember the time and talents he devoted to their best interests both in Europe and America. Very far was he from a selfish person. When the arrears of his salary, as pastor of this church, amounted to upwards of 372 pounds, and he was put in possession of a house, by the church, till the principal and interest should be paid, he resigned the house, and relinquished a great part of the debt, lest the church should be distressed.

"The College of Rhode-Island is also greatly beholden to him for his vigorous exertions at home and abroad, in raising money for that institution, and for his particular activity in procuring its charter. This he deemed the greatest service he ever did for the honor of the Baptist name. As one of its sons, I cheerfully make this public testimony of his laudable and well-timed zeal.

"In the first volume of his Materials, he proposed a plan for uniting all the Baptists on the continent in one body politic, by having the Association of Philadelphia (the center) incorporated by charter, and by taking one delegate out of each Association into the corporation; but finding this impracticable at that time, he visited the churches from New-Hampshire to Georgia, gathering materials towards the history of the whole. Permit me to add, that this plan of union, as yet, has not succeeded.

"Mr. Edwards was the moving cause of having the minutes of the Philadelphia Association printed, which he could not bring to bear for some years; and therefore, at his own expense, he printed tables, exhibiting the original and annual state of the associating churches.

"There was nothing uncommon in Mr. Edwards's person; but he possessed an original genius. By his travels in England, Ireland and America, commixing with all sorts of people, and by close application to reading, he had attained a remarkable ease of behavior in company, and was furnished with something pleasant or informing to say on all occasions. **His Greek Testament was his favourite companion, of which he was a complete master;** his Hebrew Bible next, but he was not so well versed in the Hebrew as

in the Greek language; however, he knew so much of both as authorized him to say, as he often did, that **the Greek and Hebrew are the two eyes of a minister, and the translations are but commentaries**; because they vary in sense as commentators do. He preferred the ancient British version above any other version that he had read; observing that the idioms of the Welsh fitted those of the Hebrew and Greek, like hand and glove.

"Our aged and respectable friend is gone the way of all the earth; but he lived to a good old age, and with the utmost composure closed his eyes on all the things of time. Though he is gone, this is not gone with him; it remains with us, that the Baptist interest was ever uppermost with him, and that he labored more to promote it, than to promote his own; and this he did, because he believed it to be the interest of Christ above any in Christendom. His becoming a Baptist was the effect of previous examination and conviction, having been brought up in the Episcopal church, for which church he retained a particular regard during his whole life."

BENJAMIN FOSTER (1750-1798)

Benjamin Foster, D. D. late pastor of the first Baptist church in the city of New-York, descended from respectable parents of the Congregational church, and was born at Danvers, in the county of Essex, Massachusetts, June 12, 1750.

Agreeably to the custom of his native State, he received the early part of his education at the town school; and as **he evinced, from his tender years, a remarkably devout and pious disposition**, his parents devoted his whole time to academical pursuits in that seminary, in order to fit him for the University, where they intended to fix him, as soon as his age would admit of his removal from under their immediate care. At the age of eighteen, he was placed at Yale College, in Connecticut, at that time under the direction of the learned and pious President Dagget, where he soon distinguished himself, no less by his religious and exemplary life, than by his assiduity and success in classical literature.

About this time, several tracts relative to the proper subjects of baptism, and also to the scriptural mode of administering that divine ordinance having made their appearance, the matter was considerably agitated in college, and fixed on as a proper subject for discussion. **Mr. Foster was appointed to defend infant sprinkling.** To prepare himself for the dispute, he used the utmost exertion: he endeavored to view the question in every light in which he could possibly place it: he carefully searched the Holy Scriptures, and examined the history of the church from the times of the Apostles. The result however was very different from what had been expected; **for when the day appointed for discussion arrived, he was so far from being prepared to defend infant sprinkling, that, to the great astonishment of the officers of the college, he avowed himself a decided convert to the doctrine, that only those who profess faith in Christ are the**

subjects, and that immersion only is the mode of Christian baptism; and of which he continued, ever after, a steady, zealous and powerful advocate.

His mind was impressed with serious concern at an early period, but he had nearly arrived at manhood before he obtained a satisfactory evidence of his having passed from death unto life. While a youth, his temptations to blaspheme were often so strong, that, as he related to some pious friends, he has laid fast hold of his lips, to prevent himself from sinning against his Creator.

He graduated about the year 1772, soon after which he was baptized, and joined the church in Boston, of which Samuel Stillman, D. D. was pastor, under whose fostering care he applied himself to the study of divinity, and took upon himself the charge of the Baptist church in Leicester, Massachusetts, over which he was the same year regularly ordained as pastor. During his residence in that place, he published a tract, entitled, "The Washing of Regeneration, or the Divine Rite of Immersion," in answer to a treatise on the subject of baptism, written by the Reverend Mr. Fish. And soon after he published his "Primitive Baptism defended, in a letter to the Reverend Mr. John Cleaveland;" in both of which he discovered considerable erudition, great depth of argument, and much Christian charity. After having continued at Leicester for several years, his connection with that church was dissolved, and he preached a short time in his native town of Danvers; but as neither Danvers nor Leicester afforded him the use of such books as were necessary for a person of his studious turn, he accepted of an invitation to take upon him the pastoral care of a church in Newport, Rhode-Island, where he soon had the satisfaction to find, that his sphere of usefulness was considerably enlarged, and his means of study greatly improved.

On an invitation from the first Baptist church in New-York, he paid them a visit in 1788, and after having preached there for a short time, received an unanimous call to settle amongst them as their pastor. Upon his return to Newport, he consulted with his church, who, though highly pleased with the eminent services of their learned and faithful teacher, were unwilling to throw any obstacle in the way, which might impede his removal to a place, where his ministerial labors might still be more extensively useful. He therefore accepted the call to New-York; and having taken upon him the pastoral charge of that church in the autumn of the same year, continued in that station till the time of his death.

In September 1792, the degree of D. D. was conferred upon him by the college of Rhode-Island, in consequence of a learned publication of his, entitled, "**A Dissertation on the seventy weeks of Daniel; the particular and exact fulfillment of which prophecy is considered and proved.**"

From the time Dr. Foster set out as a gospel minister, he was uniformly assiduous in the discharge of all the duties of his office; nor did his zeal in the service of his Master abate, as he advanced in life; for during his last twelve or fourteen years, it was his constant

practice to preach from four to six sermons every week. But the yellow fever, which committed so great havoc in New-York, during the autumn of 1798, put a period to the usefulness of this worthy man. This dreadful malady had begun to prevail, and several of his friends had sunk under its malignity. In their last illness, Dr. Foster was frequent in his visits, when he prayed with them and administered the soothing consolations of religion. As he was one of those whom no appearance of danger could intimidate from persevering in what he considered to be the path of duty, he was not unwilling to visit those scenes of affliction, from which, at that time, many of the best of men shrunk back with terror. He was, however, seized with the disorder, and after an illness of a very few days, expired, August 26, 1798, to the great and almost irreparable loss of his church, aged 49 years.

Dr. Foster, as a scholar, particularly in the Greek, Hebrew and Chaldean languages, has left few superiors. As a divine, he was strictly Calvinistic, and full on the doctrine of salvation by free grace. As a preacher, he was indefatigable. In private life, he was innocent as a child and harmless as a dove, fulfilling all the duties of life with the greatest punctuality. The following inscription on a handsome marble over his grave, in the Baptist burying-ground in New-York, written by an eminent Presbyterian clergyman of that city, is an encomium justly due to his memory: "As a scholar and divine he excelled; as a preacher he was eminent; as a Christian he shone conspicuously; in his piety he was fervent; the church was comforted by his life, and it now laments his death."

Dr. Foster was twice married, and in both instances was blest with a pious and excellent companion. His first wife, who was Elizabeth Green, daughter of Reverend Thomas Green of Leicester, died August 19, 1793; and his second was Martha, daughter of Mr. James Bingham of New-York, whom he survived but a very short time. She died July 27, 1798.

DANIEL FRISTOE (1739-1774)

Daniel Fristoe was born at Chappawomsick, Stafford county, Virginia, December 7, 1739. He was bred an Episcopalian, but embraced the Baptist sentiments soon after they began to prevail in Virginia, and was baptized by his spiritual father, David Thomas. When young, he received a liberal English education, and though fond of fashionable amusements, was not addicted to the grosser vices of the times.

His conversion was brought about on this wise. When about 23 years of age, his curiosity led him to go a considerable distance to hear a Baptist preacher, whose name is not known. While at the meeting, his horse strayed away, which obliged him to tarry all night at the place. In the course of the evening, many came in, who had lately been converted, and who, by entering freely into religious conversation, brought strange things to his ears, and awakened his attention to eternal things. He returned home with much seriousness and solicitude, and after laboring a while under great distress of mind, was brought into

the liberty of the gospel. He now began exhorting, but was soon called by his brethren to the ministry. His course was short but rapid, and the success which attended his labors, appears to have been unusually great. About the year 1774, he was sent as a messenger from the Ketockton to the Philadelphia Association. There he caught the small-pox, and after a short tour of preaching in New-Jersey, returned to Philadelphia, and began his journey homeward, but was laid by at Marcus-Hook, a small town, a few miles below the city, where he died in the 35th year of his age. His remains were carried back to Philadelphia, and buried in the Baptist ground.

The following extract from Mr. Fristoe's journal, which has been preserved by Mr. Edwards, contains the most interesting account of his ministry, which I have been able to obtain; for his biography has been almost altogether neglected.

- "Saturday, June 15, 1771. This day I began to act as an ordained minister, and never before saw such manifest appearances of God's working and the devil's raging at one time and in one place. My first business was to examine candidates for baptism, who related what God did for their souls in such a manner as to affect many present: then the opposers grew very troublesome, particularly one James Nayler, who, after raging and railing for a while, fell down and began to tumble and beat the ground with both ends, like a fish when it drops off the hook on dry land, cursing and blaspheming God all the while; at last a gentleman offered ten shillings to any that would bind him and take him out of the place, which was soon earned by some stout fellows who stood by. Sixteen persons were adjudged fit subjects of baptism. The next day being Sunday, about 2000 people came together; many more offered for baptism, 13 of whom were judged worthy. As we stood by the water, the people were weeping and crying in a most extraordinary manner; and others cursing and swearing, and acting like men possessed. In the midst of this, a tree tumbled down, being overloaded with people, who, Zaccheus-like, had climbed up to see baptism administered; the coming down of that tree occasioned the adjacent trees to fall also, being loaded in the same manner; but none was hurt. When the ordinance was administered, and I had laid hands on the parties baptized, we sang those charming words of Dr. Watts, 'Come, we who love the Lord,' etc. The multitude sang and wept and smiled in tears, holding up their hands and countenances towards heaven, in such a manner as I had not seen before. In going home, I turned to look at the people, who remained by the water side, and saw some screaming on the ground, some wringing their hands, some in ecstasies of joy, some praying, others cursing and swearing, and exceedingly outrageous. We have seen strange things today."

JOHN GANO (1727-1804)

John Gano was one of the most eminent ministers in his day; in point of talents he was exceeded by few, and as an itinerant he was inferior to none, who ever traveled the United States, unless it were the renowned Whitefield. He was born at Hopewell, in New-Jersey, July 22, 1727, was converted soon after he arrived at manhood, and was ordained in the place of his nativity, in 1754. His progenitors, on his father's side, were from France, on his mother's from England. **His great-grandfather, Francis Gano, fled from Guernsey, in the time of a bloody persecution;** one of his neighbours had been martyred in the day, and in the evening he was fixed on as the victim for the next day; information of which he received in the dead of night. In this perilous situation he made all

haste to escape the sanguinary storm which hung over his head: he chartered a vessel, removed his family on board, and in the morning was out of sight of the harbour. On his arrival in America, he settled in New-Rochelle, a few miles above the city of New-York, where he lived to the age of a hundred and three. Of the number or names of the family of this religious refugee, we know no more, than that he had one son named Stephen, who married Ann Walton, by whom he had many children, some of whom died young; those who lived to marry, were Daniel, Francis, James, John, Lewis, Isaac, and three daughters, Sarah, Catharine, and Susannah; the last of whom lived to the age of eighty-seven. Daniel married Sarah Britton of Staten-Island, near the city of New-York, by whom he had Daniel, Jane, Stephen, Susannah, John, Nathaniel, David, and Sarah. The two first were born on Staten-Island, the others at Hopewell, in New Jersey. Some of these died young; but a number of them founded families, and their posterity is scattered in many parts of America; most of them, however, are in the middle and western States.

The subject of this memoir had the happiness of being born of parents eminent for piety, by whom he was early taught the necessity of religion, and a correct view of the gospel system. His maternal grandmother was about seventy-six years a pious member of a Baptist church; she lived to the age of ninety-six. His mother was of the same persuasion, but his father was a Presbyterian. But every thing attending his making a religious profession among the Baptists, was conducted with prudence on his part, and with tenderness on that of his friends. **He was at first much inclined to join the Presbyterians, but having some scruples on the subject of infant baptism, he determined to give it a thorough investigation. He not only read books, but had frequent conversation with Presbyterian friends; but the more he studied the Pedobaptist arguments, the less he was inclined to believe them.** The famous Mr. Tennant [it is not known by the writer whether William or Gilbert is the minister intended, but it is probable it was the latter], and some other Presbyterian ministers, were among the circle of his Pedobaptist friends. With Mr. Tennant he conversed often and freely; at the close of a lengthy discussion of the subject of baptism, that candid divine addressed him in the following manner: "Dear young man, if the devil cannot destroy your soul, he will endeavor to destroy your comfort and usefulness; and therefore do not be always doubting in this matter. If you cannot think as I do, think for yourself." After a suspense of some time, he became firmly established in those principles, which he through life maintained with so much ability and moderation. Having resolved to be buried in baptism on a profession of his faith, he made his father acquainted with his design, who treated him with much indulgence and tenderness. He stated that what he did for him in his infancy, he then thought was right, and the discharge of an incumbent duty, but if he felt conscientious in his present undertaking, he had his full and free consent. He moreover proposed that when he should offer himself to the Baptist church, he would go with him and give his consent there, and answer any inquiries they might wish to make respecting his life, etc. and also that he would go and see him baptized. All these promises his catholic father fulfilled.

Soon after Mr. Gano was joined to the Hopewell church, his mind was led to the ministry, but with many anxieties and fears. He was so much absorbed in his thoughts of the great work, that he was often lost to every other object. One morning after he began ploughing in his field, this passage, "Warn the people, or their blood will I require at your hands," came with such weight upon his mind, that he drove on until 11 o'clock, utterly insensible of his employment. When he came to himself he found he was wet through with the rain, his horses were excessively fatigued, and the labor he had performed was astonishingly great.

After becoming satisfied that preaching would be his employment, he applied himself with much assiduity to studies preparatory for it, which he continued, with some interruptions however, for two or three years. Before he had been approbated to preach, he took a journey into Virginia, with Messrs. Miller and Thomas, two eminent ministers of that day, who had been appointed by the Philadelphia Association to go and assist in settling some difficulties in two infant churches there, which had applied to them for help. Some account of this journey has been given in the first part of the history of the Baptists in Virginia. Before Mr. Gano had returned home, a report had reached Hopewell, that he had got to preaching in Virginia; and some of his brethren were tried with him, for engaging in the ministry without the approbation of the church. A meeting was called on his arrival, and he was arraigned as being guilty of disorder. He wished them to exhibit their proofs. They informed him that they had none, only what travellers from Virginia had reported, but desired that he would give them a relation of the matter. He replied that it was the first time he had known the accused called on to give evidence against himself, but he was willing, notwithstanding, to give them an impartial relation of his conduct, which he did. The church then asked him what he thought of his proceedings, and whether he did not think he had been disorderly. He replied again, that he considered this question more extraordinary than the other. He had not only given evidence in his own case which would operate against him, but he was now called upon to adjudge himself guilty. This is a specimen of that ingenuity and presence of mind, which shone so conspicuously through all the transactions of this sagacious character. He at length informed the church that he did not mean to act disorderly, nor contrary to their wishes; that his conscience acquitted him for what he had done; that he had no disposition to repent his having sounded the gospel to perishing souls in Virginia, whose importunities to hear it he could not resist; that the case was extraordinary, and would not probably happen again; if it should, he should probably do again as he had already done. The church now appointed him a time to preach, which he did to their acceptance; and after a thorough examination of his gifts and call, he was regularly set apart for the ministry.

Soon after this, he went to reside at Morristown; and calls for preaching pressed upon him so much, that his studies, in which he had considerably advanced, were in a great measure relinquished.

At the next meeting of the Philadelphia Association, that body was again petitioned to appoint some one to travel to the south. Messengers had also come on from Virginia, for the purpose of procuring a preacher to labor and administer ordinances among them. As no ordained minister could conveniently go, Mr. Gano was urged to accept ordination, and undertake the journey. He pleaded against it his youth and inexperience; but the messengers from Virginia, and his brethren at home, united their importunities, and he engaged in the mission. **He was ordained in May 1754, and set out in a short time after. In this journey he went as far as Charleston, South-Carolina, and traveled extensively throughout the southern States.** Some extracts from his journal will give the reader some view of the turn of the man, and of the manner in which he prosecuted his mission. His journal, which was printed in his life, has but few dates, but it will be understood that the following scenes transpired in the summer and autumn of 1754.

In the back parts of Virginia, this zealous missionary, while conversing with some people where he lodged, in an affectionate manner, respecting their religious concerns, overheard one of the company say to another, "This man talks like one of the Jones's!" On inquiring who the Jones's were, he was informed that they were distracted people, who did nothing but pray and talk about Jesus Christ; and that they lived between twenty and thirty miles distant on his route. "I determined," said he, "to make it my next day's ride, and see my own likeness." When he arrived at the house, he found there a plain obscure family, which had formerly lived in a very careless manner, but a number of them had lately been changed by grace, and were much engaged in devotional exercises. As he entered the house, he saw the father of the family lying before the fire, groaning with rheumatic pains. He inquired how he did? "O," said he, "I am in great distress." "I am glad of it," replied the stranger. The old gentleman, astonished at this singular reply, raised himself up, and inquired what he meant? "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth," answered Mr. Gano. From this they proceeded to religious conversation, and he soon found this pious family, whom the world accounted mad, had been taught the words of truth and soberness. They asked him many questions, and were much pleased to find one, who was acquainted with the things they had experienced.

From this place he proceeded on towards North-Carolina, having a young man with him, who chose to bear him company on his way. "We arrived at a house just at dusk, the master of which gave us liberty to tarry. After we had conveyed our things into the house, he asked me if I was a trader; which I answered in the affirmative. He asked me if I found it to answer; to which I answered, "Not so well as I could wish." He replied, "Probably the goods did not suit." I told him, "No one had complained of that." He said I held them too high. I answered, "Any one might have them below their own price." He said he would trade on these terms; which, I said, I would cheerfully comply with. I then asked him, "If gold tried in the fire, yea, that which was better than the fine gold, wine and milk, durable riches and righteousness, without money and without price, would not suit him?" "O," said he, "I believe you are a minister." I told him I was, and had a right to proclaim free grace wherever I went. This laid the foundation for the evening's

conversation; and I must acknowledge his kindness, though he was not very desirous of trading, after he discovered who I was."

Our itinerant continued southward until he arrived at Charleston; and there, and in its vicinity, he preached to good acceptance. His account of his first sermon for Mr. Hart, in Charleston, is as follows: "When I arose to speak, the sight of so brilliant an audience, among whom were twelve ministers, and one of whom was Mr. Whitefield, for a moment, brought the fear of man upon me; but blessed be the Lord, I was soon relieved from this embarrassment; the thought passed my mind, I had none to fear and obey, but the Lord."

On his return from Charleston to the northward, he visited an island where he was informed there never had been but two sermons preached. The people soon collected together, and he preached to them from these words, 'Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you, and I will not be burdensome to you.'

When he arrived at Tar River, in North-Carolina, he found a report had gone forth, that some of the principal men in the county had agreed, that if he came within their reach, they would apprehend him as a spy; for by his name he was judged to be a Frenchman, and this was in the time of the French war. Some of these people lived on the road he was to travel the next day. His friends urged him to take a different route; but he replied that God had so far conducted him on his way in safety, and he should trust him for the future. When he got near the place where the principal men, who had threatened him lived, he was advised to go through it as secretly as possible; but that by no means accorded with his views: he replied, he should stop and refresh himself in the place. He stopped at one of the most publick houses, and asked the landlord if he thought the people would come out to hear a sermon on a week day. He informed him he thought they would; but observed, that on the next Monday, there was to be a general muster for that county. He therefore concluded to defer the meeting till that time, and requested the landlord to inform the Colonel of the regiment, (who, he had learnt, was one of those who had threatened him) of his name, etc. and desire of him the favor of preaching a short sermon before military duty. The landlord promised to comply with his request. "On Monday I had twenty miles to ride to the muster, and by 10 o'clock there was a numerous crowd of men and women; they had erected a stage in the woods for me, and I preached from Paul's Christian armor. They all paid the most profound attention, except one man who behaved amiss. I spoke and told him, I was ashamed to see a soldier so awkward in duty, and wondered his officer could bear with him. The Colonel, as I afterwards understood, brought him to order. After service, I desired a person to inform the commander that I wanted to speak with him. He immediately came, and I told him, that although I professed loyalty to King George, and did not wish to infringe upon the laudable design of the day, yet, I thought, the King of kings ought to be served first; and I presumed what I had said did not tend to make them worse soldiers, but better Christians. He complaisantly thanked me, and said, if I could wait, he would make the exercise as short as possible, and give an opportunity for another sermon, for which he should be

much obliged to me. I told him I had an appointment some miles off to preach the next day. Thus ended my chastisement, and the fears of my friends."

"From hence I returned by the way of Ketockton, on Blu-Ridge, where the inhabitants are scattered. On my road, I observed a thunder-storm arising, and rode speedily for the first house. When I arrived, the man came running into the house, and seeing me, appeared much alarmed; there being at that time great demands for men and horses for Braddock's army. He said to me, "Sir, are you a press-master?" I told him I was. "But," said he, "you do not take married men?" I told him surely I did; and that the Master I wished him to serve, was good, his character unimpeachable, the wages great, and that it would be for the benefit of his wife and children, if he enlisted. He made many excuses, but I endeavored to answer them, and begged him to turn out a volunteer in the service of Christ. This calmed his fears, and I left him, and proceeded on my way to Ketockton, where I spent some time, and baptized Mr. Hail."

From Ketockton, Mr. Gano proceeded immediately homeward. Soon after his arrival, he was married to Sarah, daughter of John Stites, Esq. mayor of Elizabeth-Town, in New Jersey, by whom he had many children, most of whom are yet living. Two sons and two daughters are in Kentucky, one son is in Ohio, one daughter is at Hillsdale, New-York, and his second son Stephen is pastor of the church in Providence, Rhode-Island. **Mrs. Gano was sister to Mrs. Manning, the wife of the President**, who is yet living at Providence.

It was not long after Mr. Gano had returned from this journey, before he was again induced, by repeated solicitations, to set out on another, to the southward, in which he was gone about eight months, and was happy to find, in many places, the fruits of his labors in his former visits. Soon after he returned from this excursion, he was invited by an infant church in North-Carolina, which he had raised up in a place called the Jersey Settlement, to remove and become its pastor. Messengers came to Morristown, a distance of about eight hundred miles, for the purpose of soliciting that church to give him up. They at first refused, but afterwards concluded to leave the matter to his own choice. He therefore concluded to go; but at the same time informed the Morristown church, it was not for want of attachment to them. The church in North-Carolina, he considered, was wholly destitute, and there was besides a wide field for gospel labor. At the Jersey Settlement he continued about two years; the church became large, and his labors were abundantly useful throughout a wide and destitute region. But a war breaking out with the Cherokee Indians, he was obliged to leave the country, and returned to New-Jersey. About this time the foundation for the first church in New-York was laid by Mr. Miller of Scotch Plains; the church in Philadelphia had also been lately deprived of its pastor, and continued in that office about twenty-five years, excepting the time he was obliged to be absent on account of the war. Some account of his ministry here, and of the progress of the church while under his care, may be found in its history under the head of New-York.

During most of the revolutionary war, Mr. Gano was a chaplain in the army; and by his counsels and prayers, encouraged the American hosts in their struggles for freedom from the dominion of a foreign, oppressive yoke.

On the return of peace, he returned to his pastoral station, and began to collect the church which had been scattered to many different places. Out of upwards of two hundred members, of which it consisted at the time of its dispersion, he collected at first but thirty-seven; but his congregation soon became large, others of the scattered flock came in, a revival commenced, which prevailed extensively, and at one communion season, near forty young persons were added to their number. In this prosperous manner this successful minister recommenced his labors in New-York, and every thing appeared promising even to the time he projected his removal to Kentucky. This removal was as unexpected to the church, as it was surprising to his friends. His reasons for it are thus stated by himself "One William Wood, a Baptist minister, came from Kentucky, and gave a very exalted character of the state of it. He made several encouraging proposals to me to go there, said there was a prospect of usefulness in the ministry, the necessity of an old experienced minister to take care of a young church there, and flattering temporal prospects for the support of my family. For those reasons I concluded to remove. Besides, I was considerably in debt, and saw no way of being released, but by selling my house and lot. This I concluded would clear me, and enable me to purchase wagons and horses to carry me to Kentucky. I called a church-meeting, and informed them of my intention. They treated it as a chimera, and thought they could stop me by raising my salary. They, with all possible coolness, left me to determine for myself. I immediately determined to go, and desired them to look out for a supply. This aroused them, and they very affectionately urged me to tarry. I told them, if they had desired me to stay before I had put it out of my own power, I should have given it up." [This with the preceding extracts, is made from Gano's Life, a 12mo. vol. of 150 pages.]

Having resolved on removing, he sold his estate, commenced his journey, and on June 17, 1787, landed at Limestone, and immediately repaired to Washington, where he tarried a while; he then went to Lexington, and finally settled near Frankfort, where he died in 1804, in the 78th year of his age. The labors of this aged minister were owned of God for good in Kentucky; but there is reason to believe, that neither his usefulness nor worldly comforts were so great as he expected. His changes were frequent, and some of them peculiarly trying. The encouraging proposals made by Mr. Wood, appear not to have been released. His wife was first made a cripple by a fall from a horse, and soon after removed from him by death.

By most of the Kentucky brethren he was honored and esteemed, and by all of them his death was much lamented. In 1793, he made a visit to North-Carolina, where he married, for his second wife, the widow of Captain Thomas Bryant, and daughter of Colonel Jonathan Hunt, formerly of New-Jersey, one of his old neighbours, and unchanging friends. In her he found an amiable help-meet for his declining years. She had been

baptized by his son Stephen, three years before, that is, in 1790, when they visited North-Carolina together. She still survives him, and resides at his late dwelling, near Frankfort, Kentucky. While he was waiting for this new companion to arrange her affairs for a removal, he visited Charleston, South-Carolina, and also as far northward as his son Stephen's, in Providence.

Mr. Gano, though now somewhat impaired, by age, was still actively engaged in his Master's service; but in 1798, he had the misfortune to fall from a horse, and fractured his shoulder-blade, which deprived him of the use of one of his arms for some time. As he was recovering from this affliction, he was very suddenly seized in his bed, with a paralytic shock, which rendered him almost speechless for nearly a year. From this shock he never fully recovered; but his speech was restored, and he had the use of his limbs so far, that he was able to be carried out to meetings, and preached frequently, especially in the time of the great revival, in an astonishing manner. While the Arian affair, mentioned in the history of the Elkhorn Association, was agitating the minds of many of the Kentucky brethren, this able advocate for gospel truth was carried to Lexington, assisted into the pulpit, where he preached a masterly discourse in defense of the proper Deity of the Savior, which was thought to have had a considerable influence in checking the prevalence of that erroneous system, which many were previously inclined to embrace.

We shall now take a review of the history of this distinguished man, and exhibit some of those peculiar traits in his character, which qualified him for such abundant usefulness, and rendered him so famous amongst the American Baptists. Mr. Gano was peculiarly qualified for an itinerant preacher. He possessed, to a singular degree, the wisdom of the serpent, with the harmlessness of the dove. He had a sagacity and quickness of perception, which but few men possess; he had also a happy facility in improving every passing occurrence to some useful purpose. He could abash and confound the opposer, without exciting his resentment; and administer reproof and instruction where others would be embarrassed or silent. His memory was retentive; his judgement was good; his wit was sprightly, and always at command; his zeal was ardent, but well regulated; his courage undaunted; his knowledge of men was extensive: and to all these accomplishments were added a heart glowing with love to God and men, and a character fair and unimpeachable.

It is said that Hervey's servant declared his master could make a sermon out of a pair of tongs; and probably not much inferior to his, were the inventive powers of Mr. Gano. He did not, however, descend to the absurd custom adopted by some, of choosing adverbs and prepositions for his texts; but he had a happy talent of selecting passages of Scripture descriptive of peculiar circumstances and passing events. We have a specimen of this in his preaching on the island in South-Carolina. His friends relate many instances of the same kind, a few only of which we shall notice. In one of his journies at the southward, he traveled in company with a young preacher, who has since become an eminent character in that region. They took different routes in the day, but were to meet in the evening, and

Mr. Gano was to preach. The meeting was at a private house, and he did not arrive at the place until late. The young man with reluctance began the meeting, and was in prayer when he came in. He entered the assembly without being discovered, and took his place among the hearers; and just as it was time to commence the sermon, he arose and said with emphasis, I am come! Then with a common tone, "I am come, that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly," John 10:10, and immediately proceeded on in his discourse.

In going down the Ohio river, on his removal to Kentucky, he and his companions met with much trouble on their passage; one of his boats was upset, and some valuable things were lost. Soon after they landed in Kentucky, he preached from these words, "So they all got safe to land."

While in the army, he was informed by the General on Saturday that they should march the next Monday, but was requested not to mention the matter until after sermon the next day. This circumstance suggested to his mind these words, "Being ready to depart on the morrow," from which he preached, and as soon as he had done, the orders were given.

The funeral of General M'Dougal, a famous character in New-York, was appointed on a Lord's-day at so early an hour, that there was but little time for the afternoon service. The people generally, out of respect to their illustrious citizen, were preparing to attend his funeral. Some congregations did not meet, but Mr. Gano's did; and he addressed them hastily from these words, "Brethren, the time is short." Having respect to the General's death, he from this short passage, preached a short but well-adapted discourse, and dismissed the assembly soon enough to join the procession.

He had an art peculiar to himself of accommodating such passages to particular events. His inventive powers were adequate to forming profitable discourses from almost any passage of Scripture at the shortest notice, and through the whole of his ministry, he frequently indulged this inimitable faculty. The first sermon he preached after his son Stephen visited him in Kentucky, was from these words, "I am glad of the coming of Stephanas," etc.

Mr. Gano was personally known almost throughout the United States; and a multitude of anecdotes are told respecting him, a few only of which we shall be able to record.

In one of his journeys at the southward, he called at a house and asked for some corn for his horse, which the landlord ordered his little son to carry. He then inquired if he was not a minister, and being answered in the affirmative, replied, "I have a child I want to get baptized; I have been waiting a long time for a priest to come along, and shall now wish to have it done." Mr. Gano gave him to understand that any service he could afford him, should be cheerfully granted. The boy stood staring at the priest, and neglected his errand. Mr. Gano mentioned about his horse again. "You son of a b -- h," said the father, "why

don't you feed that horse, as I told you." The boy then did as he was bid, and his father began again to talk about his child. "What," said Mr. Gano, "do you mean to call it? That boy, I perceive, is named, Son of a b -- h." After this singular rebuke, nothing more was said about the christening of the child.

After preaching once in Virginia, in a place notoriously wicked, two young fellows, supposing he had levelled his censures against them, came up and dared him to fight. "That is not the way," said he, "that I defend my sentiments; but if you choose it, I will fight you, either both at once, or one after the other; but as I have to preach again very soon, I shall wish to put it off till after the meeting;" to which they agreed. As soon as the meeting was closed, he called the presumptuous youths forward, and told them he was now ready to fight them. The eyes of all were fastened upon them; yet notwithstanding, they had the hardihood to present themselves for the combat. "If," said he, "I must fight you, I shall choose to do it in some more retired place, and not before all these people." With that he walked off, and bid the young men follow him. He then commenced the attack in the following manner: "Young gentlemen, you ought to be ashamed of your conduct. What reason have you to suppose that I had a particular reference to you? I am an entire stranger here, and know not the names nor characters of any. You have proved by your conduct, that you are guilty of the vices I have censured; and if you feel so much disturbed at my reproofs, how will you stand before the bar of God?" "I beg your pardon," said one; "I beg your pardon," said the other; "I am sorry." "If you are beat, gentlemen, we will go back;" and thus ended the battle.

While in the army, Mr. Gano had frequent opportunities of administering reproof in his skilful and forcible manner. One morning, as he was going to pray with the regiment, he passed by a group of officers, one of whom, (who had his back towards him) was uttering his profane expressions in a most rapid manner. The officers, one after another, gave him the usual salutation, "Good morning, Doctor," [the officers generally complimented Mr. Gano with this title] said the swearing Lieutenant. "Good morning, Sir," replied the chaplain; "you pray early this morning." "I beg your pardon, Sir." "O, I cannot pardon you; carry your case to your God."

One day he was standing near some soldiers who were disputing whose turn it was to cut some wood for the fire. One profanely said he would be d -- d if he would cut it. But he was soon after convinced that the task belonged to him, and took up the axe to perform it. Before he commenced, Mr. Gano stepped up to him, and said, "Give me the axe." "O no," replied the soldier, "the chaplain shan't cut wood." "Yes," said he, "I must." "But why?" said the soldier. "The reason is, I just heard you say that you would be d -- d if you would cut it; and I had rather take the labor off your hands, than that you should be made miserable forever."

While this singular man resided in New-York, he was introduced to a young lady, as the only daughter of Esquire W -- . "Ah," replied he, "and I can tell a good match for her, and

he is an only Son." The young lady understood his meaning: she was, not long after, united to this Son, and has, for about forty years, been all ornament to his cause.

In one of his journies, he was informed that there had been a revival of religion in a certain place, which lay on his route. He arrived there in the night, and called at a house, of which he had no previous knowledge. A woman came to the door, whom he addressed as follows: "I have understood, madam, that my Father has some children in this place; I wish to inquire where they live, that I may find lodgings tonight." "I hope," replied the woman, "I am one of your Father's children; come in, dear Sir, and lodge here."

The following summary view of the character of our venerable Sire, was drawn in consequence of a particular request, by Dr. Richard Furman, of Charleston, South-Carolina, who was personally acquainted with him in different stages of his life.

- "The late Reverend John Gano will be long remembered with affection and respect in the United States of America. Here was his character formed; and here, as on a conspicuous theater, were the actions of his amiable, pious and useful life exhibited.

"He was, in person, below the middle stature; and when young, of a slender form; but of a firm, vigorous constitution, well fitted for performing active services with ease, and for suffering labors and privations with constancy. In the more advanced stages of life his body tended to corpulency; but not to such a degree as to burden or render him inactive. His presence was manly, open, and engaging. His voice strong and commanding, yet agreeable, and capable of all those inflections, which are suited to express either the strong or tender emotions of an intelligent, feeling mind. In mental endowments and acquired abilities he appeared highly respectable, with clear conception and penetrating discernment, he formed, readily, a correct judgment of men and things. His acquaintance with the learned languages and science, did not commence till he arrived at manhood, and was obtained chiefly by private instruction, but under the direction of a clerical gentleman, well qualified for the office. To the refinements of learning he did not aspire; His chief object was such a competent acquaintance with its principles, as would enable him to apply them with advantage to purposes of general usefulness in religion, and to the most important interests of society; and to this he attained.

"His mind was formed for social intercourse, and for friendship. Such was his unaffected humility, candor, and good will to men, that few, if any, have enjoyed more satisfaction in the company of his friends, or have, in return, afforded them, by their conversation, a higher degree of pleasure and moral improvement.

"His passions were strong, and his sensibility could be easily excited; but so chastened and regulated were they by the meekness of wisdom, that he preserved great composure of spirit, and command of his words and actions, even in times of trial and provocation, when many, who yet might justly rank with the wise and good, would be thrown into a state of perturbation, and hurried into extravagance.

"As a minister of Christ, he shone like a star of the first magnitude in the American churches, and moved in a widely extended field of action. For this office God had endowed him with a large portion of grace, and with excellent gifts. 'He believed, and therefore spake.' Having discerned the excellence of gospel truths, and the importance of eternal realities, he felt their power on his own soul, and accordingly he inculcated and urged them on the minds of his hearers with persuasive eloquence and force. He was not

deficient in doctrinal discussion, or what rhetoricians style the demonstrative character of a discourse; but he excelled in the pathetic, in pungent, forcible addresses to the heart and conscience. The careless and irreverent were suddenly arrested, and stood awed before him; and the insensible were made to feel, while he asserted and maintained the honor of his God, explained the meaning of the divine law, showing its purity and justice; exposed the sinner's guilt; proved him to be miserable, ruined, and inexcusable, and called him to unfeigned, immediate repentance. But he was not less a son of consolation to the mourning sinner, who lamented his offenses committed against God, who felt the plague of a corrupt heart, and longed for salvation; nor did he fail to speak a word of direction, support and comfort, in due season, to the tried, tempted believer. He knew how to publish the glad tidings of salvation in the Redeemer's name, for the consolation of all who believed in him, or had discovered their need of his mediation and grace; and to him this was a delightful employment. Success attended his ministrations, and many owned him for their father in the gospel.

"The doctrines he embraced were those which are contained in the Baptist Confession of Faith, and are commonly styled Calvinistic. But he was of a liberal mind, and esteemed pious men of every denomination. While he maintained with consistent firmness, the doctrines which he believed to be the truths of God, he was modest in the judgment which he formed of his own opinion, and careful to avoid giving offense, or grieving any good man, who differed from him in sentiment. Hence, he was cordially esteemed and honored by the wise and good of all denominations. [All honorable testimony was borne to his ministerial abilities and service, by a respectable clergyman of the Episcopal church, who had made extensive observations on public characters. After going to hear him, perhaps at different times, while he was employed in the regular course of service in his own church, in the city of New-York, this clergyman noted in his journal, "That he thought Mr. Gano possessed the best pulpit talents of any man he had ever heard." This anecdote was received from the Reverend Dr. Bowen, of New-York, whose father was the clergyman referred to. Dr. Furman's Letter.]

"His attachment to his country as a citizen, was unshaken, in the times which tried men's souls; and as a chaplain in the army, for a term of years, while excluded from his church and home, he rendered it essential service. Preserving his moral dignity with the purity which becomes a gospel minister, he commanded respect from the officers; and by his condescension and kindness, won the affections of the soldiers, inspiring them by his example, with his own courage and firmness, while toiling with them through military scenes of hardship and danger.

"He lived to a good old age; served his generation according to the will of God; saw his posterity multiplying around him; his country independent, free and happy; the church of Christ, for which he felt and labored, advancing; and thus he closed his eyes in peace; his heart expanding with the sublime hope of immortality and heavenly bliss.

"Like John, the harbinger of our Redeemer, 'he was a burning and a shining light, and many rejoiced in his light.' Resembling the sun, he arose in the church with morning brightness, advanced regularly to his station of meridian splendor, and then gently declined with mild effulgence, till he disappeared, without a cloud to intercept his rays, or obscure his glory."

OLIVER HART (1723-1795)

[The following biographical sketches of that excellent man who is the object of them, have been selected from two funeral sermons, which were preached soon after his decease; the

one by Dr. Richard Furman, his successor in the pastoral care of the Baptist church, in Charleston (S.C.) and the other by Dr. William Rogers, of Philadelphia. Some assistance in the compilation has been derived from the History of the Charleston Association by Mr. Wood Furman.]

Oliver Hart was born of reputable parents, in Warminster township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, July 5, 1723. His attention to religion, and conversion to God, were at an early period of his life; for he made a public profession of religion at Southampton, Pennsylvania, and was received a member of the church in that place in 1741, in the 18th year of his age; having been previously baptized by the Reverend Mr. Jenkin Jones. At that time, the power of religion was greatly displayed in various parts of this continent, under the ministry of those eminent servants of Christ, Reverend George Whitefield, of the Episcopal church, the Tennants, Edwards, and their associates of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches; and of the Reverend Abel Morgan, and others of the Baptist church. Several of these, Mr. Hart, at this time, used to hear; and has since professed to have received much benefit from their preaching, particularly from Mr. Whitefield's.

Five years after making his public profession of religion, on the 20th of December, 1746, he was licensed to preach, by the church with which he first united; and on the 18th of October, 1749, was ordained to the great work of the gospel ministry.

The call for ministers in the southern States being great at that time, and the church at Charleston (S.C.) being destitute, he was induced, immediately after his ordination, to set out for that city, where he arrived early in December, on the very day the famous Mr. Chanler, pastor of the church at Ashley River, then the only ordained minister of the Baptist denomination in that part of the country, and who had preached part of his time for the church in Charleston, as a supply, was buried. The Charleston church, in her destitute situation, had made applications, both to Europe and the northern States, for a suitable minister; and one who had been described as such was actually expected: but the unexpected coming of Mr. Hart was considered as directed by a special providence; and so great was the satisfaction of the church, on hearing him, that he was immediately invited to take the pastoral charge of them; with which he was accordingly invested on the 16th of February following.

For thirty years from this period, he executed the office of pastor of that church, as a faithful, evangelic minister of Christ, passing through a variety of scenes both of joy and depression; but exhibiting, at all times, an uprightness and dignity, both of temper and conduct, becoming his religious and sacred character. His life was exemplary, and his usefulness conspicuous. But on the approach of the British fleet and army, to which Charleston was surrendered in 1780, being justly apprehensive of the consequences which resulted from the siege, and desiring to preserve his political liberty, with which he found his religious intimately connected, he retired to the northern States. There the attention of the Baptist church at Hopewell, in the State of New-Jersey, was soon attracted towards

him, and in consequence of a pressing invitation from them, he became their pastor on the 16th of December the same year, and served them in that capacity, the last fifteen years of his valuable life.

For some years towards the latter part of his life, the infirmities of age, and several severe attacks of different diseases, had greatly reduced his bodily strength, and disqualified him for the constant performance of public duties; and on the 31st of December, 1795, in the 73d year of his age, he surrendered his soul into the hands of his God and Redeemer.

- "To those of you, my dear hearers, (says Dr. Furman in his funeral sermon) who enjoyed the honor and happiness of an acquaintance with the venerable deceased, an account of his character is unnecessary; it shone conspicuously in your view. But to the younger part of my audience, and to those friends who have come lately among us, it may afford useful information.

"In his person he was somewhat tall, well proportioned, and of a graceful appearance; of an active, vigorous constitution, before it had been impaired by close application to his studies, and by his abundant labors; his countenance was open and manly; his voice clear, harmonious and commanding; the powers of his mind were strong and capacious, and enriched by a fund of useful knowledge; his taste was elegant and refined. Though he had not enjoyed the advantages of a collegiate education, nor indeed much assistance from any personal instruction, such was his application, that by private study he obtained a considerable acquaintance with classical learning, and explored the fields of science; so that in the year 1769, the college of Rhode-Island, in honor to his literary merit, conferred on him the degree of master in the liberal arts.

"But as a Christian and Divine, his character was most conspicuous; no person who heard his pious, experimental discourses, or his affectionate, fervent addresses to God in prayer; who beheld the zeal and constancy he manifested in the public exercises of religion, or the disinterestedness, humility, benevolence, charity, devotion, and equanimity of temper he discovered on all occasions in the private walks of life, could for a moment doubt of his being not only truly, but eminently religious. He possessed in a large measure the moral and social virtues, and had a mind formed for friendship. In all his relative connections, as husband, father, brother, master, he acted with the greatest propriety, and was endeared to those who were connected with him in the tender ties.

"From a part of his diary now in my possession, it appears that he took more than ordinary pains to walk humbly and faithfully with God; to live under impressions of the love of Christ; to walk in the light of the divine presence; and to improve all his time and opportunities to the noblest purposes of religion and virtue.

"In his religious principles, he was a fixed Calvinist, and a consistent, liberal Baptist. The doctrines of free, efficacious grace, were precious to him; Christ Jesus, and him crucified, in the perfection of his righteousness, the merit of his death, the prevalence of his intercession, and efficacy of his grace, was the foundation of his hope, the source of his joy, and the delightful theme of his preaching.

"His sermons were peculiarly serious, containing a happy assemblage of doctrinal and practical truths, set in an engaging light, and enforced with convincing arguments. For the discussion of doctrinal truths, he was more especially eminent, to which also he was prepared, by an intimate acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures, and an extensive reading of the most valuable, both of ancient and modern authors. His eloquence, at least

in the middle stages of life, was not of the most popular kind, but perspicuous, manly, and flowing; such as afforded pleasure to persons of true taste, and edification to the serious hearer.

"With these various qualifications for usefulness, he possessed an ardent desire to be as useful as possible; which cannot be better represented than in his own words, as recorded in the diary before referred to, and which comprehends a part of his life, when the power of divine grace was eminently displayed in this church. The article here selected was written just before that work of grace began, and exemplifies in him the pious Christian, as well as the faithful Divine.

"Monday, Aug. 5, 1754. I do this morning feel myself oppressed under a sense of my barrenness. Alas! what do I for God? I am, indeed, employed in his vineyard; but I fear to little purpose. I feel the want of the life and power of religion in my own heart: this causes such a languor in all my duties to God -- this makes me so poor an improver of time. Alas! I am frequently on my bed, to my shame, when I ought to be on my knees. Sometimes the sun appears in the horizon, and begins his daily course, before I have paid my tribute of praise to God; and, perhaps, while I am indulging myself in inactive slumbers. Oh, wretched stupidity! Oh, that, for time to come, I may become more active for God! I would this morning resolve, before thee, O God, and in thy name and strength, to devote myself more unreservedly to thy service than I have hitherto done: I would resolve to be a better improver of my time, than I have heretofore been; to rise earlier in the morning; to be sooner with thee in secret devotion; and oh, that I may be more devout therein! I would be more engaged in my studies. Grant, O Lord, that I may improve more by them! And when I go abroad, enable me better to improve my visits, that I may always leave a savor of divine things behind me. When I go to thy house to speak for thee, may I always go full fraught with things divine, and be enabled faithfully and feelingly to dispense the word of life. I would begin and end every day with thee. Teach me to study thy glory in all I do. And wilt thou be with me also in the night watches. Teach me to meditate of thee on my bed. May my sleep be sanctified to me, that I may thereby be fitted to thy service, nor ever desire more than answers to this important end. Thus teach me to number my days, that I may apply my heart unto wisdom.'

"These virtuous resolutions and pious breathings of soul, were seconded by becoming exertions, both of a public and private nature, in his own congregation; and by correspondent labors in churches abroad; nor were they without success. Many owned him as their father in the gospel; among these are two distinguished and useful ministers, who survive him, and shine as diffusive lights in the church. [Rev. Dr. Stillman, of Boston, whose praise is in all the churches; and Rev. Mr. Botsford, among ourselves. To these may be added a third, Mr. Ewin, who succeeds Mr. Hart, as pastor of the church at Hopewell, April 8th, 1796.] These were not only awakened under his preaching, but introduced also by him into a course of study, for the ministry.

"The formation of a society in this city, to assist pious young men in obtaining education for the public services of the church, and which has been of use to several, originated with him; and he was a prime mover in that plan for the association of churches, by which so many of our churches are very happily united at the present day. To him also, in conjunction with his beloved and amiable friends, now I trust with God, Reverend Francis Pelot, and Mr. David Williams, is that valuable work of public utility, the System of Church Discipline, to be ascribed. His printed sermons have contributed to the general interest of religion, and his extensive regular correspondence, has been the means of conveying rational pleasure and religious improvement to many.

"To all which may be added, his usefulness as a citizen of America. Prompt in his judgment, ardent in his love of liberty, and rationally jealous for the rights of his country;

he took an early and decided part in those measures, which led our patriots to successful opposition against the encroachments of arbitrary power; and brought us to possess all the blessings of our happy independence. **Yet he did not mix politics with the gospel, nor desert the duties of his station to pursue them; but attending to each in its proper place, he gave weight to his political sentiments, by the propriety and uprightness of his conduct; and the influence of it was felt by many.**

"But this amiable and excellent man has now finished his course, and is gone to render an account of his stewardship to his Lord and Master, to whom he knew he was accountable for his various gifts and graces, and whom to serve and honor was his delightful employ. On such an occasion we are ready to exclaim with Elisha, when he beheld the ascending prophet, 'My father! my father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!' Our beloved friend is removed from the world and all those among whom he once went preaching the gospel of Christ, shall, in the flesh, see his face no more. May Heaven support his pious, weeping widow, so greatly bereaved; and may indulgent Providence and grace provide for the youth who is left as the son of his old age!"

The following account of Mr. Hart's last illness and death is found in a note in Dr. Rogers's funeral sermon,

- "For many months previous to his death, he repeatedly said, that he viewed himself as a dying man. A few days after he was taken with his last illness, and while he was able to walk about the room, he called for his Will, gave it to a friend, and desired him to get his remains conveyed to Southampton, the family burying-place. It was with such difficulty at this time that he drew his breath, and the agony he was in, was so great, that he said, he should not think it strange if he should go into convulsions. The struggle for breath broke a vessel, and he spat a quantity of blood; yet not a murmur or undue complaint! He would frequently lift up his hands and say, 'Poor mortal man!' A friend once replied, 'This mortal shall put on immortality' -- he answered, 'Yes! yes!' He would often say, 'I want, I want!' Being asked what he wanted? 'I want the will of the Lord to be done!' The Reverend Mr. Van Horne called to see him; he asked him if he felt comfortable; he replied, 'God is an all-sufficient Savior!'

"A person, who at one time was sitting by, and observing his great bodily distress, said, 'How happy for Mr. Hart, that he has but one work to do!' Dying was meant. He immediately replied, 'Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth!'

"Dec. 29. He called for all around him, to help him praise the Lord for what he had done for his soul. Being told he would soon join the company of saints and angels, he replied, 'Enough, enough!'

"Dec. 30. His cough and spitting of blood increased, and every breath was accompanied with a groan. When he died, he just put his head a little back, closed his eyes, as if he were going into a sleep, and expired!"

Mr. Hart was twice married; his first wife was Miss Sarah Brees, by whom he had eight children, all of whom were dead, except two, in 1796, and these members of the church in Charleston (S.C.) His second wife was Mrs. Anne Grimball, relict of Mr. Charles Grimball of South-Carolina, by whom he had two sons; the first died young, the other,

whose name is William Rogers [named after Dr. Rogers, of Philadelphia], is living in South-Carolina.

Several sermons and other compositions of Mr. Hart's have appeared in print, viz. *Dancing Exploded; A Funeral Discourse*, occasioned by the death of the Reverend William Tennant; *The Christian Temple; A Circular Letter on Christ's Mediatorial Character; America's Remembrancer*; and *A Gospel Church portrayed*. Besides these, he has left in manuscript many valuable discourses on public and common occasions, exclusive of other writings.

For a time during his ministry in Charleston, Mr. Hart suffered a distressing trial, in consequence of an attempt to supplant him in the pastoral office, and place in his room Mr. Bedgegood, who was then his assistant, and possessed of popular talents, though not free from blemishes of character. His conscientious opposition was by some attributed to envy; and on the failure of the plan, several of the wealthier members withdrew.

Mr. Hart was zealous and active in the cause of American independence. In 1775 he was appointed by the Council of Safety, which then exercised the Executive authority in South-Carolina, to travel in conjunction with Hon. William H. Drayton and Reverend William Tennant, into the interior of the State, and conciliate the inhabitants to the measures of Congress, by removing their prejudices, and giving them a just view of their political interests. It was believed that the influence of Mr. Hart, exerted on this occasion, was the means of preventing bloodshed, when the tories first embodied.

SAMUEL HARRIS (1724-1796)

By reverting to the biography of Mr. Marshall, the reader will find that in one of his evangelical journeys, he had the singular happiness to baptize Mr. Samuel, commonly called Colonel Harris. Mr. Harris was born in Hanover county, Virginia, Jan. 12, 1724. Few men could boast of more respectable parentage. His education, though not the most liberal, was very considerable for the customs of that day. When young, he moved to the county of Pittsylvania, and as he advanced in age, became a favourite with the people as well as with the rulers. He was appointed Church Warden, Sheriff, a Justice of the Peace, Burgess for the county, Colonel of the Militia, Captain of Mayo Fort and Commissary for the fort and army. All these things, however, he counted by dross, that he might win Christ Jesus, and become a minister of his word among the Baptists; a sect at that time every where spoken against.

His conversion was effected in the following way: He first became serious and melancholy without knowing why. By reading and conversation he discovered that he was a hopeless sinner, and that a sense of his guilt was the true cause of his gloom of mind. Pressed with this conviction, he ventured to attend Baptist preaching. On one of

his routes to visit the forts in his official character, he called at a small house, where, he understood, there was to be Baptist preaching. The preachers were Joseph and William Murphy, at that time commonly called Murphy's boys. Being equipped in his military dress, he was not willing to appear in a conspicuous place. God, nevertheless, found him out by his Spirit. His convictions now sunk so deep, that he was no longer able to conceal them. He left his sword and other parts of his equipments, some in one place and some in another. The arrows of the almighty stuck fast in him, nor could he shake them off until some time after. At a meeting, when the congregation rose from prayer, Col. Harris was observed still on his knees, with his head and hands hanging over the bench. Some of the people went to his relief, and found him senseless. When he came to himself, he smiled; and in an ecstasy of joy, exclaimed, Glory! glory! glory! etc. Soon after this he was baptized by Rev. Daniel Marshall, as mentioned above. This probably took place some time in the year 1758. He did not confer with flesh and blood, but immediately began his ministerial labors; which afterwards proved so effectual as to acquire him the name of the Virginia Apostle.

In 1759 he was ordained a ruling elder, his labors were chiefly confined, for the first six or seven years, to the adjacent counties of Virginia and North-Carolina; never having passed to the north of James River until the year 1765. During the first years of his ministry, he often traveled with Mr. Marshall; and must have caught much of his spirit, for there is obviously a considerable resemblance in their manners. January, 1768, Allen Wyley traveled out to Pittsylvania, to seek for a preacher. He had been previously baptized by some regular Baptist minister in Fauquier; but not being able to procure preachers to attend in his own neighborhood, and hearing of New-lights, (as they were called in North-Carolina) he set out by himself, scarcely knowing whither he was going. God directed his way, and brought him into the neighborhood of Mr. Harris, on a meeting day. He went to the meeting, and was immediately noticed by Mr. Harris, and asked whence he came? He replied that he was seeking a gospel minister; and God having directed his course to him, that he was the man, and that he wished him to go with him to Culpepper. Mr. Harris agreed to go, like Peter, nothing doubting but it was a call from God. This visit was abundantly blessed for the enlargement of the Redeemer's cause. Soon after he had returned, three messengers came from Spottsylvania to obtain Mr. Harris's services. He departed into North-Carolina to seek James Read, who was ordained to the ministry. Their labors were so highly favored, that from that time Mr. Harris became almost a constant traveler. Not confining himself to narrow limits, but led on from place to place, wherever he could see an opening to do good, there he would hoist the flag of peace.

There was scarcely any place in Virginia, in which he did not sow the gospel seed.

It was not until 1769, that this eminently useful man was ordained to the administration of ordinances. Why he was not ordained at an earlier period, is not certainly known; some say, that he did not wish it; others, that his opinions respecting the support of ministers were objected to by the leading elders. After his ordination, he baptized as well as preached.

In every point of view, Mr. Harris might be considered as one of the most excellent of men. Being in easy circumstances when he became religious, he devoted not only himself but almost all his property to religious objects. He had begun a large new dwelling-house, suitable to his former dignity, which, as soon as it was enclosed, he appropriated to the use of public worship, continuing to live in the old one.

After maintaining his family in a very frugal manner, he distributed his surplus income to charitable purposes. During the war, when it was extremely difficult to procure salt, he kept two wagons running to Petersburg, to bring up salt for his neighbours. His manners were of the most winning sort, having a singular talent at touching the feelings, he scarcely ever went into a house, without exhorting and praying for those he met there.

As a doctrinal preacher, his talents were rather below mediocrity, unless at those times when he was highly favored from above; then he would sometimes display considerable ingenuity. His excellency lay chiefly in addressing the heart, and perhaps even Whitefield did not surpass him in this. When animated himself, he seldom failed to animate his auditory. Some have described him, when exhorting at great meetings, as pouring forth streams of celestial lightning from his eyes, which, whithersoever he turned his face, would strike down hundreds at once. Hence he is often called Boanerges. So much was Mr. Harris governed by his feelings, that if he began to preach and did not feel some liberty of utterance, he would tell his audience he could not preach without the Lord, and then sit down. Not long before the commencement of the great revival in Virginia, Mr. H. had a paralytic shock, from which he never entirely recovered. Yet this did not deter him from his diligent usefulness. If he could not go as far, he was still not idle within that sphere allowed him by his infirmities. At all Associations and general committees, where he was delegated, he was almost invariably made moderator. This office, like every thing else, he discharged with some degree of singularity, yet to general satisfaction. For some short time previous to his death, his senses were considerably palsied; so that we are deprived of such pious remarks, as would probably have fallen from this extraordinary servant of God in his last hours. He was somewhat over seventy years of age when he died.

The remarkable anecdotes told of Mr. H. are so numerous, that they would fill a volume of themselves, if they were collected. A part of them only we shall record.

Mr. H. like Mr. Marshall, possessed a soul incapable of being dismayed by any difficulties. To obtain his own consent to undertake a laudable enterprise, it was sufficient for him to know that it was possible. His faith was sufficient to throw mountains into the sea, if they stood in the way. He seems also never to have been appalled by the fear or shame of man, but could confront the stoutest sons of pride, and boldly urge the humble doctrines of the cross. Like the brave soldier, if beaten back at the first onset, he was still

ready for a further assault; so that he often conquered opposers, that to others appeared completely hopeless. With this spirit he commenced his career.

Early after he embraced religion, his mind was impressed with a desire to preach to the officers and soldiers of the fort. An opportunity offered in Fort Mayo, and Mr. Harris began his harangue, urging most vehemently the necessity of the new birth. In the course of his harangue, an officer interrupted him, saying, "Colonel, you have sucked much eloquence from the rum-cask today; pray give us a little, that we may declaim as well, when it comes to our turn." Harris replied, "I am not drunk;" and resumed his discourse. He had not gone far, before he was accosted by another, in a serious manner, who, looking in his face, said, "Sam, you say you are not drunk; pray are you not mad then? What the d -- l ails you?" Colonel Harris replied in the words of Paul, "I am not mad, most noble gentleman." He continued speaking publicly and privately, until one of the gentlemen received such impressions as were never afterwards shaken off; but he afterwards became a pious Christian.

Soon after this, Mr. Harris found a sad alteration as to his religious enjoyment. He prayed God to restore the light of his countenance, and renew communion with him; but his petition was deferred. He then went into the woods, and sought for the happiness he had lost; thinking that, peradventure, God would answer his prayer there, though not in the fort, where so much wickedness abounded; but no answer came. Then he began to inquire into the cause why God dealt so with him. The first that offered was his lucrative offices; upon which he determined to lay them down immediately, and settle his accounts with the public. Having now removed the Achan out of the camp, as he thought, he renewed his suit for a restoration of the joy which he had lost; but still "the vision tarried, and the prophecy brought not forth." He began to examine himself a second time. Then he suspected his money was the cause, and that he had made gold his trust. Accordingly he took all his money and threw it away into the bushes, where it remains to this day, for aught any one knows to the contrary. After this, he prayed again, and found that man's impatience will not shorten the time which infinite wisdom hath measured out for delays or beneficence. However, in due time the wished-for good came. "I am aware (says Mr. Morgan Edwards, from whose MS. history this anecdote is selected) that this story will render the wisdom of the Colonel suspected. Be it so. It nevertheless establishes the truth of his piety, and shows that he preferred communion with God before riches and honors."

Rough was the treatment which Mr. Harris met with amongst his rude countrymen. In one of his journeys in the county of Culpepper, a Captain Ball and his gang came to a place where he was preaching, and said, "You shall not preach here." A by-stander, whose name was Jeremiah Minor, replied, "But he shall." From this sharp contention of words, they proceeded to a sharper contest of blows and scuffles. Friends on both sides interested themselves; some to make peace, and others to back their foremen. The supporters of Mr. Harris were probably most of them worldly people, who acted from no other principle, than to defend a minister thus insulted and abused. But if they were

Christians, they were certainly too impatient and resentful, and manifested too much of the spirit Peter had when he drew his sword on the high-priest's servant. Colonel Harris's friends took him into a house, and set Lewis Craig to guard the door, while he was preaching; but presently Ball's gang came up, drove the sentinel from his stand, and battered open the door; but they were driven back by the people within. This involved them in another contest, and thus the day ended in confusion.

On another occasion he was arrested and carried into Court, as a disturber of the peace. In Court, a Captain Williams vehemently accused him as a vagabond, a heretic, and a mover of sedition every where. Mr. Harris made his defense. But the Court ordered that he should not preach in the county again for the space of twelve months, or be committed to prison. The Colonel told them that he lived two hundred miles from thence, and that it was not likely he should disturb them again in the course of one year. Upon this he was dismissed. From Culpepper he went to Fauquier, and preached at Carter's Run. From thence he crossed the Blue Ridge, and preached at Shenandoah. On his return from thence, he turned in at Captain Thomas Clanathan's, in the county of Culpepper, where there was a meeting. While certain young ministers were preaching, the word of God began to burn in Colonel Harris's heart. When they finished, he arose and addressed the congregation, "I partly promised the devil, a few days past, at the court-house, that I would not preach in this county again for the term of a year: but the devil is a perfidious wretch, and covenants with him are not to be kept, and therefore I will preach." He preached a lively, animating sermon. The Court never meddled with him more.

In Orange county, one Benjamin Healy pulled Mr. Harris down from the place where he was preaching, and hauled him about, sometimes by the hand, sometimes by the leg, and sometimes by the hair of the head, but the persecuted preacher had friends here also, who espoused his part, and rescued him from the rage of his enemies. This, as in a former case, brought on a contention between his advocates and opposers; during which, a Captain Jameson sent Mr. Harris to a house where was a loft with a step-ladder to ascend it; into that loft he hurried him, took away the step-ladder, and left the good man secure from his enemies.

Near Haw-river, a rude fellow came up to Mr. Harris, and knocked him down while he was preaching.

He went to preach to the prisoners once, in the town of Hillsborough, where he was locked up in the gaol, and kept for some time.

Notwithstanding these things, Colonel Harris did not suffer as many persecutions as some other Baptist preachers. Tempered in some degree peculiar to himself, perhaps his bold, noble, yet humble manner, dismayed the ferocious spirits of the opposers of religion.

A criminal, who had been just pardoned at the gallows, once met him on the road, and showed him his reprieve. "Well," said he, "and have you shown it to Jesus?" "No, Mr. Harris, I want you to do that for me." The old man immediately descended from his horse, in the road, and making the man also alight, they both kneeled down; Mr. H. put one hand on the man's head, and with the other held open the pardon, and thus, in behalf of the criminal, returned thanks for his reprieve, and prayed for him to obtain God's pardon, also.

The following very interesting narrative was published by Mr. Semple, in his *History of the Virginia Baptists*; it has also been published by Mr. John Leland, in his *Budget of Scraps*, under the title of "Prayer better than Law-suits." As there is some little variation, not as to matters of fact, but in the mode of expression, in these two relaters, I have selected from them both this singular and instructive story. When Mr. Harris began to preach, his soul was so absorbed in the work, that it was difficult for him to attend to the duties of this life. Finding at length the absolute need of providing more grain for his family than his plantation had produced, he went to a man who owed him a sum of money, and told him, he would be very glad if he would discharge the debt he owed him. The man replied, "I have no money by me, and therefore cannot oblige you." Harris said, "I want the money to purchase wheat for my family; and as you have raised a good crop of wheat, I will take that article of you, instead of money, at a current price." The man answered, "I have other uses for my wheat, and cannot let you have it." "How then," said Harris, "do you intend to pay me?" "I never intend to pay you, until you sue me," replied the debtor, "and therefore you may begin your suit as soon as you please." Mr. Harris left him, meditating: "Good God," said he to himself, "what shall I do? Must I leave preaching to attend to a vexatious law-suit! Perhaps a thousand souls will perish in the mean time for the want of hearing of Jesus! No, I will not. Well, what will you do for yourself? Why, this I will do; I will sue him at the Court of Heaven." Having resolved what to do, he turned aside into a wood, and fell upon his knees, and thus began his suit: "O blessed Jesus! thou eternal God! Thou knowest that I need the money which the man owes me, to supply the wants of my family; but he will not pay me without a law-suit. Dear Jesus, shall I quit thy cause, and leave the souls of men to perish? Or wilt thou, in mercy, open some other way of relief?" In this address, the Colonel had such nearness to God, that (to use his own words) Jesus said unto him, "Harris, I will enter bonds-man for the man -- you keep on preaching, and omit the law-suit. I will take care of you, and see that you have your pay." Mr. Harris felt well satisfied with his security, but thought it would be unjust to hold the man a debtor, when Jesus had assumed payment. He, therefore, wrote a receipt in full of all accounts which he had against the man, and dating it in the woods, where Jesus entered bail, he signed it with his own name. Going, the next day, by the man's house to attend a meeting, he gave the receipt to a servant, and bid him deliver it to his master. On returning from the meeting, the man hailed him at his gate and said, "Mr. Harris what did you mean by the receipt you sent me this morning?" Mr. Harris replied, "I meant just as I wrote." "But you know, Sir," answered the debtor, "I have never paid you." "True," said Mr. Harris, "and I know, also, that you said you never

would, except I sued you. But, Sir, I sued you at the Court of Heaven, and Jesus entered bail for you, and has agreed to pay me; I have, therefore, given you a discharge!" "But I insist upon it," said the man, "matters shall not be left so." "I am well satisfied," answered Harris, "Jesus will not fail me; I leave you to settle the account with him another day. Farewell." This operated so effectually on the man's conscience, that in a few days he loaded his wagon, and sent wheat enough to discharge the debt.

A complete history of the life of this venerable man, would furnish still a lengthy catalogue of anecdotes of the most interesting kind. But we shall close his biography, by relating one, which, though of a different nature, is not less curious than any of the former.

The General Association of Separate Baptists in Virginia, in the year 1774, in the ardor of their zeal for reformation, and the revival of primitive order, resolved that the office of Apostles, together with all the other offices mentioned in Ephesians 4:11, were still to be maintained in the church. Pursuant to this resolution, the Association proceeded, in the first place, to choose by ballot one from amongst them, to officiate in the dignified character of an Apostle. Mr. Harris was elected, and consented to be ordained to his Apostolic function, by the laying on of the hands of every ordained minister in the Association. [See a full account of this singular experiment, in the History of the Virginia Baptists.] So that he was for a time, in fact, as he was generally called by way of eminence, the Apostle of Virginia.

DUTTON LANE (1752-?)

Dutton Lane was born November 7, 1752, near Baltimore, in Maryland. At what time he became a resident of Virginia, is not known; but he was baptized by Shubael Stearns, in 1758. He was ordained to the ministry, and, probably, to the care of Dan River church, October 22, 1764, having commenced public speaking immediately after he was baptized. Mr. Lane was not a man of much learning; but having a strong constitution, a commanding voice, and fervent spirit, he did great things in his Master's service.

Unenlightened as the Virginians were, at that time, it was not to be expected that he would be allowed to go in peace. **His own father was among the first to set his face against the Baptists generally, and against his son Dutton in particular. He once pursued him with an instrument of death to kill him. It fell out, however, that instead of killing his son, he was himself slain by the sword of the Spirit, from which he soon after revived with a hope of eternal life, and was baptized by that very son, whom he would have slain.**

Mr. Lane was once preaching at a place called Meherrin, in Lunenburg county, where a **Mr. Joseph Williams, a magistrate, charged him before the whole congregation, not to come there to preach again.** Mr. Lane mildly replied, that as there were many

other places where he could preach without interruption, he did not know that he should come there again shortly. After wishing peace to the rest of the company, he gravely addressed Mr. Williams, and said, "**Little, Sir, as you now think it, my impressions tell me, that you will become a Baptist, a warm espouser of that cause, which you now persecute.**" This prediction came to pass; for in about twelve years, Williams embraced religion, was baptized, and became a zealous member, and useful deacon in the church that was afterwards formed at that place.

Once he was preaching against drunkenness, and exposing the vileness and danger of the practice, when one John Giles stood up, saying angrily, "I know who you mean," and with a blasphemous oath, declared, "I'll demolish you." But this self-condemned sot was prevented from doing any harm.

One William Cocker had conceived such malignity against the Baptists, that he was accustomed to say, that he would rather go to hell than heaven, if going to heaven required him to be a Baptist. But falling in accidentally where Mr. Lane preached, he was struck down with deep conviction; from which, being delivered by converting grace, he became a pious Baptist.

Mr. Lane continued preaching till his death; but the latter part of his life was somewhat obscured by his adopting and maintaining certain strange opinions. By diving into subjects not revealed, and rather neglecting those which were obvious and plain, he was much less thought of. He lived and died a pious man, however, in the estimation of those who knew him well.

LEWIS LUNSFORD (c. 1753-1793)

We now come to the man, (says Mr. Semple, in his biography) who, **in point of talents as a preacher, was never excelled in Virginia**; and by many it is doubted whether he ever had a superior any where else.

Mr. Lunsford was born in Stafford county, Virginia, of indigent parents. He received a very slender education indeed; nor had the means to enlarge it. The God of nature furnished him with powers to surmount all obstacles. **To obviate the want of education, he used, after working all day, to read till late at night, by firelight.** At an early stage of his life, while attending the ministry of William Fristoe, he was happily arrested by divine mercy. Mr. Fristoe baptized him when a boy, and he immediately, both in private and in public, began to stand up as an advocate for the gospel. His talents, at this tender age, commanded attention, and procured for him the flattering appellation of The Wonderful Boy. After moving in a more confined circle for some few years, he began to enlarge his borders.

About 1774, Divine Providence directed his attention to the lower counties in the Northern Neck. Wherever he placed his foot as a preacher, there attended a blessing. Believers were added to the church, through his instrumentality, in most of the neighborhoods of these lower counties. His preaching made a great noise, not only for its ingenuity, but for its novelty. Here, as in most other places where the Baptists preached, the people cried out that some new doctrine was started; that the church was in danger. Mr. Lunsford was accounted worthy to share a part of this opposition. A clergyman appointed a set day to preach against the Anabaptists. Crowds attended to hear him. He told stories about John of Leyden, and Cromwell's round-heads; but he could not by such tales stop the gospel current, now swelling to a torrent. When Mr. Lunsford preached again in the same parts, they attacked him by more weighty arguments. A constable was sent with a warrant to arrest him. The constable, with more politeness than was usual then on such occasions, waited until Mr. Lunsford had preached. His fascinating powers palsied the constable's hand. He would not, he said, serve a warrant on so good a man. Another man took it, and went, tremblingly, and served it. Mr. Lunsford attended the summons, and appeared before a magistrate. He was held in recognizance to appear at Court. The Court determined that he had been guilty of a breach of good behaviour; and that he must give security, or go to prison. He was advised to give security, under the expectation of obtaining license to preach. He tried, but could not. He often regretted that he had taken this step; and was sorry he had not gone to prison. This took place in Richmond county.

After the repeal of the law for establishing one sect to the exclusion of the rest, a banditti attended Mr. Lunsford's meeting, with sticks and staves, to attack him. Just as he was about to begin to preach, they approached him for the attack. His irreligious friends, contrary to his wish, drew stakes out of a fence to defend him. This produced great uproar and some skirmishes. Mr. Lunsford retired to a neighboring house, and shut himself up. His persecutors, however, pursued him, but were not hardy enough to break in upon him. One of them desired to have the privilege of conversing with him, with a view of convincing him. He was let in, and did converse; but when he came out, he wore a new face. His party asked him the result. "You had better converse with him yourselves," said he.

It was not until January, 1778, that Mr. Lunsford became a settled preacher, and took care of Moratico church, which was constituted at that time. He held it as an opinion, that imposition of hands by a presbytery was not necessary to ordination; but that the call of a church was sufficient. It was in this way he took the care of Moratico church. **He never would submit to be ordained by the imposition of hands;** although the refusal produced no small discontent among the Baptists in Virginia.

In 1779, he married his first wife; and became a resident of Northumberland. From the time he settled in the Northern Neck, and indeed from the time he began to preach there, he gradually increased in favor with the people. It is hardly probable that any man ever

was more beloved by a people when living, or more lamented when dead. He had two remarkable revivals of religion in the bounds of his church. The one, about the time of the constitution of his church, and the other commenced in the year 1758, and had scarcely subsided at his death in 1793. **During these revivals, he was uncommonly lively and engaged. He preached almost incessantly;** and by his acquaintances, after the last revival, it was thought he made a rapid advance in the improvement of his talents, both in wisdom and warmth; especially the latter, from which he never receded during his residence on earth. Certain it is, that during several of the last years of his life, he was more caressed, and his preaching more valued, than any other man's that ever resided in Virginia. Lunsford was a sure preacher, and seldom failed to rise pretty high. In his best strains, he was more like an angel than a man. His countenance, lighted up by an inward flame, seemed to shed beams of light wherever he turned. His voice, always harmonious, now seemed to be tuned by descending seraphs. His style and his manner was so sublime and so energetic, that he seemed indeed like an ambassador of the skies, sent down to command all men every where to repent. He was truly a messenger of peace; and by him the tidings of peace were communicated to multitudes. So highly was he estimated among his own people, that there were but few preachers that visited them, to whom they would willingly listen, even for once, in preference to their beloved pastor. In argument, Mr. Lunsford was somewhat satirical; and by this means, sometimes gave offense to those who did not know him well. It was, however, perfectly clear, that he did not design to sport with the feelings of any. For it is not likely that any man of his popularity ever had fewer permanent enemies. He was very fond of reading, and retained what he read so correctly, that few men could make more extensive quotations than Mr. Lunsford. For his own advantage, he had procured and read some distinguished treatises on medicine. And so capacious were his faculties, that with his small opportunities in this professional study, he actually became so skillful in the administration of physic, that he was often called on to attend patients at a considerable distance. To all such applicants, he not only rendered his services *gratis*, but often furnished them with medicine. He had the care of a large and opulent church, of whom some were very liberal in their contributions; but by a great part of them he was too much neglected. For the want of their support and of his own attention to secular affairs (through his ministry) he was in but narrow circumstances. Yet, he lived well, and rendered to every man his just dues. But now, painful as the task is, we must add, that this great, this good, this almost inimitable man, died, when only about forty years of age. He lived in a sickly climate, and had frequent bilious attacks. These were sometimes very severe. For two or three years before his death, he labored under repeated indispositions, even when traveling about. His manly soul would never permit him to shrink from the work, so long as he had strength to lift up his voice. Sometimes, after going to bed as being too ill to preach, prompted by his seraphic spirit, he would rise again, after some other person had preached, and deal out the bread of life to the hungry sons and daughters of Zion. He was a shepherd indeed. The Dover Association, for the year 1793, was holden at Glebe-Landing meeting-house in Middlesex county, not more than fifteen or eighteen miles from his house. Although just rising from a bilious attack, he would not stay from a place where his heart delighted to

be, and where he had the best ground to believe he could do good. He went, and appeared so much better, that he made extensive appointments to preach in the lower parts of Virginia. He was chosen to preach on Sunday, and he did preach indeed. On Tuesday he came up to King and Queen county, and preached at Bruington meeting-house, from these words: "Therefore, let us not sleep as do others, but let us watch and be sober." It was an awakening discourse, worthy of this masterly workman.

On that day he took cold and grew worse. He, however, preached his last sermon the next day evening; observing when he began, "It may be improper for me to attempt to preach at this time; but as long as I have any strength remaining, I wish to preach the gospel of Christ; and I will very gladly spend and be spent for you. He then preached his last sermon, from, "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ." He continued to grow worse, until, having arrived at Mr. Gregory's, in Essex, he took his bed, from whence he was carried to his grave. In his sickness he was remarkably silent, having very little to say, which he could avoid. He was fond of joining in prayer, and sometimes exerted his now relaxed mind, in making remarks worthy of such a man. He expressed some anxiety at the thought of leaving his helpless family; but appeared quite resigned for the will of Heaven to take place. On the 26th of October, 1793, he fell asleep in the arms of Jesus, aged about forty years. Reverend Henry Toler preached two funeral sermons for him. One at the place of his death, another at Mr. Lunsford's meeting-house, in Lancaster county, called Kilmarnock. These two sermons were printed in a pamphlet; and annexed to them, were two handsome elegies, written by ladies of his church. Another was written by Reverend A. Broaddus, which was much admired. It seemed to be a mystery to many, why God should have called home so great, so useful a man, in the bloom of life. Those who thought proper to offer reasons or conjectures for explaining the ways of Providence, seemed generally to agree that Mr. Lunsford's popularity as a preacher had risen too high. The people wherever he was, or where he was expected, seemed to have lost all relish for any other man's preaching; that, God, knowing the capacity of most of his servants, was unwilling that the lesser lights should be so much swallowed up by the greater. Perhaps the better way is to form no conjecture about it; but rest persuaded, that the ways of God are always wise, however unaccountable to man.

He was twice married. He had by his first wife one surviving child. By his second wife, he left three children.

JAMES MANNING (1738-1791)

James Manning, D.D. was, in his day, one of the brightest ornaments of the Baptist denomination in America. His biography has never been recorded to any considerable extent, and indeed his stationary employment furnished not many incidents for a diffusive narrative. For what few things have been written respecting the character of this

illustrious man, we are indebted mostly to the pen of Judge Howel, of Providence, and the following sketches, drawn by this eminent statesman, are found in Rippon's *Register*.

- "Mr. Manning was born in New-Jersey, and educated at Nassau-Hall. Soon after he left college, he was called to the work of the ministry, by the Baptist church at the Scotch Plains, near Elizabeth-Town.

"After making tours to each extreme of the United States, (then colonies,) and preaching to different destitute churches in sundry places, he removed with his family to Warren in Rhode-Island, preached to the church there, and opened a Latin school. **In the year 1765, he obtained a charter of incorporation for Rhode-Island College, of which he was chosen president.** And when the College was removed to Providence, in 1770, he of course removed with it; and besides the duties of his presidency, he preached stately to the Baptist church in this town until a few years before his death.

"In his youth, he was remarkable for his dexterity in athletic exercises, for the symmetry of his body, and gracefulness of his person. His countenance was stately and majestic, full of dignity, goodness, and gravity; and the temper of his mind was a counterpart of it. He was formed for enterprise, his address was pleasing, his manners enchanting, his voice harmonious, and his eloquence irresistible.

"Having deeply imbibed the spirit of truth himself, as a preacher of the gospel, he was faithful in declaring the whole counsel of God. **He studied plainness of speech, and to be useful more than to be celebrated.** The good order, learning, and respectability of the Baptist churches in the eastern States, are much owing to his assiduous attention to their welfare. The credit of his name, and his personal influence among them, perhaps, have never been exceeded by any other character.

"Of the College he must be considered as the founder. He presided with the singular advantage of a superior personal appearance, added to all his shining talents for governing and instructing youth. From the first beginning of his Latin school at Warren, through many discouragements, he, by constant care and labor, raised this seat of learning to notice, to credit, and to respectability in the United States. Perhaps the history of no other College will disclose a more rapid progress, or greater maturity, than this, during the twenty-five years of his presidency. Although he seemed to be consigned to a sedentary life, yet he was capable of more active scenes. He paid much attention to the government of his country, and was honored by Rhode-Island with a seat in the old Congress. In State affairs, he discovered an uncommon sagacity, and might have made a figure as a politician.

"In classical learning he was fully competent to the business of his station. He devoted less time than some others to the more abstruse sciences; but nature seemed to have furnished him so completely, that little remained for art to accomplish. The resources of his genius were great. In conversation he was at all times pleasant and entertaining. He had as many friends as acquaintance, and took no less pains to serve his friends than acquire them."

The following additional observations on Dr. Manning's character, are found in the sermon Dr. Maxey, his successor in the presidential office, delivered in the Baptist meeting-house the Lord's day after his interment.

- "The loss of this worthy man will be felt by the community at large. He moved in an extensive sphere. He was equally known in the religious, the political, and literary world. As his connections were extensive and important, his loss must be proportionably great. As a man, he was kind, humane, and benevolent. As he was sociable, as he was communicative, he seemed rather designed for the theater of action than for the shades of retirement. Nature had given him distinguished abilities. His life was a scene of anxious labor for the benefit of others. His piety and fervent zeal in preaching the gospel of Christ, evinced his love to his God and to his fellow-men. His eloquence was forcible and spontaneous. To every one who heard him, under the peculiar circumstances in which he appeared in this place, it was evident that the resources of his mind were exceedingly great. The amiableness of his disposition was recommended by a dignified and majestic appearance. His address was manly, familiar, and engaging. His manners were easy without negligence, and polite without affectation. In the College over which he presided, his government was mild and peaceful, conducted by that persuasive authority, which secures obedience while it conciliates esteem. As he lived much beloved, he died much lamented. Well may we say that 'a great man is fallen.'"

The following inscription, drawn also by Judge Howel, has been transcribed from the monument which covers the dust of this departed worthy:

IN MEMORY OF THE REV. JAMES MANNING, D.D. PRESIDENT OF RHODE-ISLAND COLLEGE.

He was born in New-Jersey, A.D. 1738. Became a Member of a Baptist Church, A.D. 1758. Graduated at Nassau-Hall, A.D. 1762. Was ordained a Minister of the Gospel, A.D. 1763. Obtained a Charter for the College, A.D. 1765. Was elected President of it the same Year. And was a Member of Congress, A.D. 1786. His Person was graceful, and his Countenance remarkably expressive of sensibility, cheerfulness, and dignity. The variety and excellence of his Natural Abilities, improved by education, and enriched by science, raised him to a rank of eminence among literary characters. His manners were engaging, and his voice harmonious. His eloquence, natural and powerful. His social virtues, classic learning, eminent patriotism, shining talents for instructing and governing youth, and zeal in the cause of Christianity, are recorded on the tables of many hearts. He died of an apoplexy, July 29, A.D. 1791. AEtat. 53.

The Trustees and Fellows of the College, have erected this MONUMENT

Dr. Manning married in his youth Margaret Stites, the daughter of John Stites, Esq. of Elizabeth-Town, New-Jersey, and sister of the wife of Mr. John Gano. He had no children. His venerable widow is still living in Providence, though far advanced in years, and labouring under many infirmities.

RICHARD MAJOR (c. 1722-1802)

Richard Major was born near Pennsbury, in Pennsylvania, in the year 1722. He was bred a Presbyterian, but embraced the sentiments of the Baptists in 1764 and had the ordinance administered to him by Reverend Isaac Stelle. He removed to Virginia in 1766,

and two years after was ordained as the pastor of the church called Little River, in Louden county, which was constituted at the same time.

He was not a man of much learning, but his vigorous mind rose above all obstructions. Being well taught in the school of Christ, and devoting himself to the study of the Scripture, he became a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. He was remarked by all who knew him, for his indefatigable labors in the ministry, and he succeeded beyond many of much greater talents. He is said to have planted, from first to last, six or eight churches. **For several years after he commenced preaching he met with great opposition**, mostly from individuals.

In Fauquier county, the officer, with a warrant from Captain Scott, attempted to take him, but providentially failed. At Bullrun there were warrants against him; and a mob, with clubs, rose to assist the execution of them; but here again they failed of their design, chiefly by means of the Davises, usually called the giants; those stout brothers had been prevailed on to oppose him; but after they had heard him preach, they became well affected towards him, and threatened to chastise any that should disturb him. In Fauquier the mob were very outrageous, but did no mischief, though his friends feared they would have pulled him to pieces.

A certain man, whose wife had been baptized by Mr. Major, determined to kill him on sight, and went to meeting for that purpose. He sat down in hearing, intending to catch at some obnoxious expression, which might fall from the preacher, and under that pretense to attack him. But God produced a different result; for the man, instead of executing his design, became so convicted that he could not keep on his feet; and was afterwards baptized by the man he intended to murder. **Another actually attacked him with a club in a violent manner.** Mr. Major being remarkable for great presence of mind, turned to him, and in a solemn manner said, "Satan, I command thee to come out of the man." His club immediately began to fall, and the lion became as quiet as the lamb.

These are a few of the many occurrences of this kind, that took place in the long life of this valuable man.

The way that Mr. Major's gifts were noticed was, in his reading printed sermons at private meetings. The people were so affected, that they procured the sermons for their own reading, but were soon convinced that he had read what was not in the book.

So much was he esteemed in the latter part of his life, that he had serious apprehensions, that he must be too much at ease for a gospel minister; or in other words, it seemed as if the expression, "Wo be unto you when all men speak well of you," applied to his case. In the midst of these thoughts, he accidentally heard a man lay to his charge one of the most abominable crimes. At first he felt irritated; but recollecting his previous reflections, he

was soon reconciled. Towards the close of his long and useful life, he was much afflicted with the gravel, of which disease he died when he was about eighty years old.

DANIEL MARSHALL (1706-1784)

The following account of this eminent servant of God, was drawn by his worthy son, Reverend Abraham Marshall, who succeeded his father in the pastoral station at Kioka. It was first published in the *Georgia Analytical Repository*, and afterwards in the *History of the Virginia Baptists*. It is now transcribed and presented to the reader in its original epistolary form.

- "In giving a biographical sketch of my honored father, we must look back to the distance of almost a century. His birth was in the year of our Lord 1706, in Windsor, a town in Connecticut. He was religiously educated by respectable and pious parents, and being hopefully converted at about twenty years of age, joined the then standing order of Presbyterians, in his native place. The natural ardor of his mind soon kindled into the fire of holy zeal, and raised him so high in the esteem of his brethren, that they called him to the office of a deacon. In the exemplary discharge of his duty, in this capacity, he continued near twenty years. During this time, in easy circumstances, he married and lost a wife, by whom he had a son named after himself, Daniel, who is still a useful member of society. **At the age of thirty-eight years, our worthy parent was one of the thousands in New-England, who heard that son of thunder, the Reverend George Whitefield, and caught his seraphic fire.** Firmly believing in the near approach of the latter-day-glory, when the Jews with the fullness of the Gentiles, shall hail their Redeemer, and bow to his gentle scepter, a number of worthy characters ran to and fro through the eastern States, warmly exhorting to the prompt adoption of every measure tending to hasten that blissful period. Others sold, gave away, or left their possessions, as the powerful impulse of the moment determined, and without scrip or purse, rushed up to the head of the Susquehanna, to convert the heathens, and **settled in a town called Onnaquaggy, among the Mohawk Indians.** One, and not the least sanguine of these pious missionaries was my venerable father. Great must have been his faith, great his zeal, when, without the least prospect of a temporal reward, **with a much-beloved wife, and three children, he exchanged his commodious buildings, for a miserable hut;** his fruitful fields and loaded orchards, for barren deserts; the luxuries of a well-furnished table, for coarse and scanty fare; and numerous civil friends, for rude savages! He had the happiness, however, to teach, and exhort, for eighteen months, in this place, with considerable success. **A number of the Indians were, in some degree, impressed with eternal concerns, and several became cordially obedient to the gospel. But just as the seeds of heavenly truth, sown with tears in this unpromising soil, began to appear in their first fruits, the breaking out of war among the savage tribes occasioned his reluctant removal to Conegocheague, in Pennsylvania.** After a short residence in this settlement, he removed to a place near Winchester, in Virginia.

"Here he became acquainted with a Baptist church, belonging to the Philadelphia Association; and as the result of a close, impartial examination of their faith and order, **he and my dear mother were baptized by immersion, in the forty-eighth year of his life.** He was now called, as a licensed preacher, to the unrestrained exercise of his gifts; and though they were by no means above mediocrity, he was instrumental in awakening attention, in many of his hearers, to the interests of their souls:

"Under the influence of an anxious desire to be extensively useful, he proceeded from Virginia to Hughwarry, in North-Carolina, where his faithful and incessant labors proved

the happy means of arousing and converting numbers. Being so evidently and eminently useful as an itinerant preacher, he continued his peregrination to Abbot's Creek, in the same State, where **he was the instrument of planting a church**, of which he was ordained pastor, in the fifty-second year of his age, by his brothers in law, the Reverend Messrs. Henry Leadbetter, and Shubael Stearns. Soon after receiving this honor, my reverend father, in one of his evangelical journeys into Virginia, had the singular happiness to baptize Colonel Samuel Harris, with whom he immediately afterwards made several tours, and preached, and planted the gospel in several places, as far as James-river. It was but a few years after his ordination, before, induced by appearances of increasing usefulness, he took an affectionate leave of his beloved charge, and settled on Beaver Creek, in South-Carolina.

"In this place, likewise, **a large church was raised under his ministry**, and, till brought to a good degree of maturity in divine things, was an object of his tender and unremitted care and solicitude. At the direction of Divine Providence, as he conceived, and as subsequent events have proved, his next removal was to Horse Creek, about fifteen miles north of Augusta.

"The fruits of his labors in this place remain in a respectable church, **some of whose sons, raised up under his care, have successfully diffused the light of divine truth through various benighted regions**. From Horse Creek my aged father made his first visits to this State. On the second or third of these, while in prayer, **he was seized, in the presence of his audience, for preaching in the parish of St. Paul**, and made to give security for his appearance in Augusta, the Monday following, to answer to this charge. Accordingly he stood a trial, and, after his meekness and patience were sufficiently exercised, **was ordered to come no more as a preacher into Georgia**. In the words of an Apostle, similarly circumstanced, he replied, 'Whether it be right to obey God or man, judge ye.' Consistently with this just and spirited reply, he pursued his successful course, and on the first of January, 1771, came with his family, and **took up his final earthly residence at the Kioka. The following Spring the church here was formed**, and is famous for having furnished materials for several other churches. For this purpose many common members have been dismissed, and several ministers have been ordained. Among these are the Reverend Messrs. Sanders Walker, Samuel Newton, Loveless Savage, Alexander Scott, and the writer of this article.

"Through God's blessing on the ministry of her indefatigable founder and pastor, this church continued to lengthen her cords and strengthen her stakes, breaking forth on the right hand and on the left, till our beloved country was unhappily involved in the horrors of war. No scenes, however, from the commencement to the termination of hostilities, were so gloomy and alarming as to deter my father from discharging the duties of his station. Neither reproaches nor threatenings could excite in him the least appearance of timidity, or any thing inconsistent with Christian and ministerial heroism.

"As a friend to the American cause, he was once made a prisoner and put under a strong guard; but obtaining leave of the officers, he commenced and supported so heavy a charge of exhortation and prayer, that, like Daniel of old, while his enemies stood amazed and confounded, he was safely and honourably delivered from this den of lions.

"Even the infirmities of old age, and the evident approach of the king of terrors, were not sufficient to shake his faith or hope, nor, in the least perceivable degree, to abate his zeal.

"A few months previous to his decease, rising in his pulpit, which he had frequently besprinkled with his tears, and from which he had often descended to weep over a

careless auditory, he said, 'I address you, my dear hearers, with a diffidence which arises from a failure of memory, and a general weakness of body and mind, common to my years; but I recollect, he that holds out to the end shall be saved, and am resolved to finish my course in the cause of God.' Accordingly he attended public worship regularly, even through his lingering mortal illness, till the last Sabbath but one before his dissolution. In his family he invariably performed his usual round of holy duties, till the morning immediately preceding his happy change. Fully apprized of this as at hand, and perfectly in his senses, he expressed distinctly and emphatically, his steady and increasing confidence of future bliss.

"The following, taken by me, in the presence of a few deeply-affected friends and relations, are his last words:

"Dear brethren and sisters, I am just gone. This night I shall probably expire; but I have nothing to fear. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; and henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness. God has shown me that he is my God, that I am his son, and that an eternal weight of glory is mine!"

"The venerable partner of his cares, (and I may add, faithful assistant in all his labors) sitting bedewed with tears, by his side, he proceeded, 'Go on, my dear wife, to serve the Lord. Hold out to the end. Eternal glory is before us!"

"After a silence of some minutes, he called me and said, 'My breath is almost gone. I have been praying that I may go home tonight. I had great happiness in our worship this morning, particularly in singing, which will make a part of my exercise in a blessed eternity.'

"Now gently closing his eyes, he cheerfully gave up his soul to God, with whom, I doubt not, he walks, 'high in salvation, and the climes of bliss.' This solemn event took place at the dawn of the 2d day of November, 1784, in the 78th year of his age. A suitable discourse to his memory was delivered by the late Reverend Charles Bussey."

The name of Mr. Marshall's first wife does not appear from the papers respecting him. His second was Martha Stearns, sister of the famous Shubael Stearns. By his first wife he had Daniel, by his second, Abraham, John, Zaccheus, Levi, Moses, Solomon, and Joseph; and daughters Eunice and Mary. These children are all yet living in Georgia, at no great distance from the place in which their venerable father finished his earthly course. They all possess a competency of worldly things, and a number of them are members of the Kioka and other churches.

Mr. Marshall, after all his sacrifices for the cause of Christ, was always blessed by a bountiful Providence with a sufficiency of the meat that perisheth, and left behind him an estate of considerable value. His son Abraham inhabits the mansion, from which he was removed to the house not made with hands.

ELIAKIM MARSHALL (?-1791)

Eliakim Marshall was a nephew of Daniel, and a native of Connecticut; but the time or place of his birth I have not learnt. **He was converted under the ministry of Mr.**

Whitefield in the New-light Stir, and remained a Pedobaptist minister about thirty years. He became a Baptist in 1786, and died at Windsor, near Hartford, 1791. He was through life esteemed a preacher of piety and talents. **He was also often a member of the Connecticut Legislature.** As he became a Baptist but about five years before his death, he was not much known among the denomination; but on account of some circumstances which attended his conviction of Baptist sentiments, his biography appears worthy of being recorded. While Abraham Marshall, of Georgia, was on his way to visit New-England in 1786, at Philadelphia he fell in with Mr. Winchester, of whom he inquired respecting his relatives in Connecticut. He informed him what he knew; and among other things observed, that Eliakim Marshall, of Windsor, was a man of a sound judgment, a retentive memory, and a tender conscience. "Well," replied Abraham, "if this be his character, I shall expect to baptize him before I return; for if he has a sound judgment, he will understand my arguments in favor of believers' baptism, and against that of infants; if he has a strong memory he will retain them; and if he has a tender conscience, they will have an influence on his mind. With a firm persuasion, that he should lead his relative into the water, he prosecuted his journey to Connecticut. We have seen, in the history of the Kioka church, that this Abraham Marshall was only three years old when his father went from Connecticut, among the Mohawk Indians. He was of course unknown to any of his relatives here; but he was received among them cordially, and treated with respect, and he made Eliakim's house his home. He kept in mind what Mr. Winchester had told him of this cousin; but he resolved that he would not be forward to introduce the subject of baptism, nor press him too hard at first. Eliakim frequently expressed a desire to hear what his new relation, as he called him, had to say in defense of the opinions in which they differed; but Abraham waved the matter for a time. At length, from slight skirmishes, they, by mutual consent, entered with all their strength into the baptismal controversy, in which Eliakim had been a man of war from his youth, and now manifested a strong assurance of victory. He began with Abraham's Covenant, and mustered all the arguments usually brought in defense of Pedobaptism. Abraham, on the other hand, opposed his whole system, as destitute of Scripture proof, and adduced his reasons for his different belief. At the first onset, this old Pedobaptist divine, as he afterwards acknowledged to a friend, had but two arguments left for the support of his system; and continuing to lose ground, while striving with himself to regain it, in the next attack he was completely defeated, and in a short time after confessed his conscience could not be easy till he was baptized. But a trouble arose on account of his wife, who was much opposed to this change in his sentiments, he mentioned this circumstance to Abraham, and requested his advice. He replied that his youth did not qualify him to prescribe duty to a man of his years; "but," said he, "I will mention two passages of Scripture, which my father frequently made use of in difficult cases, which are these. "I conferred not with flesh and blood." "What thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." The tender conscience of this aged convert urged him on to duty; and, according to Abraham's expectation, he was baptized by him the day before he left the place. A large concourse of people, supposed to be two or three thousand, collected to witness the administration of the solemn rite. The venerable candidate addressed them in a most

melting manner: "I was awakened," said he, "under the preaching of Whitefield, about forty years ago, at which time my mind was solemnly impressed with this sentiment, God is wisdom; he, therefore, knows all my thoughts, and all I do. I was in the next place impressed with this sentence, God is holiness, and must, therefore, hate all in me, which his wisdom sees is wrong. I was in the third place impressed with this solemn thought, God is power; this struck me like thunder, and brought me to the ground." So saying, he burst into tears, and in a moment the tears were flowing from a thousand eyes. "After laboring a few days," continued he, "under these weighty impressions, the soothing declaration, God is love, relieved my distress, removed my fears, and filled me with unspeakable joy." He expatiated largely on the interesting event of his conversion, and the most solemn attention pervaded the great assembly.

SILAS MERCER (1745-1796)

Silas Mercer was born near Currituck Bay, North-Carolina, February, 1745. His mother died while he was an infant; his father was a zealous member of the Church of England, and carefully instructed him in the catechism, rites, and traditions of that communion. From early years, young Silas was religiously inclined; but it was not till after he arrived at manhood, that he was brought to the knowledge of salvation through a divine Redeemer. He was for a long time embarrassed and bewildered with that legal system, which he had been taught in his mother Church, and so deeply rooted were the prejudices of his education, that it took him long to learn that salvation is not of works. But he at length gained clear and consistent views of the gospel plan, and was, through his long ministry, a distinguished and powerful defender of the doctrine of free, unmerited grace.

Until after his conversion, Mr. Mercer was most violently opposed to Dissenters in general, and to the Baptists in particular. He would on no account hear one preach, and endeavored to dissuade all others from attending their meetings. He most firmly believed what his father and parson had taught him, that they were all a set of deceivers, that their heresies were dangerous if not damnable, and that to hear one preach would be a crime of peculiar enormity. He knew, however, but little about them, only that they had separated from the Church, and ought therefore to be opposed and avoided. For these reasons he continued a violent opposer to them, and zealously to defend the Church; But his ingenuous mind could not long be restrained by the shackles of tradition, without examining things for himself; he therefore began a course of inquiries, which gradually, undermined his traditionary creed, and led on to the Baptist ground. He first resolved to follow strictly the Rubric of the Church, both in doctrine and discipline; and finding it enjoined immersion, unless the weakness of the child required a milder mode, he had two of his children dipped. The first a son, in a barrel of water at the priest's house; and the other a daughter, in a tub, which had been prepared for the purpose at the Church. The son was named Jesse, who is now a worthy minister in Georgia; he was baptized again, on a profession of his faith, and is of course an ana-Baptist. **Mr. Mercer was also struck with the neglect of discipline in the Church; he saw with pain that persons grossly**

immoral in many respects were admitted to their communion, and became convinced that things ought not so to be. Hervey's Theron and Aspasio started him from the Arminian system, and set him on a train of reflections, which issued in a thorough conviction of the doctrine of the gospel. He labored for a time to reform the church; but finding the building was too far gone to be repaired, he receded from it with reluctant steps, and became a Baptist when he was about thirty years of age, and continued from that time to the end of his life an ornament to their cause, and a skilful defender of their distinguishing tenets.

Few men, perhaps, have had more severe conflicts in renouncing the prejudices of education, than Mr. Mercer. This kind but bigoted father threw in his way obstacles, which he could not at first surmount; the church priest, and the whole Episcopal fraternity around him, used the most assiduous endeavors to prevent him from going amongst the heretical Baptists. The first minister of the denomination he ever heard preach, was a Mr. Thomas, at that time a successful preacher in North-Carolina. It was with much reluctance, and with many fearful apprehensions of the dangerous consequences, that he was induced to attend the meeting. But in spite of all his prejudices, the preacher drew his attention, and led him to think he was not such a dangerous deceiver as he had always before supposed. This was on Monday. The next Lord's day, the priest being absent, and his father being clerk, performed as usual the duties of his office. As yet none of the family knew that Silas had been to the Baptist meeting. After the service of the day was over, a person asked him, in the hearing of his father, how he liked the Baptist preacher? He was much confused, and knew not what to answer; but his conscience obliged him to express some degree of approbation. At which the old gentleman burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Silas, you are ruined!" and out he went, hastily home. Silas, alarmed, took hastily after him, to soothe his grief and appease his resentment. The offended father and offending son were so deeply affected with the trifling affair, that they forgot their wives, and left them to go home alone. The charm was now broken; and from this period Mr. M. began to entertain more favorable views of the people he had hitherto so much censured and despised. Not long after this, he removed to Georgia, and settled in what is now Wilks county, where, **about 1775, he was baptized by Mr. Alexander Scott, united with the church at Kioka, by which he was almost immediately approbated to preach.** At the commencement of the American war, he fled for shelter to Halifax county, in his native State, where he continued about six years, all of which time he was incessantly engaged in preaching as an itinerant in different places around; and **it is found by his journal, that, take the whole six years together, he preached oftener than once a day; that is, more than two thousand sermons in the time.** At the close of the war, he returned to his former residence in Georgia, where he continued to the end of his days. In this State, he labored abundantly with good effect, and was the means of planting a number of churches in different parts of the country. He was justly esteemed one of the most exemplary and useful ministers in the southern States. His learning was not great, but having a desire that his young brethren might obtain greater advantages than he had enjoyed, he had set up a school at his house, procured an

able teacher, and was in a promising way to promote the interests of learning in the churches around him; but in the midst of his benevolent plans and distinguished usefulness, he was, after a short illness, removed from the scene of his employments, in 1796, in the 52d year of his age.

The following portrait of Mr. Mercer's character, is found in Mr. Semple's *History of the Virginia Baptists*, page 82. "Mr. Mercer, both in countenance and manners, had considerably the appearance of sternness; and to feel quite free in his company, it was necessary to be well acquainted with him. He seldom talked on any other subject except religion; and when in company with young preachers, or those who might question his doctrine or his opinions, his remarks chiefly turned on polemical points. He was indefatigable in striving to maintain his opinions; and for this purpose would hear any and all objections that could be raised, and would then labor assiduously to remove them. His arguments, however, neither in private nor public, were ever dressed with oratorical ornaments. He spoke and acted like one who felt himself surrounded by the impregnable bulwarks of truth, and therefore did not wish to parley." [Mr. Mercer is here described as he appeared in Virginia, in 1791, in company with Jeremiah Walker, in the time of a great controversy respecting doctrinal points.]

He was more distinguished as a preacher than writer; but he devoted considerable time to study, and the following pieces were the productions of his leisure hours:

1st. *Tyranny Exposed, and True Liberty Discovered*, in a 12mo. pamphlet of 68 pages, the design of which was to show the rise, reign, and downfall of Antichrist.

2d. *The Supposition of the Divine Right of Infants to Baptism, from their formerly having a Right to Circumcision, Confuted, being a Letter to a Friend*. This piece was not printed.

3d. *The History of Baptism*, carried to some extent, but left unfinished.

4th. *Two Letters on Election*, left unpublished.

JOSHUA MORSE (1726-1795)

Joshua Morse was, in his day, a very eminent preacher among the Baptists in New-England. He was born in South-Kingston, Rhode-Island, April 10, 1726. His grandfather came from the west of England to Rhode-Island, in the early part of the settlement of the colony, and served as a chaplain in the first war in which this country was engaged against the French. The son, from whom the subject of this memoir descended, whose name does not appear, was not a professor of religion, but was by education a Baptist, as his father was of that persuasion. **Young Joshua, at the age of sixteen, in the time of the New-light Stir, was awakened to religious concern. When the zealous New-lights began to make a noise in the neighborhood, he, with others, was ready to reproach and**

despise them; but the very first meeting he attended, his mind was arrested. When he first entered it, he saw them so zealously affected, that he hesitated not to say that they were all deluded; but he came away under fearful apprehensions of being made miserable forever. **Soon after he was brought to rejoice in the truth, he became a zealous exhorter, and at the age of eighteen commenced his ministerial labors,** which he continued with much reputation and success for upwards of fifty years. The early, and indeed the greatest part of his ministry, was spent in Connecticut. He first began preaching in Stonington, where he was much opposed, abused and persecuted, by a set of bigoted gentry, who declared that his preaching was not according to law. **At that time, every man who opened his doors for a dissenter to preach, was liable to be fined five pounds, the preacher was subjected to a fine of ten shillings, and every hearer to five.** The very first time Mr. Morse preached in Stonington, he was apprehended, carried before a magistrate, sentenced to pay the ten shillings, or be whipped ten lashes, at the public whipping-post. The fine he could not pay, and of course the lashes he was preparing to receive. He was taken to the post by the order of the magistrate, but **the constable, instead of inflicting the lashes, plead the cause of the innocent sufferer, remonstrated against the wickedness of the law, the cruelty of the court, and utterly refused performing the barbarous duty which had been assigned him.** After spending some time in this awkward position, the constable tendered the magistrate from his own pocket the fine which had been exacted. The magistrate, probably ashamed of his conduct, offered it to Mr. Morse, and bid him receive it, and go peaceably away. But as he would pay no money, so he would receive none, and his persecutors finding him rather unmanageable, went off and left him to take his own course. **For a number of years after this, he was often opposed, sometimes by law, but more frequently by mobs.** His preaching was attended with much success, and that encouraged him and enraged his opposers, In one of his meetings, one of the reverend gentlemen of the town came in just as he was beginning his sermon, put his hand on his mouth, and then bid a brother, whom he had brought with him, to strike him. At another time a man came in while he was preaching, and struck him with such violence on his temple, that it brought him to the floor; when **he arose, he looked on his persecutor, and with emotions of pity, said, "If you die a natural death, the Lord hath not spoken by me."** **This man, not long after, went to sea, fell from the vessel, and was drowned.** At another meeting he was knocked down while in prayer; he was then seized by the hair, dragged out of the house down high steps to the ground, and so deeply bruised in his head and face, that he carried some of the scars to his grave. These are a few of the sufferings of this eminent man of God in the early part of his ministry. He was also frequently threatened by mobs, who did not carry their persecuting designs into execution. After preaching once in Stonington, he was informed that a gang was out of doors, who, like Paul's persecutors, had sworn that they would kill him when he came out. His wife, who, it appears, was with him, and his friends entreated him not to go out; but having another appointment some distance off, he resolved to fulfill it, and said to his friends, "What mean ye to weep and break my heart?" etc. As soon as he was out of the door, he lifted up his hands and began to pray for his persecutors; they, confounded by

this new mode of warfare, immediately dropped their clubs; some begged his pardon, and the rest fled away.

But in the midst of all these persecutions, his labors were attended with great success; many were awakened by his means, and some churches in Rhode-Island and Connecticut arose under his ministry. About 1750, he was ordained to the care of a church in the north parish of New-London, now called Montville. Two or three years after he moved to Fishkill in the State of New-York, where he remained about two years, when, by the earnest entreaties of the church which he had left, he came back to live among them. Here he preached principally until 1779, when he removed to Sandisfield, Massachusetts, where a church arose under his labors, which he continued to serve as pastor, until within about a month of his death, which happened July, 1795, in the 70th year of his age, and 53d of his ministry. He had been some time laboring under a disease, which he expected would end in his dissolution. About four weeks before he died, he called his church together, and gave them his last advice and benediction. He had composed a hymn to be sung at his funeral, and he now made choice of a passage to be preached from on the solemn occasion, which was, This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief. The sermon was preached by Elder Rufus Babcock, of Colebrook.

Mr. Morse was early acquainted with Mr. Whitefield, and caught much of the zeal of that famous itinerant. His preaching was solemn and instructive, and the rules, which he laid down for others, he practiced himself. He was singularly grave and devout, insomuch that it is said by those who were long acquainted with him, that he was never known to laugh. He often entered so feelingly into his discourses, as to weep almost from beginning to end. He was well instructed in the doctrine of the cross; and his knowledge of the Scriptures was exceeded by few. His memory was retentive, his voice peculiarly commanding and impressive, and his preaching, if not eloquent, was pathetic and persuasive.

He was honored in every relation he sustained, and his usefulness as a minister of the word was exceeded by few in his day. He was above the middle stature, of a robust constitution, and well fitted for the labors and hardships which itinerant preachers of his time were obliged to endure.

Being honored of his God as the instrument of turning many to righteousness, and always bearing about with him the marks of the Lord Jesus, he was much beloved throughout an extensive circle when living, and his name is still mentioned with peculiar marks of respect, by many of the ancient saints, who enjoyed his acquaintance.

Mr. Morse married, when about 24 years of age, Susannah, the eldest daughter of Mr. Joseph Babcock, of Westerly, Rhode-Island, by whom he had many children. Seven of them are yet living, and his youngest son Asahel is pastor of the church in Suffield,

Connecticut. From his narrative of the life of his venerable father, the substance of this sketch has been extracted. His widow survived him about fifteen years, and died lately in the 80th year of her age.

JOSEPH REESE (1746-1795)

Joseph Reese was born at Duck-Creek, in Kent county, then in the Province of Pennsylvania, but now in the State of Delaware. He was removed to South-Carolina in 1745, when but 9 years of age, and **during his youthful days was very gay and fond of pleasure**. His conversion, therefore, which took place in 1760, under the ministry of Reverend Philip Mulky, was remarkable, and drew much attention. Mr. Reese was baptized soon after his conversion by Mr. Mulky, and commenced preaching soon after his baptism. His ordination, however, for some reason, was deferred until 1768, when it was performed by Messrs. Oliver Hart and Evan Pugh. He was at the same time installed pastor of the church at the Congaree, with which he stood in that relation, except a few years during the revolutionary war, till his death, which took place March 5, 1795, when he was aged 63 years.

The Church at the High Hills of Santee was gathered under his ministry, in 1770; at which time and place a great attention to religion was excited by his preaching among a numerous people, who had been till then very careless, and unacquainted with vital religion.

He was very infirm about ten years before his death; and during the last two of them, one of the most afflicted of men. But during the whole, he exhibited a sublime example of faith, patience, and resignation to the will of God; of concern for the divine glory, for the interests of the church at large, of that with which he was connected in particular, and for the salvation of individuals with whom he was connected or conversant. When public worship was supported at the place of worship nearest to him, about three miles distant, **he was several times carried there on his bed, lying down during the service; and if he found himself able, which he sometimes did, would sit up at the conclusion of worship, and address a few words to the congregation in the style of conversation and advice, by which they were generally melted into tears.** His last attendance at the church was about twelve months before his death; at which time, in great pain and weakness, he administered the Lord's Supper. God was pleased, in the midst of all his affliction, to afford him the consolations of his grace, and he died in much assurance of his interest in the Redeemer, whom he loved.

Mr. Reese was a man of good understanding and warm affections. His piety, it is believed, was never called in question. He had but little education, though he made improvements after he began to preach; but he had a large fund of evangelical and experimental knowledge. His natural eloquence, and command of the passions of his hearers, were extraordinary. He was both a Boanerges, and a son of consolation. His voice and his countenance are said to have affected his hearers like an enchantment.

In the early part of his ministry he met with much opposition, but with surprising success.

One William Reese was exceedingly mad against him, as he was preaching at the High Hills of Santee, swearing and threatening what he would do to him; but before the service of the day was over, this same opposer was observed to tremble, and look about him as if he was meditating to run away, but did not do so; presently he swooned; when he came to himself and appearing in a shivering condition, a companion of his said, "Will, you are cold, will you go to the fire?" He replied, "I am going to the fire! The fire of hell! O Lord, save me!" His distress was great for a considerable time, during which he made a public acknowledgment of his wicked conduct and persecuting intentions.

At another time, when he was preaching at Congaree, one Robert Liass made towards him with a hickory club, saying, "that he would wear it out on the bawling dog's back." But he was hindered from his purpose, and persuaded to be quiet. Soon after he was observed to be affected, but said nothing. It was not long, however, before he sent for Mr. Reese in the night, and said, "I am damned! I am going to hell!" Mr. Reese said, "Perhaps not, perhaps not." Liass replied hastily, "Is there a peradventure? thank God for that! Had I certainty of it I would endure a thousand deaths! I would rot piece by piece, and be a thousand years rotting, if it would secure me from going to hell!"

Whether these men, who were so remarkably convicted, were ever converted, we are not informed.

Mr. Reese was a warm friend to his country in the revolutionary war, and represented the district in which he lived, in the State Legislature, when the first constitution was formed for South-Carolina.

SHUBAEL STEARNS (1735-1771)

The outlines of Mr. Stearns's biography have been given in the history of the Separate Baptists; and as much has already been said of this eminent man of God, it will be unnecessary to say much more respecting him.

Mr. Stearns was a man of small stature, but of good natural parts, and sound judgment. Of learning he had but a little share, yet was pretty well acquainted with books. His voice was musical and strong, which he managed in such a manner, as one while, to make soft impressions on the heart, and fetch tears from the eyes in a mechanical way; and anon, to shake the very nerves, and throw the animal system into tumults and perturbations. All the Separate Baptists copied after him in tones of voice and actions of body; and some few exceeded him. His character was indisputably good, both as a man, a Christian, and a preacher. In his eyes was something very penetrating, which seemed to have a meaning in every glance. Many stories have been told respecting the enchantments of his eyes and

voice, but the two following examples we give, with the more confidence, because the subjects of them, viz. Tidence Lane and Elnathan Davis, were men of sense and reputation, and afterwards became distinguished ministers of the Baptist society.

- "When the fame of Mr. Stearns's preaching (said Mr. Lane) had reached the Yadkin, where I lived, I felt a curiosity to go and hear him. Upon my arrival, I saw a venerable old man sitting under a peach-tree with a book in his hand, and the people gathering about him. He fixed his eyes upon me immediately, which made me feel in such a manner as I never had felt before. I turned to quit the place, but could not proceed far. I walked about, sometimes catching his eyes as I walked. My uneasiness increased and became intolerable. I went unto him, thinking that a salutation and shaking hands would relieve me; but it happened otherwise. I began to think that he had an evil eye, and ought to be shunned; but shunning him I could no more effect, than a bird can shun the rattle-snake, when it fixes its eyes upon it. When he began to preach, my perturbations increased, so that nature could no longer support them, and I sunk to the ground."

Mr. Lane afterwards became a very useful Baptist minister, and was one of the first of the denomination, who removed to Tennessee, where he administered, until his death, with reputation and success.

"Elnathan Davis had heard that one John Steward was to be baptized such a day, by Mr. Stearns. Now this Steward being a very large man, and Stearns of small stature, he concluded there would be some diversion if not drowning; therefore he gathered about eight or ten of his companions in wickedness, and went to the spot. Mr. Stearns came, and began to preach. Elnathan went to hear him, while his companions stood at a distance. He was no sooner among the crowd, than he perceived some of the people tremble, as if in a fit of the ague; he felt and examined them, in order to find if it were not a dissimulation; meanwhile one man leaned on his shoulder, weeping bitterly; Elnathan, perceiving he had wet his new white coat, pushed him off, and ran to his companions, who were sitting on a log at a distance. When he came, one said, "Well, Elnathan, what do you think now of these -- people?" affixing to them a profane and reproachful epithet. He replied, "There is a trembling and crying spirit among them; but whether it be the Spirit of God or the devil, I don't know; if it be the devil, the devil go with them, for I will never more venture myself among them." He stood a while in that resolution; but the enchantment of Stearns's voice drew him to the crowd once more. He had not been long there before the trembling seized him also; he attempted to withdraw; but his strength failing, and his understanding being confounded, he, with many others, sunk to the ground. When he came to himself, he found nothing in him but dread and anxiety, bordering on horror. He continued in this situation some days, and then found relief by faith in Christ. Immediately he began to preach conversion work, raw as he was, and scanty as his knowledge must have been."

Mr. Davis was born in Baltimore county, Maryland, 1735; was bred a Seventh-day Baptist; went to Slow River, in North-Carolina, in 1757; was baptized by Shubael Stearns at Sandy-Creek, and ordained by Samuel Harris, in 1764; continued in North-Carolina

until 1798, when he removed to South-Carolina, and settled in the bounds of the Saluda Association.

Mr. Stearns died November 20, 1771, at Sandy-Creek, and was buried near his meeting-house.

[The following account of that eminent servant of God, Dr. Stillman, is prefixed to a volume of his sermons, published after his death. The substance of it was written by his son in law, Reverend Mr. Gray, of Roxbury, adjoining Boston, and a part by Dr. Baldwin. The description of his doctrinal sentiment was drawn by one of his church.]

SAMUEL STILLMAN (c. 1737-1807)

Samuel Stillman, D.D. was born in the city of Philadelphia, of parents respectable for their virtues, and of the religious persuasion of Particular Baptists. At the age of eleven years he was removed with them to Charleston, South-Carolina, and there received the rudiments of his education at an academy under a Mr. Rind. His improvements there were such as presaged his future worth and **he gave early indications of a mind seriously impressed with a sense of religious truth.** In one of his manuscripts we find some account of very early religious impressions being made upon his mind. These, however, he observes, were generally of short continuance, until more effectually awakened by a sermon delivered by the late excellent Mr. Hart, when, to borrow his own language, he says, "My mind was again solemnly impressed with a sense of my awful condition as a sinner. This conviction grew stronger and stronger. My condition alarmed me. I saw myself without Christ and without hope. I found that I deserved the wrath to come, and that God would be just to send me to hell. I was now frequently on my knees, pleading for mercy. As a beggar I went, having nothing but guilt, and no plea but mercy." How long he continued in this distressed condition is not particularly stated, but it appears from several passages of Scripture, he obtained a degree of hope and comfort, though not entirely satisfied. Not long after, he heard Mr. Hart discourse from Matthew 1:21. "And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins."

From this sermon he received consolation, and adds, "Christ then became precious to me, yea, all in all. Then I could say of wisdom, "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." That I still think was the day of my espousal. Glory be to God, for the riches of his grace to me. Why me, Lord? etc." He was soon after baptized, and received into the church under the pastoral care of Mr. Hart.

After finishing his classical education, he spent one year in the study of divinity with that gentleman. Being called by the church, **he preached his first sermon on the 17th of February, 1758; and on the 26th of February, 1759, was ordained** in the city of Charleston, South-Carolina, to the work of an evangelist.

Immediately afterwards, however, he settled at James Island, a most pleasant situation opposite the city. Soon after he visited the place of his nativity, and on the twenty-third of May, the same year, married Hannah, the daughter of Evin Morgan, Esq. merchant of that place, by whom he afterwards had fourteen children. He also took his degree at the university there, and returned to his society on James Island. But he had not continued above eighteen months with his affectionate and united people, before a violent attack of a pulmonary complaint, forced his removal to another climate. He accordingly fixed himself with his family at Bordentown, New-Jersey, where he supplied two different congregations for the space of two years. His ill health somewhat improved, but by no means restored, determined him at length to visit New-England, hoping that the exercise, together with the change of air, might yet further mend his impaired constitution.

On his arrival here, 1763, at the request of the Second Baptist Church, he removed his family to Boston, and after preaching one year as an assistant to the late Reverend Mr. Bound, accepted an invitation to settle with the First Baptist Church, and was installed over it January 9, 1765.

By nature he was endowed with a sprightly genius, a good capacity, and an uncommon vivacity and quickness of apprehension. His feelings were peculiarly strong and lively, which imparted energy to whatever he did, and under the influence and control of religious principles, served to increase and diffuse his eminent piety. To this constitutional ardor both of sentiment and action, which led him to enter with his whole soul into every subject which engaged his attention, he united a remarkable delicacy of feeling and sense of propriety, and such sprightliness and affability in conversation, such ease and politeness of manners, and at the same time such a glow of pious zeal and affection, as enabled him to mingle with all ranks and classes of people, and to discharge all his duties as a Christian minister and a citizen, with dignity, acceptance, and usefulness. The lively interest he appeared to take, in whatever affected the happiness or increased the pleasures of his friends, the gentleness of his reproofs and the gratification he seemed to feel in commending others, united to his social qualities, endeared him to all who knew him.

The popularity of a preacher commonly declines with his years. Dr. Stillman, however, was a singular exception to this general remark. He retained it for upwards of forty-two years; and his congregation, which, upon his first connection with it, was the smallest in the town, at the age of seventy, the period of his death, he left amongst the most numerous. As a minister of Christ, his praise was in all the churches; and wherever his name has been heard, an uncommon degree of sanctity has been connected with it. His principles were highly Calvinistic, and all his sermons bore strong marks of his warm attachment to that system. The natural strength and ardor of his feelings, indeed, imparted zeal to whatever opinion he espoused, and activity to whatever duty he performed. Yet with all his quickness of perception, and acuteness of feeling, his temper was under admirable control, and he was always the thorough master both of his words and actions.

Thus embracing what have been denominated the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel, he explained and enforced them with clearness, and with an apostolic zeal and intrepidity.

On the leading principles of the gospel, he always preached and conversed as a Christian minister, who took a deep and hearty interest in their diffusion and establishment. But he did not depend for success on his zeal and fidelity. He knew that what he was, and what he was enabled to do in the cause of God, were wholly by his gracious influence. Whilst he realized his own entire dependence, and that of others, he was animated in duty, believing that the Lord meeteth all who rejoice and work righteousness, those who remember him in his ways.

A subject on which he often spoke with grateful adoration was, the true and proper Godhead of the Lord Jesus Christ. His views of sin as an infinite evil necessarily impressed upon his mind this truth. **He considered the Savior as an infinitely worthy object of divine worship, and in consequence of this dignity of character qualified to make atonement for sin. On this foundation rested his hope of salvation;** and if this were not a reality, he despaired of entering into glory, and believed the salvation of every sinner an impossible event. But having no doubt on this cardinal point, he was enabled to preach the gospel with clearness.

On the subject of the trinity and unity of God, he literally believed the declaration of John, "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one;" but as to an explanation of the manner or mode of subsistence of the divine nature, he would say he had nothing to do; for Revelation did not explain it. He only declared it as a truth to be believed on the divine testimony.

The total moral depravity of man was a principle on which he much insisted on all proper occasions. He had no idea that there was any latent spark of holiness in the heart of a natural man, which, as some suppose, can be kindled by the exertions of the sinner, and kept alive by the same means. This opinion he reprobated with all his heart, viewing it as a denial of that grace which is revealed in the gospel, and as having a natural tendency to take the crown of glory from the head of IMMANUEL. In contradiction of this error, he would often remark on this text as a motto congenial to the feelings of a believer, "Upon himself (Jesus) shall, his crown flourish." So far was he removed from this mistake, that he believed the real Christian, though renewed by the Holy Spirit, was constantly dependent on God's immediate agency for the origin and continuance of every gracious exercise. Although he believed the entire sinfulness of the natural heart, he did not erroneously connect with it a license to sin, nor suppose that men are released from moral duties because they are indisposed to them. From the fact that man is endowed with reason, will and affections, he argued his moral obligation to believe what God has revealed, and obey what he has commanded.

As his views of man's depravity were clear and distinct, he of consequence saw the necessity of regeneration by the free and sovereign agency of the Holy Ghost. That operation of God by which this change is effected, he did not consider as a mere circumstantial alteration or new modification of the sinful affections, but that a new disposition was given to the soul, well described by Paul as a new creation. In this change he supposed the person was brought to have entirely new views of moral subjects.

Respecting the atonement of Christ, his sentiments were honorary to truth. He considered it as an illustration of the divine perfections not recoverable by any other medium; exhibiting to all intelligent beings the odious nature of sin, God's love to holiness, and his unspeakable mercy to the guilty. He viewed the merits of Christ in his obedience and death, as having an infinite value, and as possessing a sufficiency for the salvation of every individual of the human race, had it been the will of God to make its application to the conscience so extensive; but from divine Reverend he learned that its design was particular, respecting, in its application to the heart, the elect only. He did not, however, connect with this the erroneous idea of some, that all men were not under obligation to repent of their sins and believe the gospel; but whilst he believed the condemnation of sinners was by the moral law, he supposed that this condemnation would be greatly aggravated by a rejection of the gospel, and that they would be treated as those who despised God's grace.

His ideas of the faith which accompanies salvation were, that it was a belief of the gospel; a hearty reception of that plan of grace which is revealed in Christ Jesus, accompanied with holy love and every gracious exercise. He rejected the error, that the essence of faith consists in a person's believing that Christ died for him in particular; no such proposition being contained in the word of God, and no one being warranted to believe this till he has good evidence of his regeneration. From his ideas of faith he naturally inferred that good works would uniformly follow. These he zealously enforced as an evidence of faith, but not as designed to originate it. Practical godliness was a subject on which he often preached, and which he urged on believers from the noblest gospel motives.

The purpose of God in his eternal election of a certain number of the human race to salvation, was a principle dear to Dr. Stillman, as a truth clearly revealed. Believing the carnal mind, or natural heart, to be enmity against God, he very justly concluded, that if any sinners were saved, their salvation must be effected by an influence extraneous from themselves. To imagine with some, that God had left it with depraved men to meet him in any conditions which they were to perform, he would represent as dishonorary to the Divine Majesty, who will not give his glory to another. Neither could he believe that any of God's designs originated in time; but that all his purposes were, like himself, eternal. This was his ground of encouragement to preach, knowing that God had determined by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe, and that he had promised to make a willing people in the day of his power.

From his clear apprehension of eternal personal election, he was firmly established in the final perseverance to eternal glory of all those who are regenerated by the Spirit of God; and that the grace given is an incorruptible seed.

The opinion that religious establishments are contrary to the New Testament, was defended by him. His ideas on this subject are plainly expressed in his sermon before the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1779. The interference of rulers, as such, in matters of conscience, he ever considered as an infringement of natural right. In this sermon he showed that his own ideas on this subject were similar to those of the immortal Locke. He was a cordial friend to religious liberty; and all his conduct in life towards Christians from whom he differed, manifested that he was heartily willing that every conscientious citizen should worship in the manner which agreed with the dictates of his conscience, after a candid examination of the word of God.

He preached much to the feelings, and to the heart; and numbers on whose minds naked reason and simple truth could produce no serious effects, his powerful eloquence was a happy means both of touching and reclaiming. Nor was he only a preacher of righteousness. Few men ever exemplified more than he did, the virtues he recommended to others. Whilst he exhibited to his flock the various trials and comforts of Christians, whilst he guided them in the way to eternal life, he led them also by his own example.

His sermons were always studied, and it was his judicious practice principally to write them. Yet from his manner of delivery, (a manner peculiar to himself) he always appeared as easy as if speaking extempore. Indeed it was his constant method to add at the moment such thoughts as occurred to his mind whilst speaking. These thoughts were as naturally connected with the subject as though they had been a studied part of it; and as they were usually delivered with much pathos, they had the happiest effect upon the audience.

As a public speaker, as a pulpit orator, he was second perhaps to none. Nature had furnished him with a pleasant and most commanding voice, the very tones of which were admirably adapted to awaken the feelings of an audience, and he always managed it with great success. His manner, though grave and serious, was peculiarly graceful, popular, and engaging. His remarkable animation gave additional interest to every subject he handled. Those who heard him might with propriety have said of him what was said of another eminent preacher -- "This man is in earnest; he believes what he says, and says what he believes. Verily this is a man of God. Ten such men, and Sodom would have stood."

His eloquence was of the powerful and impressive, rather than of the insinuating and persuasive kind, and so strikingly interesting, that he never preached to an inattentive audience. And even those who dissented from him in some minor theological opinions, were still pleased with hearing him, for they knew his sincerity, they knew him to be a good man.

Few persons are alike eminent in all the different duties of the ministerial office; but it would perhaps be difficult to say in which of these Dr. Stillman most excelled.

In prayer he always seemed to his audience as if engaged with a present Deity. His addresses to Heaven were generally short, but very comprehensive; they were solemn and edifying, and usually very feeling and impressive; and thus coming from the heart, they seldom failed to reach the hearts of others.

In the chamber of sickness and affliction he was always a welcome visitor. So well could he adapt his conversation, as to comfort or to caution, to soothe or to awaken, just as the case seemed to require. And if he administered reproof, it was done in so delicate and mild a manner, that it oftener conciliated esteem, than created offense. In his prayers with the sick and afflicted, however intricate the occasion, he was always both appropriate and highly devotional. So eminent was his character for piety, and so universally was he beloved, that he was often called to the sick and afflicted of other denominations. And his sympathetic feelings, and his fervent supplications seldom failed to pour the balm of consolation into the wounded bosom. The sick would almost forget their pains, and the mourner cease to sigh. How many wounded hearts he has bound up, and from how many weeping eyes he has wiped the tears away -- how many thoughtless sinners he was the means of awakening, and how many saints he has edified and built up unto eternal life -- how many wavering minds he has settled, and to how many repenting sinners his words have administered peace, can be fully known only at the great day!

It having pleased the Author of Wisdom to visit Dr. Stillman with peculiar trials, and having largely experienced the supporting influence of religion under them, he was eminently qualified to administer consolation to others. Few persons could describe with such accuracy, or enter with such facility into the feelings and exercise of the tempted, tried believer. Like a skillful surgeon, he knew when the wound was sufficiently probed, and when to apply the healing balm of promise.

In the course of a few years he was called to bury seven of his children, all adults, and some of them with rising families, having previously buried five children in infancy. But notwithstanding his domestic trials were so great, his Christian patience and submission were equal to them all. Such was his perfect confidence in the wisdom of God's government, that with all his extreme sensibilities, his mind lost nothing of its lively confidence, or of its cheerful hope.

Dr. Stillman was possessed of great benevolence of heart, and was a sincere lover of persons of every Christian denomination, whom he esteemed pious and good. Though from education and from principle a Baptist himself, he never believed that the peculiarities of any sect ought to form a separating line, or hinder the union of good men, for the advancement of the common cause of the Redeemer. With many such he long lived

in habits of undissembled friendship, and by them his death will not very soon cease to be regretted.

With a view more especially to assist young men in attaining a suitable education for the ministry, he successfully employed his talents and zeal in aiding the interests of Brown University, Rhode-Island, which owes much to his exertions.

It might be mentioned as a proof of the high estimation in which his talents were held as a preacher, that there is scarcely any public occasion on which he has not at one time or another officiated. The university of Cambridge conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts, in 1761. The college in Rhode-Island, of which he was both a Trustee and a Fellow, in 1788 gave him a diploma of Doctor in Divinity. He was elected a member of the Federal Convention for the town of Boston the same year, and distinguished himself there by a most eloquent speech in its defense. In 1789 he was appointed to deliver the anniversary oration on independence to the town of Boston, which he accomplished in a manner both handsome and acceptable.

The social feelings of the Doctor were strong, and his powers of conversation such as always pleased. In his manners there was an unaffected elegance and ease, which rendered him uncommonly agreeable to every circle. The affability and kindness with which he treated persons of every description, were not less the effect of a natural delicacy than of a general knowledge of mankind. Hence to the great he never could appear servile, nor imperious to those in humbler stations. To both he was the gentleman, and in private company as much esteemed as he was popular in his public performances. His benevolent heart was feelingly alive to distress of every kind, and in contributing to its alleviation in every shape he was actively useful. We find his name amongst the first members of the Humane Society of this Commonwealth. Of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society he was a useful officer, and of the Boston Dispensary a member from its beginning, and President at his death. The Boston Female Asylum is likewise much indebted to his exertions. He was also an almoner of the private charity of many individuals, who confided in his knowledge and judgment of suitable objects.

Such was the faithfulness with which he discharged the various duties incumbent on him as a minister of the gospel; such was his zeal for the glory of God and the good of souls, that it may be truly said of him, he was the happy man. Holy, spiritual religion was not with him a transient, visionary thing, but the element in which he breathed. His soul was often so enlarged in declaring the glorious gospel, and in expatiating on the riches of God's grace as manifested in his word, that he not only seemed himself to enjoy a prelibation of heaven, but to have been enabled by divine influence to communicate this blessedness to others; so that his friends have often said, after having heard his private conversation or public preaching, Truly our fellowship was with the Father, with his Son Christ Jesus, and with one another through the Spirit's influence.

To his church and people he was strongly attached, and particularly attentive. [For a long time previous to his death, he was particularly anxious that a colleague pastor should be settled with him. Knowing that time with him was short, he ardently wished to see his church and congregation happily united in a person, whose sentiments and character he should entirely approve, and to whose care he could cheerfully confide his charge, when he should be called to put off the earthly house of his tabernacle. To effect this object, in his view so important, his labors were incessant; and Providence seemed to smile on his endeavors. The Reverend JOSEPH CLAY from Georgia, having visited the town of Boston, appeared, both to the pastor and the flock, to be the very object of their united wishes. Proposals having been accordingly made to him for settlement, which he accepted, necessary arrangements were making for it. The Doctor was delighting himself with the prospect; but it pleased Heaven that he should not be permitted to realize its accomplishment. Mr. Clay had returned to the southward, to settle his affairs there. Two or more months before his return, the period he had fixed for it, the melancholy circumstance of Dr. Stillman's death occurred. The following August Mr. Clay's installation took place.] Nor did he ever suffer any calls of relaxation or amusement to interfere with the conscientious discharge of the smallest professional duty. His duty was indeed always his delight, and nothing in his mind ever stood in any sort of competition with it.

His congregation always reciprocated his warm attachment to them. They ever sat delighted under his preaching, and felt a pride in him as an accomplished pulpit orator, no less than a love for him as an excellent preacher; and neither of them were any ways diminished by the attention of strangers who visited the metropolis, and were commonly desirous of hearing this celebrated minister before they left it.

In the different walks of social and private life, Dr. Stillman was peculiarly amiable. Those most intimately connected with him, ever found him a pleasant companion, a judicious counsellor, and a faithful friend. The various offices of domestic life were discharged with the same fidelity and tenderness which marked his public conduct. Of husbands, he was one of the most kind and affectionate; of parents the most tender and endearing. Indeed, all who resided under his roof experienced his paternal care and goodness.

Through life his habit of body had been weakly, and he was not unused to occasional interruptions of his ministerial labors; yet he survived all his clerical contemporaries, both in Boston and its vicinity. **It was his constant prayer that his life and usefulness might run parallel: in this his desires were gratified.** He had now attained the age of seventy, when the time of his departure had arrived. A slight indisposition detained him at home the two last Lord's days of his life. On the Wednesday following the second of them, without any previous symptoms, he was suddenly attacked at eleven o'clock, A.M. by a paralytic shock. At ten at night he grew insensible, and at twelve his useful life and labors were terminated together. Could he have selected the manner of his death, it

had probably been such an one as this, which spared him the pain of separation from a flock he was most ardently attached to, and a family he most tenderly loved; a scene which, to a person of his feeling mind, notwithstanding all his religion, must have occasioned a shock.

In one of his sermons, preached after the death of the late Dr. Peter Thacher, of this town, he says, "Though we would not wish to choose, or offer to dictate to Infinite Wisdom, as to the manner of our exit, yet may we be permitted to say, that when good men are suddenly cut down, they avoid the pains and extreme distresses that always accompany a lingering sickness. And though we would not pray, From sudden death, good Lord, deliver us, we would devoutly pray, For sudden death, good Lord, prepare us."

On the Monday following his death, his remains were attended to his meeting-house, where a pathetic and appropriate discourse was delivered on the occasion, by the Reverend Dr. Baldwin, pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Boston, to an immensely thronged and deeply affected assembly, from 2 Timothy 4:7,8; after which his remains were conveyed to the tomb, amidst the regrets of a numerous concourse of people, who crowded around his bier, anxious to take a last look of the urn which contained the relics of him, who once to them was so dear, but whose face they should now behold no more.

Dr. Stillman was of the middling stature, of slender habit of body, yet remarkably upright. He was dark complexioned, and rather pale. His countenance, though naturally open and cheerful, yet either from principle or habit more frequently presented the appearance of thoughtfulness and solemnity. The vivacity of his mind was strongly marked in the features of his face, which enabled him with uncommon ease to give language to the passions whenever his subject required it.

The gracefulness of his person, the elegance of his manners, and above all, the dignity of his whole deportment were such, as could not fail of interesting the feelings of all who had the happiness of an acquaintance with him. In a word, there was something peculiarly prepossessing in that angelic solemnity, which he always manifested, when engaged in religious duties.

Dr. Stillman's works, except one Oration, consist altogether of Sermons, and are as follow:

1st. A Sermon on the repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766.

2d. A Sermon on the character of a good soldier: delivered before the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company in Boston, June 4, 1770.

3d. Substance of a Sermon, delivered at the ordination of Reverend Samuel Shepard, in Stratham, (N. H.) Sept. 25, 1771.

4th. A Sermon on the death of Hon. Samuel Ward, Esq. member of the Continental Congress, from Rhode-Island, and delivered before that body in Philadelphia, March 26, 1776.

5th. A Sermon on the General Election in Massachusetts, May 26, 1779.

6th. A Sermon on Charity, preached before the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, in Charlestown, June 24, 1785.

7th. An Oration delivered to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, July 4, 1789.

8th. A Sermon on the death of Nicholas Brown, Esq. of Providence, (R.I.) May 31, 1791.

9th. A Sermon on the French Revolution, preached on the Annual Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 20, 1794.

10th. A Sermon on the ordination of Rev, Stephen Smith Nelson, preached in Boston, Sept. 15, 1797.

11th. A Sermon on the National Fast Day, April, 1799.

12th. A Sermon on the death of George Washington, late President of the United States of America, 1800.

13th. A Sermon on the opening of the New Baptist Meeting-House in Charlestown, May 12, 1801.

14th. A Sermon on the ordination of Reverend Thomas Waterman, Charlestown, October 7, 1801.

15th. A Sermon on the first anniversary of the Boston Female Asylum, September 5, 1802.

16th. A Sermon on the first anniversary of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, May 25, 1803.

17th. A Sermon on the death, and preached at the funeral of Hezekiah Smith, D. D. of Haverhill, January 31, 1805.

Besides these, soon after Dr. Stillman's death, his friends collected and published in a volume twenty sermons of his composing, eight of which were never before published. The titles of these sermons, in the order in which they stand in the volume, are as follow:

1st. Mankind universally apt to trust in their own righteousness. Published by desire of the hearers, 1769. 2d. The Sinner's best Righteousness proved to be essentially deficient. 3d. Imputed Righteousness one of the Glories of the Gospel. 4th. Believers exhorted to continue in their obedience. 5th. Young People called upon to consider, that for their conduct here they must be accountable hereafter, at the Judgment-Seat of Christ. Delivered at an Evening Lecture, May 8, 1771, at the desire of a number of young men, and published by request. Sermons 6, 7, and 8 are on Apostolick Preaching. Delivered Nov. 1790. 9. God's Compassion to the Miserable. Preached at the desire of Levi Ames, who attended on the occasion, and who was executed for burglary Oct. 21, 1773, aged 22. 10. The character of a foolish Son. Preached the Lord's Day after the execution of Levi Ames. 11. Hope the Anchor of the Soul. Delivered Nov. 13, 1791. 12. God's Designs vainly opposed by sinners. Delivered at the quarterly day of prayer, June 4, 1803. 13. The Blessedness of those who die in the Lord. Delivered April 17, 1768, occasioned by the death of the Author's Mother, Mrs. Mary Stillman, who died March 17. 1768, in Charleston, (S.C.) aged 57. 14. The Resurrection and Change of the vile Body. Delivered Nov. 30, 1806. 15. The Nature and Uses of Prayer. Delivered April 7, 1801, being the quarterly day of prayer. 16. The Gospel Ministry. Delivered in Salem, at the ordination of the Reverend Lucius Bolles, Jan. 9, 1805. 17. The Sinking Soul saved by Grace. Preached March 18, 1804. 18. The Nature and Design of the Atonement. Preached Feb. 1, 1807. 19. The Water of Life. Preached March 9, 1806. 20. The last words of Christ to his disciples. Delivered Feb. 22, 1807, being the last sermon which Dr. Stillman preached.

GARDNER THURSTON (1721-1802)

Gardner Thurston was the son of Edward and Elizabeth Thurston, and was born in Newport, Rhode-Island, Nov. 14, 1721. When he was but a small lad, some of his relatives in the country obtained him to tarry with them for a season, where the aged and religious were highly pleased to learn, that their little visitant had such a taste for devotion, that he was known to exhort his young associates to remember their Creator, and implore his aid whenever they formed any plan for enjoyment, and wished to be successful. To press his exhortation powerfully upon their hearts, and satisfy his own conscience, he was seen in their little circles praying to God. The pious kept these things in their minds, believing it highly probable, that Infinite Wisdom had designed him to be an instrument of great good among mankind.

After he returned to Newport, and had been some time under the ministry of the Reverend Mr. Whitman, and his colleague, Reverend Nicholas Evers, he wrote them the following letter:

- "Dearly beloved Fathers in Christ,

"Through the wonderful mercy of God, I am brought to see myself in a lost condition, and his word and my conscience testify, that in such a state of nature, I am a child of wrath.

"Sirs, I consider that the gospel requires a positive change in all who will be admitted into the kingdom of God; and that this change is new forming the heart, and subjecting the whole man to the service of Christ; that he may be translated out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear son. Knowing my own weakness and inability to deliver myself, I find that I cannot do any thing pleasing to God of myself; I cannot come to that true and saving faith in Jesus Christ, with which remission of sins is connected; neither can I make satisfaction for the least of my transgressions; therefore, O Sirs, I desire to depend wholly and alone upon the free grace of God in Jesus Christ, for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption," etc.

Soon after he wrote to these ministers, who were over him in the Lord, he obtained peace in believing, and joy in the Holy Ghost; but did not make a public profession of his faith in God, till April 4, 1741. When this day came, his mind was covered with darkness, and filled with distressing fears, that he rested short of the Rock of Ages as the foundation of his hope; and that he should inevitably be a hypocrite if he joined the church. In this trying period of his life, he endeavored to make God his refuge, and prayed for the light of his countenance, that he might be led understandingly to know and to do his will. The time arrived in which he was to be examined as a candidate for baptism. But his fears concerning himself still continued, and multiplied to such an host against him, that when he came to the meeting-house door, he dared not enter, but turned and walked into a small burying-ground, and sat down upon a rock. The place, by the kind hand of God upon him, was made like the resting-place which Jacob found, as he journeyed from Beersheba to Padanaram. About sixty years afterward, walking in the same burying-ground, Mr. Thurston stopped, and putting his staff upon the rock, said, 'There I sat down, overwhelmed with distress, while the church were waiting for me to come in, to give them an account of the dealings of God with my soul. Soon after I sat down, I was enabled, through rich grace, to give up myself, and all I had, into the hands of my blessed Jesus, who immediately dispelled the darkness which covered me, removed my distress, filled me with peace and consolation, and gave me strength to declare what he had done for my soul.'"

He was received by the church, and baptized by their pastor, the Reverend Nicholas Evers, and enjoyed great peace of mind, and establishment in the doctrine of Christ.

He was highly esteemed in the church as a pious and promising youth, and took an active part in their conference meetings, till God was pleased to call him to declare more publicly the glad tidings of salvation.

The church were so well satisfied with his account of the operations of the divine Spirit upon his mind, and his leading views of the great truths of the Christian system, that after hearing him a number of times, **they gave him approbation to preach in 1748**, and requested him to be an assistant to their pastor, Reverend Nicholas Evers.

He from this time preached generally once on the Lord's-day and one lecture every week. His desire for information, especially in divinity, was great, which he had an opportunity

to gratify above many; for Mr. Evers, with whom he was most intimately connected, was a man of talents and learning.

Mr. Evers died suddenly, February 15, 1759, having preached part of the Lord's day before; and Mr. Thurston was, by the church, invited to succeed him, and was accordingly ordained to the pastoral office on the 29th of April following.

As he was born and educated with the people whom he had now engaged to serve, he was not ignorant of their expectations from him as their pastor. He therefore determined to give himself wholly to the all-important work of preaching the glorious gospel of Christ, and to finish his course with joy. **Consequently he left his former business, which was lucrative, closed his accounts, and entered into the vineyard of the Lord with all his heart;** pleading the sweet promise which flowed from the Savior's lips; "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." Mr. Thurston was endowed with an excellent disposition, and possessed a good natural constitution, with a quick and brilliant imagination. He was mild, studious, and amiable in his family; lively and engaging in the society of his friends; tender, solemn, and devotional among the sons and daughters of affliction; easy and graceful in all his public movements; his voice was strong and melodious, and his heart all alive in the great and arduous work of the ministry of reconciliation.

He generally wrote the heads of his sermons, the quotations from Scripture, and some of the most interesting ideas which he thought necessary for the clear illustration of his subject. These he commonly committed to memory, and but seldom had his notes before him in public.

Mr. Thurston being possessed of pleasing pulpit talents, and giving himself wholly to the work of the ministry, his hearers became so numerous that his meeting-house was enlarged twice, till it was 75 by 50 feet, and was well filled as long as he was able to preach. He was favored with repeated revivals of religion among his people. Though these revivals were small by comparison with what many experience in the present day, yet his success was not measured by the duration of his ministry; for many who joined the church a number of years after he was dead, dated their awakenings, and some the beginning of their hope in the Savior's merits, under his preaching. A number of ministers own him as an instrument in the Lord's hands of their awakening, comfort, and establishment in the faith of God's elect.

Mr. Thurston was well acquainted with afflictions and bereavements; for he lived to see all his near relations buried, except one daughter; and having passed through many temptations as a Christian and minister, he was well qualified for both sympathy and advice.

In 1792, he wrote as follows:

- "Newport, (R. I.) 24th March, 1792,

"Dear Madam,

"I have heard that you have not enjoyed so good health of late as usual, on account of the loss of one of your eyes; and that you desire me to write you on this subject. The loss of the sight of one eye is very great, and it is a mercy you have one left. These bodily eyes must soon fail, be closed, and we be in the land of darkness, where we shall not need them. But, dear madam, there is another eye which the Lord can give to all who love him supremely; which is vastly preferable to us, even in this world; I mean the eye of faith. By this Abraham saw Christ's duty and was glad; by this Job saw his Redeemer, and Moses saw him who was invisible. By this, we now behold the once suffering, bleeding Lamb of God, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification; yes, by this eye we can look within the veil, and see Christ seated on the right hand of God, and ever living to make intercession for all who come unto God by him. By this eye, we can look through the pearly gates of the New-Jerusalem, and view the spirits of the just made perfect, joined with the blessed angels in celebrating the praises of their God and King.

"O transporting sight! Methinks, madam, you are now ready to cry, Lord, evermore give me this sight! He will give it to every one who comes unto him and asks for it. Yes, dear friend, I have something more to say: that we shall see the dear Lord with these bodily eyes, though useless in the grave. He will change these vile bodies, with all their members, and fashion them like his own glorious body. Then he will cease in fruition, and faith in vision. Then those eyes which have been so long closed and useless, shall be opened again, and made useful. With mine eyes shall I behold him, and not another for me. Then shall we see the Savior, and converse with him, as one friend converseth with another. We shall see him, and be entirely conformed to his image, and be ever with the Lord. Think, dear friend, what a glorious sight this will be, which can never wax old or dim. The inhabitants of the New-Jerusalem shall no more say they are sick. There will be no more pain; sorrow and sighing shall entirely flee away.

"The dear Lord grant you, and every branch of your family, this portion.

"I remain your sincere friend, GARDNER THURSTON."

To a young Minister under some trials,

- "I rejoice in the grace of God bestowed on you, and the success granted you. I pray God to give you the wisdom of the serpent, and the harmlessness of the dove. A good cause, a good conscience, a steady and uniform conduct, will put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. I cannot give you better advice than Paul gave to Timothy. Read again and again his second epistle, second chapter. I sympathize with you in your trial; but be assured God will be with you in six and in seven troubles. I know that your mind must be differently exercised; and Satan will not be wanting on his part to take every advantage to hurt your usefulness; and there are some who will unite with him, and watch for your halting.

"I believe that God, who walks in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, will support and defend you. Be upon your guard to cut off occasion from those who seek occasion, to speak disrespectfully of you. Endeavor always to exhibit a gospel temper. If they curse, do you bless; for the servant of the Lord must not strive, but in meekness instruct those who oppose themselves. You must not think your afflictions strange; they are what your Master and many of his servants met with before. You are only filling up your measure of that which was behind of the affliction of Christ in your flesh, for the body's sake, which is

the church. O blessed privilege, to partake with Christ in his afflictions! Be not discouraged, for the power of the enemy is limited like the great deep; hitherto it may come, and no further. For the wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder shall he restrain.

"Concerning polemic performances, I will just observe, that I have formerly read many, and after all, I find the Bible to be the best book to discover what truth is, and to establish us in the truth. In this book we find a glorious display of God's justice in the righteous condemnation of the wicked; and a glorious display of divine grace in the salvation of his people. Even from the foundation to the top-stone, it is all grace, grace, free grace."

In 1784, a little after the death of his wife, he thus addressed one of his correspondents:

- "I embrace the present opportunity to inform you, that I enjoy a better state of health, than I have for some years past. I have abundant reason to bless God, who has been the guide of my youth, and through life; for that support afforded me in the late trying dispensation which I have passed through. He has, indeed, been a present help in time of trouble. How unsuitable would it be for us, to have all our evils and trying changes in view at once! Therefore let us admire the words of Jesus, Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof.

"O, may I ever lean on my helper, God. I am indeed passing through the furnace of affliction, and drinking the bitter cup of the same; but it is the cup which my heavenly Father gives me, and it is mixed with mercy. It is all right; or I am sure that Infinite Goodness orders all things for the best for them who love him. O why should such an unprofitable servant as I am be spared? What are the designs of Providence? Surely the Lord has something worthy for me to do in his house, else I should have been cut down. I am firm in the opinion, that God will not take away his ministers before their work is done. If there be one more saint to be converted by their ministry, one more saint to be comforted, they will be continued. I hope I shall be willing to wait all the days of my appointed time, till my change come; then through rich grace, be like a shock of corn fully ripe coming in, in its season. And why should a minister or a Christian wish to stay one moment longer out of heaven than he can be useful?"

Mr. Thurston was not able to preach for about three years before his death; yet he was able to attend meetings for the most part of that time, and to visit his flock, and to speak comfortably unto God's people. He appeared to be all the time on the wing for heaven; in fine, we can say with propriety, that his conversation was in heaven. **A number of ministers and Christian friends visited him, in the course of about eighteen months before his death, and it was their uniform opinion, that they never saw any one so unconditionally given up to live on the promises of God, as he was; and who would talk so familiarly and constantly about death -- being with Jesus -- knowing the saints in heaven -- and the unutterable felicity which would overwhelm the whole ransomed family of God, in the resurrection morning.**

Mr. Thurston was remarkably fond of meditating and conversing upon the triumphs of the Christian over death and the grave; and the perfection of our nature, and the extensiveness of our knowledge, when we come to dwell with Christ in heaven. "O," said he, "when I come into the glorious presence of my Lord, I shall see and know those servants and children of my heavenly Father, with whom I took sweet counsel while on

earth. Yes, I shall know them as quick and with as much certainty as Peter knew Moses and Elias, when they descended from heaven to mount Tabor to converse with Christ. I am not afraid to die; for my Lord Jesus is with me, and I shall fear no evil. I know whom I have believed, and am sure that he will keep that, which I have committed unto him. What is that? It is my all, for I have been enabled to give myself into his hands; therefore I am not troubled about his property, for he knows how to keep it."

One morning, just after he had recovered from a fainting fit, he said to a friend, with a smile upon his countenance, "I did not think of seeing your face again in the flesh, one hour past; for I expected to have been with Jesus in heaven before this moment. Yet I do not wish you to think, that my Lord will tarry too long. His understanding is infinite: he is unchangeable. I have lived to a good old age, and have seen the salvation of the Lord. I long to see my Savior in glory. He will come quickly. For me to die is gain. The death of the righteous is called only a sleep. Them who sleep in Jesus will God bring with him; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. We shall then be like him, for we shall see him as he is. He will change our vile bodies, and make them like unto his most glorious body. Then shall I be satisfied," etc.

A little after this, he was more unwell, and his speech failed him so much, that he was never afterwards able to speak intelligibly. But a serene and smiling countenance and expressive gestures, showed that he retained his reason, and that he was calm and joyful in the approach of death; and after remaining in this situation a few days, he fell asleep in Jesus, on the 23d of May, 1802, in the eighty-first year of his age. A suitable discourse was delivered at his interment by Mr. Gano, of Providence.

These sketches have been extracted from a Memoir written by Mr. Joshua Bradley, who succeeded this venerable father in the pastoral office.

JEREMIAH WALKER (c. 1747-1792)

Jeremiah Walker was born in Bute county, North-Carolina, about the year 1747. He possessed rare and singular talents. **When but a small boy, although descended from rather obscure parentage, and having very little education, he was remarkably fond of reading and improving his mind.** He was also noticed as a boy of very moral and virtuous habits. When quite young he embraced vital religion, and being baptized, soon began to preach. The few Baptist preachers that were then in the ministry were very illiterate. Mr. Walker of course had very little opportunity of improving his small stock of literature, from their conversation; but the invincible energies of his genius towered above every obstruction. He quickly shone forth with so much splendor as to make it questionable, whether the obscurity of his education, as well as the unlearnedness of his society, did not, by leaving his mind unshackled from scholastic dogmas and from critical strictures, rather advance than impede his real greatness. After preaching in his native neighborhood, and in Pittsylvania county, Virginia, for some few years, he was induced

by the new church called Nottoway, formed in Amelia county, Virginia, (now Nottoway) to move down and take the pastoral charge of them. This took place, anno 1769. Here he became very conspicuous, and disseminated his evangelical principles far and near. He was almost incessantly employed in preaching the gospel. **In a few years, aided by others, particularly certain young preachers of his own raising, he planted between twenty and thirty churches south of James-river.** In these were also a considerable number of gifted characters, who afterwards became distinguished preachers. All of whom were either brought to the knowledge of the truth through his ministry, or were nurtured under his fostering hand after they were brought. All who knew him about this time, coincide in ascribing to him every thing that is desirable in a minister of the gospel. In talents, as a preacher, he was equalled by few of any denomination. His voice was melodious, his looks were affectionate, his manner was impressive and winning, his reasoning was clear and conclusive, his figures were elegant, well chosen, and strictly applicable; all of which advantages were heightened by the most unaffected simplicity. In private conversation, he was uncommonly entertaining and instructing to all, but especially to young preachers. Affable with all sorts of people, he was beloved and admired as far as he was known. Besides this, he was considered by all his acquaintances exemplarily pious, and, no doubt, was so at that time. No spot nor wrinkle was found in his character.

So distinguished a man among the despised Baptists, could not long escape the notice of their opponents. **When persecution began to arise, the enemies of the cross soon cast their eyes on Jeremiah Walker.** Him they viewed as the champion. "If we can but silence him," said they, "the whole host beside will hide themselves in dens and caverns." Accordingly **he was arrested in Chesterfield county,** by virtue of a warrant from a magistrate, and, after examination, was committed to jail. His patience, humility, and uniform prudence and piety, while in prison, acquired for him the esteem of all, whose prejudices would allow them to think favorably of a Baptist. He kept a journal or diary, when confined, in which are some of the most pious and sensible reflections.

When Mr. Walker came out of jail, he stood, if possible, in higher estimation than he had done before. Wherever he went to preach, he was attended by a large concourse; and from his preaching the most beneficial consequences were constantly produced.

Here, alas! we could willingly drop the pencil, and leave the picture with these bright colorings: but our wishes cannot be indulged; candor compels us to forego the desire. Like the inspired historians, we must not only exhibit the goodness and greatness of God's people, but their foibles and their follies too. They told of David's rise; they told of his downfall likewise. No maxim is more surely established by experience and observation, than this -- High delights are fraught with great dangers. God hath set adversity over against prosperity. And whenever a man in any character arises to distinguished eminence, he may look for some downfall, unless he watch his steps with a commensurate vigilance.

Mr. Walker had arrived to a degree of distinction far above his associates. In whatever direction he might travel, he was hailed by many as a father in the gospel. Caressed by his friends; admired by all, even by his enemies; invited to the society of the great; very influential, and indeed all-powerful in Associations and other places among the Baptists; still young and inexperienced; it will not appear strange to an experienced mind, that this man, thus standing on a pinnacle, should tilt over.

- "Oh, popular applause, what heart of man Is proof against thy sweet seducing charms! The wisest and the best feel urgent need Of all their caution, in thy gentlest gales. But, swell'd into a gust, who then, alas! With all his canvas set, and, inexpert, And therdore heedless, can withstand thy pow'r?"

In every good there will be some evil. The plain, familiar, affectionate manners of the Baptists in those days, under suitable restrictions, were surely favorable to vital piety. This habit, however, among the unsuspecting and incautious, exposed them to snares, into which too many fall. It would have been happy for Mr. Walker, if he had observed somewhat more of etiquette, especially among females. Their fondness for his company, under the pretense of religious affection, was often nothing more than carnal love in disguise. He was ultimately entrapped. In the year 1774, he attempted a criminal intrigue with a young woman, for which he was excluded; but soon again restored, on account of his apparently deep contrition. His deportment after this was so correct for some years, that he had almost regained his former standing. But, lamentable to relate, about the year 1784 or 1785, he fell into a similar transgression, in which things were carried much farther than the first. He was immediately excluded from fellowship. He sunk down into the utmost contempt. His name sounded with infamy far and near. The friends of religion were abashed beyond expression; while their enemies triumphed, as if the Baptists had sunk never to rise again. In no great while after this wretched event, he moved to Georgia; from whence, in the year 1788, he visited Virginia; professed to be again restored to divine favor, and petitioned the church from which he had been excluded, to re-instate him into membership. After some impediments were removed, he was received as a member, and also permitted to resume his ministry.

The sequel of his life is almost a continual struggle against the prejudices of both church and world. The sword never departed from his house. After his restoration, his morals were correct; for in truth, except the above sin, no other seems to have been capable of producing a momentary temptation to his mind.

He became an Arminian after his downfall, and thereby excited among the Georgia Baptists no small degree of contention. Finally, however, they split. Mr. Walker, with a small party, formed a distinct society, called General Baptists.

In 1791, he traveled into Virginia, and attended the Association, holden by the Middle District, at Cedar Creek, in Lunenburg county. From thence he went to the General Committee,[17] in Goochland; and then went through various parts of the State, leaving

his pamphlets and his verbal argument in favor of Arminianism, whithersoever he went. In this journey of Mr. Walker, those who associated with him, found him still the same pleasant, sensible, instructing, genteel character, that he had formerly been. Alas, alas! that so splendid a garment should be so spotted!

In his last illness, he endured, with remarkable fortitude and Christian resignation, the most excruciating and acute sufferings. He died September 20th, 1792. Reverend Abraham Marshall preached his funeral sermon from Zechariah, 11:2 "Howl, fir-tree; for the cedar is fallen."

Mr. Walker married Miss Jane Graves, in North-Carolina, when very young. They lived together in great harmony for many years. After he went to Georgia, she died, and he married a widow lady, with whom he lived also in the strictest harmony; for, his slips notwithstanding, he was exceedingly affectionate and kind in his family.

Mr. Walker had a principal hand in drafting for the Baptists their petitions and remonstrances to the Virginia Assembly; he also took an active and successful part in supporting them in the House, where he gained the applause of the candid members, as a man of sense and address. He published a number of pamphlets, mostly on controversial subjects; the most distinguished of which was the one entitled, "The fourfold foundation of Calvinism, examined and shaken."

SAUNDERS WALKER (1740-1805)

Saunders Walker was for many years one of the most useful ministers in the upper regions of Georgia. He was born March 17, 1740, in Prince William county, Virginia, and was a brother of Jeremiah Walker, whose history has just been related, and although his abilities were not equal to his brother's, yet he, different from him, maintained through life a character fair and unimpeachable. He was a singular instance of the transforming influence of the grace of God. **Before his conversion, he was of a turbulent, unmanageable temper, and much addicted to the vices naturally attendant on such a disposition. But the Divine Spirit not only changed his heart, but his nature too; so that he was ever after distinguished for the meekness and gravity of his deportment** the meek Saunders Walker, was a proverbial expression among all who knew him. He began to preach in South-Carolina in 1767, in the 27th year of his age, and for thirty-eight years continued a faithful and successful minister of the cross of Christ. About four years after he began his ministerial course, he moved to Bute county, North-Carolina, to a place notorious for wickedness and ignorance of religion. But it pleased his Master to be with him here, and in a short time a considerable church arose under his ministry. In 1782, he removed to Georgia, where he spent the remainder of his days. Here he became a companion in gospel labors with Daniel Marshall, and they were for a time the only ordained ministers in the upper part of the State. The country was now new and in an uncultivated state, both in a natural and a religious point of view. At this time also

disputes ran high between Whigs and Tories, from which many evils resulted. Mr. Walker not only became the laborious preacher of the gospel, but the successful mediator between contending parties, was the means of preventing many evils amongst them, and of procuring much good for those who were in trouble and want.

After spending a life of distinguished usefulness, he finished his course with joy, in 1805, in the 65th year of his age.

[This account of Mr. Walker was furnished by Mr. Jesse Mercer, of Georgia.]

JOHN WALLER (1741-1802)

John Waller, born Dec. 23d, 1741, in Spottsylvania county, was a descendant of the honorable Wallers in England. At a very early period, he manifested a great talent for satirical wit. This determined his uncle, who had the direction of his education, to bring him up for the law. He was put to a grammar-school, and made encouraging advancement in the dead languages. His uncle's death, and his father's narrow resources, added to his own unbridled inclinations to vice, prevented him from finishing even his classical education. He now began indeed to study, not the laws of the land, but those of the gaming-table. **Letting himself loose to every species of wickedness and profanity, he quickly acquired for himself the infamous appellation of Swearing Jack Waller,** by which he was distinguished from others of the same name. So far did he indulge his mischievous temper, that **he once had three warrants served on him at the same time, on account of one uproar.** It was frequently remarked by the common people, "that there could be no devilry among the people, unless Swearing Jack was at the head of it." **He was sometimes called the devil's adjutant** to muster his troops. To these may be added his fury against the Baptists. He was one of the grand jury who presented Louis Craig for preaching. This happily terminated in his good. Mr. Craig watched the dismissal of the grand jury, and found means to secure their attention, while he addressed them in the following harangue: "I thank you, gentlemen of the grand jury, for the honor you have done me. While I was wicked and injurious, you took no notice of me; but since I have altered my course of life, and endeavored to reform my neighbors, you concern yourselves much about me. I forgive my persecuting enemies, and shall take joyfully the spoiling of my goods."

When Mr. Waller heard him speak in that manner, and observed the meekness of his spirit, he was convinced that Craig was possessed of something that he had never seen in the man before. He thought within himself, that he should be happy if he could be of the same religion with Mr. Craig. From this time he began to attend their meetings, and was found of the Holy Spirit. The commandment came, and he died. He saw and felt himself a sinner. He now, for the first time, except in blaspheming, began to call upon the name of the Lord. His convictions were deep and pungent. He ate no pleasant bread and drank no

pleasant water, for seven or eight months, during which time he was almost in despair. He relates his exercises in the following words:

- "I had long felt the greatest abhorrence of myself, and began almost to despair of the mercy of God. However, I determined in my own soul, never to rest from seeking, until it pleased God to show mercy, or cut me off. Under these impressions I was, at a certain place, sitting under preaching. On a sudden, a man exclaimed that he had found grace, and began to praise God. No mortal can describe the horror with which I was seized at that instant. I began to conclude my damnation was certain. Leaving the meeting, I hastened to a neighboring wood, and dropped on my knees before God, to beg for mercy. In an instant I felt my heart melt, and a sweet application of the Redeemer's love to my poor soul. The calm was great, but short."

From this time he felt some increase of strength; yet at some times he felt the enemy break in upon him like a flood, and he would be almost ready to give up his hope. But the application of these words, gave him great comfort: "Who is among you that feareth the Lord; that walketh in darkness and hath no light; let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God." Isaiah 1:10.

And again, "By this we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren."

By the time Messrs. Harris and Read came on their second tour into this region, Mr. Waller felt sufficiently confident to become a candidate for baptism; and going up into Orange county, was there baptized by Mr. Read, some time in the year 1767. Baptism was to him, as it has been to thousands, a sanctified ordinance. His soul received a great accession of strength and comfort. Christ was revealed in him. Having contracted debts by dissipation, he sold property to pay them. He conferred not with flesh and blood; but began to preach, that men ought every where to repent. It was not long before his labors became effectual, at least, one way. That arch enemy of souls, whom he had served so faithfully before, now began to roar in hideous peals against him, and succeeded in raising up a powerful opposition.

At length it was thought proper to constitute a church in Mr. Waller's neighborhood; who making choice of him as pastor, he was ordained to the work of the ministry, June 20th, 1770. He now began to lengthen his cords. Befitting his course downwards, he baptized William Webber, who afterwards became a distinguished preacher among the Virginia Baptists, being the first he did baptize. October, 1770, accompanied by J. Burrus, he traveled down as far as Middlesex, where his ministry was attended with great success, and where he also met with violent opposition. From this time a train of prosperous events followed his evangelical exertions. Wherever he went, he was attended by a divine power, turning many to righteousness. His name sounded far and wide. By the ungodly, he was considered as a bold inexorable fanatic, that would do much mischief unless restrained. The Baptists and their adherents looked upon him as set for the defense of their cause, and with much confidence rallied round him as their leader. **His persecutions**

and imprisonments, in Caroline, in Middlesex, in Essex, and other counties, have been already related.

In this bright and burning way, Waller continued until 1775 or 1776, when he formed an acquaintance with one Williams, a preacher of some talents, apparent piety, and in Mr. Wesley's connection, consequently an Arminian; this man, by his conversation and books, so wrought upon Mr. Waller's mind, as to bring him over to believe the Arminian system. Knowing this to be contrary to the opinions of his brethren, he resolved to make a bold effort to preach and argue his principles at the next Association, and thereby convince his brethren; or, failing in this, to submit to be cut off from them. Accordingly, he took his text, 1 Corinthians 13:1: "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things." In his exordium he stated, that when young and inexperienced in religion, he had fallen in with the Calvinistic plan; but that, becoming more expert in doctrine, or, in the language of his text, when he became a man, he put away these childish notions. He then went lengthily into the argument. For want of truth, or for want of talents, he made few if any converts to his opinions, and of course had to confront the whole host of preachers and members now assembled. Mr. Waller, foreseeing his fate, took the shorter course. Instead of awaiting a fair trial, he proclaimed himself an independent Baptist preacher. This step was probably resorted to by Waller, under an expectation that his popularity was so great, that he should be able to bring over many of the churches to his party. Be it as it may, he immediately commenced his operations on an extensive plan. On his return from the Association, he used his utmost endeavor to form a strong party. He preached from house to house; spread his wings over a large field of ministerial labor; ordained lay elders in every neighborhood, to prevent inroads; and also several helps in the ministry. He also established what he called camp-meetings, in which they continued together several days, under certain written regulations, which were in substance, as follow:

1st. No female, on any account whatever, shall be permitted to appear in the camp, until an hour after sun-rise in the morning, nor stay there later than an hour before sun-set at night.

2d. The persons in the camp shall depend for sustenance, during the camp-meeting, on the friendly hospitality of the neighborhood.

3d. Any person in camp, waking at any period of the night, may pray or sing, without disturbing the slumbers of others.

The novelty of these meetings, excited the attention of the people in such a manner, that great multitudes crowded after him.

By these means his party gained strength daily. Few men possessed greater talents for heading a party of this description, than Mr. Waller. The only thing in which he was

deficient, was, that he could not be happy while separated from his brethren. He used to say that in the midst of apparent prosperity and the caresses of his friends, he still yearned after the people of God, from whom he had withdrawn. Some years after his restoration, he said to a young preacher who was dissatisfied, and talked of dissenting, "If you could have a distant view of my sufferings and leanness of soul, while a dissenter from my brethren, you would never again indulge such a thought." He was again fully reinstated in connection with his brethren, in 1787; when a full union between Separates, Regulars, and Independents, was accomplished. [See an Account of that General Committee, in Virginia.]

A very great revival commenced under Mr. Waller's ministry, in 1787. This continued for several years; and spread through all his places of preaching. In this revival he was greatly engaged; and baptized from first to last many hundreds, and his church in a short time increased to about 1500 members. Early in this revival, Mr. A. Waller, son of his brother Benjamin, was brought in; and in some few years began to preach. Mr. Waller immediately recognized him as his successor, and declared that he believed his work in that part of the earth was finished. Accordingly, November 8th, 1793, after taking the most affectionate farewell of the churches, he moved his family to Abbeville district, in the State of South-Carolina.

This removal was said to have arisen, partly from economical considerations, and partly from a strong desire on his own, and on the part of his wife, to live near a beloved daughter, who had some time previously married Reverend Abraham Marshall, of Georgia. Perhaps there might be other causes. His labors in his new residence were also blessed, but not to a great extent. He remained however faithful in the cause, until his death, which took place, July 4th, 1802.

His death was, as might be hoped and expected, truly glorious. His eldest son describes it in the following words:

- "His conflict with death, as it respected bodily affliction, was truly hard; but his soul appeared to be happy indeed! Never did I witness such resignation and Christian fortitude before! He was reduced to a perfect skeleton, and, in several places, the skin was rubbed off his bones. His pains appeared to be excruciating, but no murmur was heard from his lips. On the contrary, he would often say, 'I have a good Master, who does not give me one stroke too hard, or one too many.'"

"The last sermon he preached, was on the death of a young man. The text from which he preached was, Zechariah 2:4. 'Run, speak to this young man.' He addressed himself chiefly to youth, in feeble but animating strains, observing, that he counted upon its being the last sermon he should ever preach; and fervently prayed, that, Sampson like, he might slay more at his death, than he had done in his life. He continued speaking, until his strength failed him; and with reeling steps he advanced to a bed, where we thought he would have expired. From thence he was removed home in a carriage for the last time. He said, as to his soul, he was under no concern; as he had given it to Jesus long since; and he was under no doubt but what his Master would provide a mansion for it. Just before his departure, he summoned all his family around him, black and white, and

told them, he was anxious to be gone and to be present with Christ; and then warned them to walk in the fear of God, cordially shook hands with all, and soon after, with a pleasant countenance, breathed his last, and fell asleep in Jesus. I looked on the corpse with these words fresh in my mind, 'O lovely appearance of death.'"

Thus this great man of God conquered the last enemy, and ascended to that rest, that remaineth for the people of God. He died in the sixty-second year of his age; **having been a minister of God's word for about thirty-five years; having, in that time, lain in four different jails, for the space of one hundred and thirteen days, in all, besides buffetings, stripes, reproaches, etc.** Nor was his labor in vain in the Lord. While in Virginia, he baptized more than two thousand persons; assisted in the ordination of twenty-seven ministers; and **helped to constitute eighteen churches.** For many years, he had the ministerial care of five churches, to whom he preached statedly.

As a preacher, his talents in the pulpit were not above mediocrity; but he was certainly a man of very strong mind. His talents for art and intrigue were equalled by few. This he exercised sometimes, as it was thought, beyond the innocence of the dove. He was, perhaps, too emulous to carry his favorite points, especially in Associations; yet it must be owned, that such influence as he acquired in this way, he always endeavored to turn to the glory of God.

He had married to Miss E. Curtis, previous to his becoming religious. By her he had a number of children, some of whom the old man had the happiness to see profess the same faith with himself.

WILLIAM WEBBER (1747-1808)

William Webber was born August 15, 1747, of parents in the middle line of life. His education was but slender, having been sent to school only three years. At 16 years of age he was put an apprentice to a house-joiner. After the expiration of his apprenticeship, he continued to work at his trade, until God called him to be a workman for him. In October, 1769, was the first time he heard the Baptists preach, when he was awakened to know his danger; and his spirit took no rest from that time, until about six months after, when he obtained a hope of salvation; and was baptized, June 1770, by Elder John Waller, then just ordained. He had, as was usual about that time, commenced an exhorter, previous to his being baptized. **Few men in Virginia suffered more persecutions than Mr. Webber. He was first seized in Chesterfield county, December 7, 1770, and imprisoned in that county jail until March 7, 1771, just three months. In August, the same year, he was taken off the stage, where he was preaching, in Middlesex county, and put into prison, where he was confined forty-five days, having the bounds a part of the time. In both these prisons, he and his fellow-sufferers used to preach through the grates regularly twice a week, to such as would come to hear. Besides these imprisonments, he was often very roughly treated, by the sons of Belial, at different places;** all of which this man of God bore with Christian patience and

meekness. Although he was in narrow circumstances, he used when young, to devote much of his time to preaching; and being much respected and beloved, he was an instrument of doing much good. As he grew older, and his family larger, he found it necessary to limit his labors chiefly to his own and the adjacent neighborhoods. He was still very successful in turning many to righteousness, and in confirming the souls of the disciples. Mr. Webber was a man of talents, though not in the pulpit; for there he was hardly up to mediocrity. He was a man of sound and correct judgment, well acquainted with mankind, well versed in the Scriptures, **well instructed in the principles of the gospel, and ingenious in defending them against error.** As a companion, he was remarkably agreeable; for he was pleasant and cheerful, yet without levity. His conversation was chiefly upon the subject of religion, to which he had a turn for directing the attention of his company, without permitting it to be irksome. In his church, he was greatly beloved by his members, and all who knew him. He was remarkably plain, both in his dress and manners. His chief excellency, however, was in Associations and public bodies. He was made moderator of the General Association, as early as the year 1778; and although there were many older ministers than himself, for several years after, yet he seldom attended an Association or General Committee, but he was placed in the chair. His address, either in the chair or out of it, was far from being accomplished. But still he was preferred before men of far more refined powers, on account of his soft, yet manly, affectionate, and unaffected method. It is likely, that less affectation was never in any man than in William Webber. You always saw him in his true colors. About the year 1799 he had a long and distressing sickness, which had well nigh brought him to his grave. He did, however, recover; but his constitution was so shaken, that he was never as healthy afterwards. He recovered so far as to go out some small distance from home; but relapsing, he lingered for some months; and on the 29th day of February, 1808, he yielded to the king of terrors, but who had lost his terror as to him. In his last illness, he enjoyed great religious consolation, and said to Elder Watkins of Powhatan, a little time before his death, "**Brother Watkins, I never had so glorious a manifestation of the love of God in all my life, as I have had since my sickness. O, the love of God!**" Semple.

PETER WERDEN (1728-1808)

Peter Werden was born June 6th, 1728, and ordained to the work of the ministry, at Warwick, Rhode-Island, May, 1751, in the 24th year of his age.

When he first began to preach, he was too much of a New-Light, and too strongly attached to the doctrine of salvation by sovereign grace, to be generally received among the old Baptist churches in Rhode-Island, which had been formed partly upon the Arminian plan, until the following event opened the door for him:

A criminal, by the name of Carter, was executed at Tower-Hill, and the scene of his execution collected abundance of people from all parts of the State. While the criminal stood under the gallows, young Werden felt such a concern for his soul, that he urged his

way through the crowd; and being assisted by the sheriff, he gained access to him, and addressed him as follows: "Sir, is your soul prepared for that awful eternity, into which you will launch in a few minutes?" The criminal replied, "I don't know that it is, but I wish you would pray for me." In this prayer, Mr. Werden was so wonderfully assisted in spreading the poor man's cause before the throne of God, that the whole assembly were awfully solemnized, and most of them wet their cheeks with their tears. This opened a great door for his ministrations, both on the maine and on the island. He preached at Warwick, Coventry, and many other places, with good success, about 19 years, and then moved, in 1770, into the town of Cheshire, in Berkshire county, Massachusetts, where he lived and administered almost 38 years. In his first religious exercises, he was led to dig deep into his own heart, where he found such opposition and rebellion, that when he obtained pardon, he attributed it to sovereign grace alone; which sentiment, so interwoven in his soul, he ever proclaimed aloud to a dying world. Nothing appeared to be more disgusting to his mind, than to hear works and grace mixed together, as the foundation of a sinner's hope. To hold forth the Lamb of God as a piece of a Savior; or to consider the self-exertions of a natural man to be the way into Christ, the true and only way, were extremely displeasing to that soul of his, which delighted so much in proclaiming eternal love, redeeming blood, and matchless grace. Sound judgment, correct principles, humble demeanor, with solemn sociability, marked all his public improvements, and mingled with all his conversation in smaller circles, or with individuals. In him young preachers found a father and a friend; distressed churches, a healer of breaches; and tempted souls, a sympathizing guide. From his first settling in Cheshire, until he was 70 years old, he was a father to the Baptist churches in Berkshire county and its environs, and in some sense an apostle to them all.

His many painful labors for the salvation of sinners, the peace of the churches, and the purity of the ministers, will never be fully appreciated, until the time when he shall stand before his Judge, and hear the words of his mouth, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

From the sternness of his eyes and blush of his face, a stranger would have been led to conclude, that he was sovereign and self-willed in his natural habit of mind; but on acquaintance, the physiognomist would have been agreeably disappointed. He had so much self-government, that he has been heard to say, that (except when he had the small-pox,) he never found it hard to keep from speaking at any time, if his reason told him it was best to forbear; and no man possessed finer feelings, or treated the characters of others with more delicacy than he did. He had an exalted idea of the inalienable rights of conscience; justly appreciated the civil rights of man, and was assiduous to keep his brethren from the chains of ecclesiastical power.

His preaching was both sentimental and devotional; and his life so far corresponded with the precepts which he taught, that none of his hearers could justly reply, "Physician, heal thyself."

He had the happiness of having a number of revivals in the town and congregation where he resided and preached, and a number of ministers were raised up in the church of which he was pastor.

For about ten years before his death his bodily and mental powers had been on the decline, and he was often heard to rejoice, that others increased though he decreased; but his superannuation was not so great, as to prevent the whole of his usefulness; and his hoary head was a crown of glory unto him.

A number of times he was heard to pray that he might not outlive his usefulness, which was remarkably answered in his case, for the Lord's-day before he died he preached to the people of his charge.

The disease which closed his mortal life, denied his friends the pleasure of catching the balm of life from his lips, in his last moments. He had finished his work before, and nothing remained for him to do, but to die.

Let the inhabitants of Cheshire, (said Mr. John Leland, his biographer, and who exhibited the above at the close of the sermon which he preached at his funeral) reflect a moment on the dealings of God towards them. Within about three years, three ministers, belonging to the town, have departed this life. The pious Mason took the lead; the pleasing Covell followed after; and now (1808) the arduous Werden, who has been in the ministry a longer term than any Baptist preacher left behind, in New-England, has finished his course, in the 80th year of his age; while Leland remains alone, to raise this monument over their tomb.

JOHN WILLIAMS (1747-1795)

John Williams was born in the county of Hanover, Virginia, 1747. He was of a very respectable family, and received a tolerable education. In the month of June, 1769, when acting as a sheriff of Lunenburg, he was awakened to know and to feel his sin and his danger. He became a convert, and shortly after lifted up his voice to exhort his fellow-men to flee from the wrath to come. He was not baptized until the first Sabbath in February, 1770. He continued to exhort, until some time in the following summer, when he ventured to take a text, and from that time commenced preacher. December, 1779, he was ordained to the ministry, and took the care of Meherrin church. His gifts, at first, were far from being auspicious. Many pronounced that he would never be a preacher; so delusory are the first efforts of the mind.

He not only succeeded in becoming a preacher, but in becoming a first-rate preacher, at least in the estimation of most of his acquaintances.

He was exceeding fond of reading and writing, and indeed was generally studious, by which means he greatly improved his mind.

When he first commenced preacher he was zealous, active, and laborious in the ministry; **traveling and propagating the gospel in different parts.** He may well be numbered among the fathers of Israel. His talent, however, was not employed so much in breaking down the bars of prejudice in new and unenlightened places, as in directing and regulating young converts when gathered by others. Pleasing, affable, and refined in his manners, his hand was employed to smooth off some of those protuberances left by rougher workmen. In Associations he was expert with his pen, as well as wise to offer counsel. He acted as clerk to the General Association; and when they divided the Association into districts, a unanimous vote of thanks was offered Mr. W. for his faithful and skillful services in that capacity. He also discharged the duties of clerk to the Roanoke Association until a little time previous to his death. He introduced several excellent regulations both into the General and Roanoke Associations, for the government of churches, etc. **Few men understood church discipline better, or were more successful in building up large respectable churches, wherever he attended. For many years he acted as pastor to four churches, whom he attended monthly.** He was in high estimation both as a man and a minister. Even the enemies of the Baptists would often except Mr. W. from their reproaches. In his temper towards those of other religious persuasions, he was remarkably liberal. Indeed, by some of his acquaintances it is said he was friendly to open communion; but that he was restrained from putting it in practice, by his tenderness for his brethren, most of whom differed with him on this head. This liberality of spirit did not prevent him from maintaining his own principles with great firmness, whenever an occasion offered. It was such an occasion as this, which drew forth his reply to Mr. Patilloe's [a celebrated Presbyterian preacher] sermon on infant baptism. He committed his arguments to writing, with an intention of printing them in the form of a pamphlet; but as nothing came out on the other side, and as so much had been already published on that subject, it was not put to the press.

In his preface, he makes the following remark:

- "I hope I have sufficiently demonstrated to my countrymen, for a series of years, that I am not overbearing on others, or bigotted to my own principles which are not essential to salvation; but have uniformly endeavored to promote a catholic spirit, with peace and concord, in the Israel of God. But, nevertheless, I am set for the defense of the gospel; and as such, circumstances often occur, that involuntarily lead me forth to contend for the faith and order of Christ's church."

He was generally upon the best terms with the Presbyterians, who were pretty numerous in his neighborhood.

His talents, if not equal to any, were certainly very little inferior to those of the first grade.

His appearance in the pulpit was noble and majestic, yet humble and affectionate. In the beginning of his discourses, he was doctrinal and somewhat methodical; often very deep, even to the astonishment of his hearers. Towards the close, and indeed sometimes throughout his sermon, he was exceedingly animating. His exhortations were often incomparable. At an early period he became very corpulent. At an Association, in the year 1793, he accidentally fell, by the turning of a step, as he was passing out of a door, and became for a year or two a cripple; being under the necessity of going on crutches. Notwithstanding this, he would frequently go in a carriage to meeting, and preach, sitting in a chair in the pulpit. During several of the last years of his life, he was afflicted with a very painful disease. Under his severe suffering, he was not only patient, but when he could have any mitigation of his pain, he was also cheerful. About ten days before his death, he was attacked by a pleurisy; from which no medicine could give him relief. His work was finished, and his Master had called for him. On the 30th day of April, 1795, he fell asleep.

Nothing very remarkable transpired at his death. He was pensive and silent. He told his wife, that to live or die was to him indifferent: he had committed this to God, who, he knew, would do right. He said he felt some anxiety for his numerous family; but that these, also, he was willing to trust in the hands of a gracious Providence.

January, 1768, he was married to Miss Frances Hughes, of Powhatan county, by whom he had 14 children; of whom 11 were living at the time of his death; and of these, four professed religion, and were baptized. Semple.

[There have been many other eminent characters in the Baptist connection, who ought to have a place among the worthies of their host; but, for want of some one to record their history, their names are either sunk, or are fast sinking into forgetfulness. Our brethren, in many instances, have been strangely neglectful of their departed friends. They have conducted as though they supposed every body knew their worth, and that it was therefore unnecessary to write any thing respecting them. The Author of this work has for a number of years had it in view, at some future period, should his life be continued, to prepare one altogether biographical; which will contain not only the lives, but the likenesses of many Baptist characters of distinction, both European and American. Those who may feel interested in preserving the history and resemblances of their departed friends, are desired to keep this suggestion in mind.]

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

VOLUME II CHAPTER 18

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF A NUMBER OF BAPTIST COMMUNITIES, WHO DIFFER FROM THE MAIN BODY OF THE DENOMINATION, AND WHO ARE ALSO DISTINGUISHED BY SOME PECULIARITIES OF THEIR OWN.

CHURCHES WHICH HOLD TO WEEKLY COMMUNION.

The practice of administering the Lord's Supper every first day of the week, has never prevailed much among the American Baptists. The old church, at Sandy-Creek, North-Carolina, was for some years on that plan, but it has now given it up.

A few years since, a number of ministers came over from Scotland to America, in the character of missionaries of the Independent persuasion, and some of them were patronized by the liberal Robert Haldane, Esq. of Edinburgh. These missionaries, after traveling a short time, in different parts of the United States, were led to embrace the Baptist sentiments, and from Pedobaptist became Baptist ministers. Mr. Walter Balfour was baptized by Mr. Collier of Charlestown, near Boston; Mr. Archibald Maclay by Mr. Williams of New-York; Mr. James Graham, now of Beaufort, South-Carolina, by the Home administrator in New-York; Mr. James M_Pherson, now of Baltimore, was baptized by Mr. Joseph B. Cook, then of Beaufort, South-Carolina. These baptisms all took place about 1809. Some other Pedobaptist ministers came over to the Baptists about the same time, and they were, perhaps, too much elated at these accessions to their cause, But it was soon found, that most of the Scotch ministers were, notwithstanding their becoming of the Baptist persuasion, far from uniting in their connection. The Independents in Scotland generally, if not uniformly, practice weekly communion; and of this point, and some others, these new converts to believers' baptism were peculiarly tenacious. Mr. Balfour gathered a small church in Boston and Charlestown, to which he still ministers; but his success in building up a separate interest, has not been so great as his talents and address seemed at first to promise. An account of Mr. Maclay's successful and commendable proceedings in New-York has already been related. The church which he founded, still practises weekly communion; but it is, notwithstanding, in fellowship with those which commune but monthly. Mr. M_Pherson gathered a church in Baltimore, mostly out of the second in that city, which went heartily into his notions of communion and other particulars respecting the order of the house, etc. He is a man of respectable talents, and seemed to promise usefulness as a minister of the word, notwithstanding his dividing measures; but to the grief of his friends, he has lately been disowned by his infant church, for intemperance. Mr. Graham preached a while in Savannah, Georgia; then in Beaufort, South-Carolina; and for a short time had the care of the church in that place; but not being able to bring it to his views, he formed a small one upon his own plan. How large it is, or what are its circumstances, I have not learnt.

The labors of these ministers, together with some writings, which they brought from Scotland, seemed at first to threaten innovations among the American churches of considerable extent; but these appearances have, in a great measure, subsided, and very few have gone so far into the new order of the house, as to separate from their respective connections. Some few churches, however, have been founded by the converts to weekly communion, plurality of Elders, etc.

One of this kind was formed in 1809, by the name of the Second Baptist Church in Charleston. Its principal teacher is Mr. Oliver Holden, a native of New-England, formerly a member of the first church in that town. This church at first consisted of nine members, but has since increased to twenty-five. [One has been excluded, for denying the self-existence and eternity of Jesus Christ.] Three have been added by baptism, and thirteen from other churches. The constituents were dismissed, by their request, from the first church. The ostensible reason for asking a dismission, (as stated by themselves,) was, that discipline was not maintained so strictly as they desired, or as the church acknowledged it ought to be. And _despairing of seeing the church brought to resemble the Scripture pattern, and desirous of reforming themselves, _ they,

at their request, were dismissed for that purpose. Their leading views in this measure, and their distinguishing sentiments, are thus stated by one of their number:

_In respect to the difference between their sentiments and those of the churches from whose connection they are separated, they profess to have aimed only to revive the Baptist principles recorded in the Scriptures and in the history of purer ages, and not to innovate in any degree.

_They disapprove all connection with the world, in the support of the gospel, and with other churches in choosing and ordaining Elders. They deny that present ministers are successors of the Apostles, in the sense frequently conveyed on baptismal and other occasions; and that their office, as teachers and rulers in the church, should be known by any distinction in dress or titles. They consider it their duty to commemorate the death and resurrection of Christ every first day of the week; and that the evening of that day (after having attended to the Lord's Supper) is a suitable season for mutual exhortation and prayer. And they profess to believe, that by duly regarding primitive practices, and apostolical injunctions, they shall be enabled to walk in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, and to enjoy the essential blessing of a spiritual and efficient ministry.

_In doctrine they profess to be the same as when first taught by the Holy Ghost to call Jesus Lord, wishing for no change, excepting greater discoveries of its simplicity, efficiency and glory.

_They use no platform of church-government but the Scriptures, believing that a greater acquaintance with them will strengthen their faith, love, and veneration for the adored object of their uniform testimony.

_They have been supposed by some to have imbibed Sandemanian notions of faith, divine influence, religious experience, etc.; but it is not true. They separated from the first church, for the reasons above mentioned; but they have neither imbibed new sentiments, nor formed new connections. They profess their desire to _stand in the ways, and ask for the old paths,_ and their hope that God will enable them to _Walk therein._

The reader will doubtless wish to hear the other side, and will probably suspect that the real cause of the separation has not been disclosed. [See the account of the Charlestown Church, Vol. 1.] This church, although of the same order with Mr. Balfour's, has yet no visible fellowship with it.

In Hartford, Connecticut, a small church has been formed upon the plan of weekly communion, by Mr. Henry Grew, formerly pastor of the Baptist church in that city. Mr. Grew is a native of England; was, for a number of years, a citizen of Providence, Rhode-Island, and was called to the office of a deacon by the old church in that town, at the age of 24. Not long after he was, by the same church, called to the ministry, and was, a year or two after, settled in the pastoral care of the church in Hartford. His ministry here was, for a while, prosperous and happy, and his separation from the church was an event peculiarly painful and trying; for in addition to the maxims of the Scotch brethren, he imbibed some others, which were not only new, but in the estimation of his brethren unscriptural, and unbecoming a man of his talents and discretion. Mr. Grew is, by all who know him, respected for his gifts, and beloved for his piety; but by withdrawing from his former connection, and devoting himself exclusively to his little flock, he has circumscribed his sphere of usefulness to very narrow bounds.

In the close of the autumn of 1810, a church, on the plan of weekly communion, was formed in New-York, under the ministry of Messrs. Errett and Ovington. _It is composed,_ as they say, _of persons from various nations under heaven._ -- They reject all human creeds, rules, covenants, etc. thinking the Scriptures perfect enough for direction in every thing. -- They dislike all pompous edifices as places of worship; all pulpits or places designed for the exhibition of the clergy; and think themselves fully accommodated with a place of worship similar to those of the first churches. Accordingly they meet at present in a rented apartment, No. 70, Hudson-street, New York, where those, who desire to see what cannot be seen elsewhere, viz. a church of Christ assembled together, may resort for the satisfaction of their minds, their queries, or curiosities. Their times of meeting are the first day of the week, thrice, and Thursday in the evening. And they have appointed Tuesday evening, for preaching the gospel to the world_ [Essay on the Constitution of Apostolic Churches, p. 152].

The doctrinal sentiments of these Weekly Communion Baptists are, probably, somewhat different. Some of them evidently agree with the churches from which they have separated. Others have been charged with favoring the Sandemanian system. This charge, however, they generally deny. In their maxims of discipline, and the order of their house, they seem to pay no regard to uniformity, and I know not as any two churches of them see alike, or maintain a visible fellowship with each other. Some of the brethren maintain their peculiar opinions in a becoming manner, while others urge their punctilios with such a ranting scrupulosity, as to defeat, in most cases, their own proselyting intentions.

The Baptist churches generally throughout the United States celebrate the Lord's Supper once a month; in some few cases but once in two or three months. They do not deny the lawfulness of weekly communion, but they contend that it is not necessary for the gospel travel of a church. **They plead that the frequency of attending to this solemn rite is left as a matter of discretion,** since our Savior has only said, As oft

as ye do it, do it in remembrance of me. And **although it is certain that the disciples met on the first day of the week to break bread, yet that it is not certain that they met every first day for this purpose.** They would freely commune with baptized believers, who hold to weekly communion, in case they agreed with them in doctrine, etc. But none of the brethren under consideration, except Mr. M_Olay and his church, seem disposed to commune with them.

ARMINIAN OR FREE-WILL BAPTISTS

[Note by D.W. Cloud: Though Pastor David Benedict was an excellent and careful historian, he was also a man, and as such was subject to those passions and weaknesses which are the lot of our fallen race. It appears to me that he was inclined because of his own Calvinistic persuasion to force non-Calvinists into the dreaded Arminian mold (or worse). Because a man rejects TULIP Calvinism, though, does not mean that he is an Arminian. A man is free simply to believe the Bible and refuse to follow Calvin or Arminius or any other man's systematic theology. It is a great mistake to measure a group of Christians by a man-made theology rather than by the Bible alone.]

From nearly the beginning of the Baptists in America, there have been some, who have opposed a number of the principal articles in the Calvinistic creed. For a long time, most of these brethren resided in Rhode-Island and its vicinity, where their history has been related. For some years there were many of these, improperly called Separate Baptists, in Virginia, and the more southern States, who were called Arminians, because they maintained, that by the sufferings of Christ, salvation was made possible for every individual of Adam's ruined posterity. The issue of the contest on this point may be found under the head of Virginia. And besides, there have always been some churches and many individuals, who have objected to some of the strong points of Calvinism, or adopted them with some peculiar modifications; but no very considerable party of this character arose, until a little more than thirty years ago, when one was founded by Elder **Benjamin Randal**, of New-Durham, New-Hampshire. This Elder Randal, as his biographer observes, was led, about 1780 _to object against the whole doctrine of John Calvin, with respect to eternal, particular, personal, unconditional election and reprobation; and propagated the following maxims, viz.

1st. That all men have sinned and come short of the glory of God.

2d. That Jesus Christ has died for all men, and, by the grace of God, hath tasted death for every man.

3d. That the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men.

4th. That Christ's ministers are commanded to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; and that he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned_ [*Religious Magazine*, p. 3].

This zealous minister was assiduous in propagating his opinions, and endeavoring to persuade others to renounce, what he used to call, the hydra monster Calvinism. A number soon fell in with his views, broke off from the Calvinistic churches in New-Hampshire and the District of Maine, and from a small beginning they have arisen to a large community, which is scattered in different parts of Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, New-York, the Canadas, and in some other places.

The first minister who united with Elder Randal, was Pelatiah Tingley, A.M. then of Sanford, Maine. He is a native of Attleborough, Massachusetts, a small distance from Providence, Rhode-Island, was a graduate of the College in that town. After him, Samuel Weeks and other ministers were convinced of what they esteemed the dangerous errors of Calvinism, and united in Elder Randal's opposition. This party was as strenuous for believers' baptism as before; they were, like all new sects, very sanguine in their new discoveries, and from a distinguished article in their doctrinal system, they were denominated Free-will Baptists. This appellation is received by some of the community, and objected to by others. Of late years they seem to prefer denominating themselves simply Christian, and their churches, Churches of Christ. But as all, who make a religious profession, account themselves Christians, and as all religious bodies profess to be churches of Christ, these terms are too indefinite for an historical narrative. I have therefore taken the liberty of applying to these people the name by which they are generally distinguished. Mr. Randal, their founder, is said to have been very successful in his ministry, not only in propagating his peculiar opinions, but in persuading sinners to repent; he was also, at times, much opposed in his public ministrations; but this increased his zeal, and under him and his associates, a number of churches shortly arose. The one at New-Durham, the place of his residence, was formed in 1781; this church soon became large, and spread her branches round in different directions; and other churches at Little-Falls, Woolwich, Georgetown, Edgcomb, Little-River, New-Gloucester, and Parsonsfield, arose not long after the mother body was founded. These Free-will churches soon found it expedient to form what they called General Meetings, which they held at different places once a quarter. The first of the kind was held at Phillipsburg, Maine, in 1783, and consisted of delegates _from all the branches of the little brotherhood._ They next proceeded to form a Yearly Meeting, which was composed of delegates from each quarterly one; and at the close of the Yearly Meeting is held the Elders' Conference, in which all the Elders meet to consult on the general

interests of their community. In 1810, there were, among these people six Associations, or Quarterly Meetings, viz. Goreham, Edgecomb, and Farmington, in Maine; New-Durham, in New-Hampshire, and Strafford and Hardwick, in Vermont. In the three Meetings in Maine, there were, at that time, between forty and fifty churches, about as many preachers, and upwards of two thousand members; and it is probable that the three other Quarterly Meetings were as large if not larger than these. Mr. John Buzzell, of Parsonsfield, Maine, a preacher in this connection, began in 1811, to publish a periodical work entitled, *A Religious Magazine*, etc. which was to contain a history of this community. From the first number of that work some of these sketches have been selected. Other numbers were to have been forwarded, but for some reason they have not come to hand: these brief hints, must, therefore, suffice for the history of this extensive community.

Mr. Elias Smith, formerly a preacher of good repute in the Warren Association, has, within a few years past, formed a party of considerable extent in different States, which are sometimes called Smithites, but more generally Christians, which last name their founder seems peculiarly solicitous of maintaining. Mr. Smith is a man of popular talents, but unusually changeable in his religious creed. He has propagated, at different times, Calvinism, Universalism, Arminianism, Arianism, Socinianism, and other isms too numerous to mention. He has also advanced the doctrine of the annihilation of the wicked after death. He professes to explode all creeds and confessions, and denominates himself and followers, with a peculiar emphasis, Christians. He has published a multitude of books to defend his opinions, or rather to oppose those of all others. Many have become his disciples, of whom some believe more and some less of his changeable opinions. The large church in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, consisting of about six hundred members, has been dropped from the Groton Conference, on account of their adhering to this singular man. A number of other churches of different Associations have been shaken and diminished, by the too successful exertions of him and his associates. Many, doubtless, have fallen into his train, who, with better leaders or less leading, would have acted a more becoming part. Among the Free-will Baptists, Mr. Smith was, in many places, very cordially received; for he is as strenuous as ever for believers' baptism, although he is constantly belabouring the Baptists, both from the pulpit and press. But the Free-will brethren finding him expert at brow-beating Calvinism, were ambitious of placing him among the champions of their cause. He was the means of introducing some innovations amongst them, both as it respects doctrine and discipline; but whether they still listen to his instructions, I have not learnt. Mr. Smith has been a few years in Philadelphia, where he founded a small church, which has lately published a pamphlet, containing a number of very severe strictures upon his conduct; and he is now about settling again in New-England.

SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS

As the brethren of this sentiment are not numerous, we shall, under this head, give a brief sketch of their history both in Europe and America. **The Sabbatarians differ from the Baptists generally in no other article but that of the Sabbath.** And upon that subject, as near as I can understand from their writings and conversation, they hold that the ten commandments are all still binding on Christians, and of course, that the Seventh day of the week instead of the First, ought to be observed as the Christian Sabbath; that there is no account in the New-Testament, that there ever has been, by divine appointment, a change of the Sabbath; and that it is inconsistent for Christians to profess to obey the ten commandments, and still make an exception of the fourth, which contains the solemn requisition, Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, Etc. They plead that it was designed by the Former of the Universe that the Seventh day should be observed as the Sabbath, or day of rest, from the creation to the end of the world. They also contend, that whatever respect the early Christians paid to the First day of the week, on account of the resurrection of the Savior, yet that they then, and in after ages, observed the ancient Sabbath, and that **this practice of observing two days, was continued to the time of Constantine, when, by an imperial law, the First day was established in preference to the Seventh; and that from that period the observation of the Seventh day fell generally into disuse.** They suppose, however, that there have been Christians in every age who have kept holy the Seventh day, but they do not pretend that they can prove this point by historical evidence. The following passage seems much to their purpose, and is the only one of the kind which I have met with in history:

_It was Constantine the Great, who first made a law for the observation of Sunday; and who, according to Eusebius, appointed it should be regularly celebrated throughout the Roman Empire. Before him and even in his time, they observed the Jewish Sabbath as well as Sunday, both to satisfy the law of Moses and to imitate the Apostles, who used to meet together on the First day. Indeed, some are of opinion, that the Lord's day, mentioned in the Apocalypse, is our Sunday, which they will have to have been so early instituted by the Apostles. Be this as it will, it is certain a regard was had to this day, even in the earliest ages of the church, as appears from the first Apology of Justin Martyr, where he describes the exercise of the day not much unlike to ours. By Constantine's law, made in 321, it was decreed, that for the future, the Sunday should be kept a

day of rest in all cities and towns; but he allowed the country people to follow their work. In 538, the Council of Orleans prohibited this country labor; but in regard there were still abundance of Jews in the Gauls, and that the people gave in to a good many superstitious usages in the celebration of the new Sabbath, like those of the Jews among that of the old, the Council declares, that to hold it unlawful to travel with horses, cattle, and carriages, to prepare foods, or to do any thing necessary to the cleanliness and decency of houses or persons, savours more of Judaism than Christianity_ [Chambers_ *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, Article Sunday.]

Mosheim makes mention of some Christians in the second century, who assembled on the Seventh day for worship, but he also intimates that the greater part met on the First day. We find that the Waldenses were sometimes called *Insabathos*, that is, regardless of Sabbaths. Mr. Milner supposes this name was given to them, because they observed not the Romish festivals, and rested from their ordinary occupations only on Sundays. [*Church History*, Vol. 3. p. 423.] A Sabbatarian would suppose that it was because they met for worship on the Seventh day, and did regard not the First day Sabbath. Robinson gives an account of some of the Waldenses of the Alps, who were called *Sabbati*, *Sabbatati*, *Insabbatati*, but more frequently *Inzabbatati*. _One says they were so named from the Hebrew word Sabbath, because they kept the Saturday for the Lord_s day. Another says they were so called because they rejected all the festivals, or Sabbaths, in the low Latin sense of the word, which the Catholics religiously observed_ [*Ecc. Researches*, p. 303]. Mosheim informs us they were so called from their wearing wooden shoes, which, in the French language, are termed *Sabats*, which had imprinted on them the sign of the cross, to distinguish them from other Christians, etc. [Vol. 3. p. 117. 523] _But is it likely,_ says Robinson, _that people who could not descend from their mountains into neighboring States without hazarding their lives through the furious zeal of inquisitors, should tempt danger by affixing a visible mark on their shoes? Besides, the shoe of the peasants in this country was called Abarca._ It is the opinion of this writer, that the meaning of *Insabbatati* was, inhabitants of hills, mountaineers, etc. [*Researches*, p. 304] But after all, there appears to be a peculiar obscurity attending the history of these people, and every one must form his opinion for himself respecting them. It is evident that they were numerous, and were terribly harassed by the Romish inquisitors. The following oath was required of those, who were suspected of their heresy.

I, Sancho, swear by Almighty God, and by these holy gospels of God, which I hold in my hand, before you lord Garcia Archbishop, and before others your assistants, that I am not, nor ever have been, an Inzabbatate Waldense, or poor person of Lyons, or an heretick of any sect of heresy condemned by the church; nor do I believe, nor have I ever believed, their errors, nor will I believe them in any future time of my life. Moreover, I profess and protest, that I do believe, and that I will always hereafter believe, the Catholick faith, which the Apostolical church of Rome publicly holds, teaches, and preaches, and you, my lord Archbishop, and other prelates of the Catholick church publicly hold, preach, and teach [Ibid. p. 323].

Mosheim gives an account of another sect in the twelfth century, in Lombardy, who were called *Pasaginians*, or the circumcised; that they circumcised their followers, and celebrated the Jewish Sabbath. [Vol. 3 p. 123] The account of their practising circumcision is undoubtedly a slanderous story forged by their enemies, and probably arose in this way. Because they observed the Seventh day, they were called, by way of derision, Jews, as the Sabbatarians are frequently at this day; and if they were Jews, it followed of course, that they either did or ought to circumcise their followers. This was probably the reasoning of their enemies; but that they actually practiced the bloody rite, is altogether improbable. Robinson supposes that these Pasaginians were a branch of the Waldenses, and were so called from their living near the passages of the mountains. [*Researches*, p. 305]

These are a few of the historical facts, which lie scattered on the pages of ecclesiastical history, respecting the people, who have observed the ancient Sabbath. We have seen in the history of Transylvania, that Francis Davidis, first chaplain to the court of Sigismund, the prince of that kingdom, and afterwards superintendent of all the Transylvanian churches, was of this opinion.

We shall now proceed to some brief sketches of the history of the Sabbatarians in England and America.

SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS IN ENGLAND

At what time the Seventh-day Baptists began to form churches in this kingdom does not appear; but probably it was at an early period; and although their churches have never been numerous, yet there have been among them, almost for two hundred years past, some very eminent men. The famous family of the Stennetts, for three generations at least, were of this belief, as were a number of other distinguished members of the Baptist community. Of a few of these characters we shall now give some brief account.

Edward Stennett is the first of the family of which we have any information. The time or place of his birth does not appear, but it is probable he was born in the early part of the sixteenth century. In the time of the civil wars he took the side of Parliament, and thereby exposed himself to the neglect of his near relations. When he dissented from the established church and united with the Baptists, he, like all others of those

times, fell under the oppressions of the ruling party; and being deprived of the means of subsistence, he applied himself to the study of physick, and became a medical character of some distinction. One very singular escape from the malicious designs of his enemies is thus related by Crosby:

He dwelt in the castle of Wallingford, a place where no warrant could make forcible entrance, but that of a lord chief justice; and the house was so situated, that assemblies could meet, and every part of religious worship be exercised in it, without any danger of a legal conviction, unless informers were admitted, which care was taken to prevent, so that for a long time he kept a constant and undisturbed meeting in his hall. A gentleman who was in the commission of the peace, and his very near neighbor, being highly incensed at the continuance of an assembly of this kind so near him; after having made several fruitless attempts to get his emissaries admitted into the house in order to a conviction, in the rage of a disappointment resolved, together with a neighboring clergyman, upon doing it by a subordination of witnesses. They accordingly hired some persons fit for their purpose, to swear they had been at those assemblies, and heard prayer and preaching there, though they had never been in the house on those occasions. The clergyman's conduct in this affair was the more censured, because he had professed a great friendship for Mr. Stennett, and was under considerable obligations to him; having often had his assistance in the way of his profession as a physician, for his family, without any reward. Mr. Stennett finding an indictment was laid against him on the conventicle act, founded upon the oaths of several witnesses, and being well assured that nothing but perjury could support it, was resolved to traverse it, and accordingly did so. The assizes were held at Newbury, and when the time drew near, there was great triumph in the success these gentlemen proposed to themselves, when on a sudden the scene was changed; news came to the justice, that his son, whom he had lately placed at Oxford, was gone off with a player; the concern whereof, and the riding in search of him, prevented his attendance in the court. The clergyman, a few days before the assizes, boasted much of the service which would be done to the church and the neighborhood by this prosecution, and of his own determination to be at Newbury to help carry it on; but to the surprise of many, his design was frustrated by sudden death. One of the witnesses, who lived at Cromish, was also prevented, by being seized with violent and sad disease, of which he died. Another of them fell down and broke his leg, and was so hindered. In short, of seven or eight persons engaged in this wicked design, there was but one left who was capable of appearing; he was a gardener, who had been frequently employed by Mr. Stennett at day labor, but never lodged in his house, nor was admitted to the religious assemblies held there. They thought to make him, as he was a servant to the family, a very material evidence; and kept him in liquor for several days to that purpose. But coming to his reason just as the assizes drew on, he went about the town exclaiming against himself for his ingratitude and perjury, as well as against those who had employed him; and absolutely refused to go. So that when Mr. Stennett came to Newbury, neither prosecutor nor witness appearing against him, he was discharged of course.

Joseph Stennett, one of the sons of this worthy man, was born 1663, and was early brought to the knowledge of the truth; he went to London in 1685, and about five years after became pastor of the Seventh day church at Pinner's Hall, which had been deprived of its pastor by the death of Mr. Francis Bampffield. Mr. Stennett was a minister very eminent in his day; his learning and abilities were great and he rendered essential services to the Baptist cause in London and its vicinity. He preached much among the churches of the First day order, and took an active and successful part in all their concerns. His son Joseph, D. D. retained his opinion respecting the Sabbath, but became pastor of a church of a different belief. The fourth in descent from the ancient Edward Stennett, was the late Samuel Stennett, D. D. and the fifth is the present Joseph Stennett, of Oxfordshire.

Whether this distinguished succession have all observed the Seventh day, I am not informed.

Francis Bampffield was one of the most eminent ministers of his time; he was educated at Oxford University, and was a number of years a minister of good repute in the established church. He, different from the father of the Stennetts, in the time of the civil wars, was against the Parliament, opposed the Protector's usurpation, and suffered on that account. At what time he became a Baptist is not known; but on the restoration of Charles, all his former loyalty was disregarded, and he was, through the remainder of his life, treated with unrelenting severities, and **constantly followed with persecution and distress. In one prison he was confined eight years.** After that he was released, went to London, gathered a church, which kept the Seventh day; but he finally died in Newgate, in 1683. He published a number of tracts, among which was one on the observation of the Seventh day Sabbath. [Crosby, Vol. 1. 363-367.]

John James, the minister of a church of Sabbatarian Baptists in London, **was put to death in a most barbarous manner, in 1661.** To take away his life was not sufficient to satisfy the rage of his bloodthirsty enemies; but after being hung at Tyburn, he was drawn and quartered; his quarters were carried back to Newgate on the sledge, which carried him to the gallows; they were afterwards placed on the gates of the city, and his head was set on a pole opposite his meeting-house. This innocent man was exposed to these

terrible sufferings on the charge of speaking treasonable words against his Majesty's royal person at a private meeting, etc. Some of the treasonable words were, that the king was _a bloody tyrant, a blood-sucker, a blood-thirsty man, and his nobles the same; and that they had shed the blood of the saints,_ etc. To these charges he pleaded not guilty, neither in form nor matter; but had he acknowledged these charges against the infamous Charles II and his bloody associates, they would have been the words of truth and soberness.

But there appears to have been a malicious combination against this harmless man, and he was convicted upon evidence, which the court, with all its prejudices, at first thought not worth regarding. It was proved afterwards, by four respectable persons, that one Bernard Osborn confessed that he had sworn against Mr. James, he knew not what. His wife, by the advice of her friends, presented a petition to the king, stating her husband's innocency, and the character of the witness. When his inexorable majesty saw the paper endorsed The humble request of Elizabeth James, he replied, holding up his finger, _Oh! Mr. James -- he is a sweet gentleman!_ And when the afflicted woman followed him to get some further answer, the door was shut against her. The next morning, as the king entered the park, the distressed wife again entreated his majesty to answer her request, and pardon her husband; but deaf to her cries, he again replied, _He is a rogue, and shall be hanged!_ Thus the poor woman was obliged to retire, without even being heard by her pitiless sovereign. Mr. James went to the gallows with Christian fortitude, and finished his course in a joyful manner. _If,_ says Crosby, _there was any undue combination against this poor man; if it was for some reason of State rather than for any real guilt on his part; if his judgment and conscience, rather than any just crime, were the cause of his sufferings, his blood must be innocent blood_ [Crosby, vol. 2. p. 165; Ivimey, p. 320-327].

Robert Shalder, mentioned in the *History of the English Baptists*, vol. 1. p. 210, who was taken out of his grave by his rude persecutors, appears to have been a Seventh-day Baptist, as was John Maulden, a pious and worthy minister, who was persecuted much for non-conformity, in the latter part of the reign of Charles II. Mr. Maulden published three small pieces, one of which was on this question, _Whether the Seventh or First day of the week be the Sabbath of the Lord?_ [Crosby, vol. 3 p. 139, 140].

These are a few of the Sabbatarians who bore a share among the sufferings of the English Baptists.

An account of the number of churches of this sentiment, and also a brief vindication of their opinions, are contained in the following letter from Dr. Edward Stennett, whose name has already been mentioned. It is dated Bell-Lane, London, February 2, 1668, and directed to the Sabbath-keepers in Rhode-Island.

_Dearly Beloved,

_I rejoice in the Lord on your behalf, in that he hath been graciously pleased to make known to you his holy Sabbath, in such a day as this, when truth falleth in the streets, and equity cannot enter. And with us, we can scarcely find a man that is really willing to know whether the Sabbath be a truth or not; and those who have the greatest parts, have the least anxiety to meddle with it. We have passed through great opposition for this truth's sake, especially from our brethren, which made the affliction heavier: I dare not say how heavy, lest it should seem incredible. But the opposers of truth seem much withered, and at present the opposition seems to be dying away; for truth is strong. This spiritual fiery law will burn up all those things that men do set before it; for was there ever any ceremonial law given us? This law was given from the mouth of God, in the care of so many thousands; wrote on tables of stone with his own finger; promised to be wrote on the tables of their hearts; and confirmed by a miracle for the space of forty years, in the wilderness. The manna not keeping good any day but the Sabbath, God gave them the bread of two days, because he gave them the Sabbath. But whatever was gathered on the other days, and kept until the next, stank, and was full of worms. And no ceremonial law had the penalty of death annexed to it, to be inflicted by the magistrate; but the wilful profaner of the Sabbath was to be put to death by the magistrate, as the wilful murderer; which clearly proves it to be a moral law; as may be seen Exodus 16th chapter and elsewhere:

If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead. Luke 16:31.

Here is in England about nine or ten churches that keep the Sabbath; besides many scattered disciples, who have been eminently preserved in this tottering day, when many eminent churches have been shattered to pieces [*History of the Sabbatarians*, etc. by Henry Clarke, pastor of a church of that order, in Brookfield county, New-York, p. 10,11].

About this time, a number of letters were sent to America by **Peter Chamberlain**, senior Doctor of both Universities, and Physician in ordinary to his Majesty's person, who was a Sabbatarian. [Backus, Clarke. Crosby, vol. 3. p. 139,140]

By Mr. Stennett's letter it appears that the number of Seventh-day churches was greater at this early period, than it has been since. At present, as near as I can learn, there are but three churches in England, which observe the Seventh day. Two of them are in London, and the third in the country, at a place called Natton.

Two of them, viz. one in London and the one in Natton, are, in their doctrinal sentiments, Particular Baptists, and the other in London is of the General persuasion.

SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

Rhode-Island was the early resort of Baptists, who kept holy the Seventh day; and it now contains not far from a thousand communicants of this belief, they are also found in a number of the other States. **The first Sabbatarian church in America was formed in Newport in 1671**, and originated in the following manner: In the year 1665, **Stephen Mumford** came over from England, and brought with him the opinion that the whole of the Ten Commandments, as they were delivered from Mount Sinai, are moral and immutable, and that it was an anti-christian power that changed the Sabbath from the Seventh to the First day of the week. [Clarke's *History of the Sabbatarians*, p. 8.] Mr. Mumford appears to have joined Mr. Clarke's church, and Messrs. Hiscox, Hubbard, and others of that community soon fell in with his opinion of observing the Seventh day. These brethren traveled in communion with that church until 1671, when some of their number fell back to the observation of the First day as the Sabbath. This the Sabbatarians called apostasy, and could no longer travel with the church, except they were expelled. The church counted their change a reformation, and could not therefore bring them under censure [Backus, vol. 1. p. 411; M. Edwards's MS. History of Rhode-Island, p. 107], This was truly an inconvenient posture of affairs, and the Sabbatarians seemed to have no alternative but to withdraw. Their number was seven; their names were William Hiscox, Samuel Hubbard, Stephen Mumford, Roger Baster, and three sisters. These persons formed themselves into a church, and **William Hiscox** became their pastor. He died in 1704, aged 66, and was succeeded by **William Gibson**, who died in 1717, aged 79. He came from London, where he had been ordained before his arrival in Newport [Edwards's MS. History of Rhode-Island, p. 109]; is said to have been a scholar, and left behind him a good character as a preacher and Christian. Next to him was **Joseph Crandal**, who had also been his colleague. This is the same Crandal, who was apprehended with Messrs. Clark and Holmes at Lynn, in 1651. He died in 1737. After him was **John Maxon**, who died in 1778. Successor to him was the late venerable Elder **William Bliss**, who died in 1808, aged 81. The church is now under the care of his son **Arnold Bliss** and **Henry Burdick**. Besides these pastors, this church has sent forth a considerable number of preachers, who have labored as assistants at home, and also in different places abroad. From some of the early members of this church have proceeded a number of the principal characters, in Rhode-Island, and **among its communicants were the two governors, Richard and Samuel Ward**. [Backus, vol. 3. p. 234]

The Hopkinton church is the largest in the Sabbatarian connection, and indeed in almost any other, and contains about nine hundred members. It was formed at Westerly in 1708, of members from Newport, who had removed and settled in this region. Westerly, at that time, comprehended all the southwest corner of the State. It was afterwards divided into Hopkinton, Charlestown, etc. This large church has three meeting-houses, at two of which the communion is administered. It has had a succession of worthy pastors, most of whom were remarkable for longevity. It has also sent forth many successful preachers. Its members have filled various different civil offices in the State, and Deacon Babcock is now (1813) one of its senators. Though this church has its seat in Hopkinton, yet its members are scattered in a number of the adjoining towns. They are an amiable, pious people, pretty much inclined to the Arminian system. Laying-on-of-hands they generally practise, but do not make it a bar to communion. They have lately had a precious revival among them, in which between one and two hundred were added to their number. Their pastors, till lately, were Abram Coon and Matthew Stillman. Elder Coon died a short time since, and who succeeds him I have not learnt.

The Rhode-Island Sabbatarians, like the school of the prophets, finding their place too small for them, have emigrated to other pales, but mostly to the State of New-York; and by them foundations have been laid for a number of churches of their order, which are in a flourishing condition, and some of them are large. Their names, pastors and numbers will be given in the general table.

In **New-Jersey** are two churches of the Seventh-day Baptists, which are ancient and respectable. The oldest was formed at Piscataway, about thirty miles from the city of New-York, in 1705, and arose in the following manner: _About 1701, one Edmund Dunham, a member of the old First-day church in that town, admonished one Bonham, who was doing some servile work on Sunday. Bonham put him on proving that the first day of the week was holy by divine appointment. This set Dunham on examining the point; the consequence was, rejecting the first day, and receiving the fourth commandment as moral and therefore unchangeable_ [Edwards's Materials towards the History of the Baptists in New-Jersey, p. 130; Clarke's *History of the Sabbatarians*, p. 31].

In a short time, seventeen of the old body sided with Dunham, and in 1705, they were formed into a church, chose Dunham for their pastor, and sent him to Westerly to be ordained, by the Sabbatarian church in that place.

From this church originated the one at Cohansey, in 1737, which has since become much larger than the mother body. It is situated about forty miles south-west from Philadelphia. Both of these churches have had, for the most part, worthy pastors; they were founded and still continue on the Calvinistic plan of doctrine.

A third church of Sabbatarian Baptists was formed in this State at a place called Squan, in Monmouth county, upwards of sixty miles east by north of Philadelphia, in 1745, of brethren from Stonington, Connecticut, and Westerly, Rhode-Island. After remaining here upwards of forty years, they bartered their estates for new lands somewhere towards the Ohio river. This church was Calvinistic, and by it was probably formed the one in the Red-stone country of the same faith, of which Mr. Clarke, their historian, seems to have obtained no distinct account.

In **Pennsylvania** we find some at different times, who have united with believers_ baptism the observation of the Seventh day. The Tunker church at Ephrata is of this belief, as will be shown in the history of that people. In the time so many **Keithian Quakers** (of whom an account will soon be given) became Baptists, many of them fell in with the observation of the Seventh day, principally by the influence of one **Abel Noble**, who was at that time the only Sabbatarian Baptist in Pennsylvania. He arrived here, from what place I do not find, in 1684; he baptized the first Keithian Quaker in 1697, and by him many others were gained over to the Sabbatarian faith. About 1700, four churches of Sabbatarian Baptists were formed at Newtown, twenty-four miles from Philadelphia at Pennepek, nine miles ditto; at Nottingham, fifty miles ditto; and at French-Creek, thirty-two miles from that city. At this last place they built a meeting-house in 1762, 30 feet by 22, on a lot of one acre, the gift of David Rogers; at the other places they met in private houses. Respecting the progress of these communities, I do not find much information. In 1770, there were, in all four of them, but thirty-one communicants, and but one preacher, whose name was **Enoch David**. [Edwards_s Materials towards the History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, p. 60, 63]

In **Virginia** are three churches of the Seventh-day Baptists; two of them belong to the Sabbatarian Conference; the third, because it admits to membership some brethren who keep the First day, has not been received into that body.

In 1754, a church of this order of Baptists was begun on Broad River, in the parish of St. Mark, South-Carolina, about 180 miles from Charleston.

The leading members in it were Thomas Owen and Victor Nelly, from French-Creek, Pennsylvania, and John Gregory and his two sons, Richard and John, from Piscataway, New-Jersey. They were Calvinistic in sentiment, and in 1770, had increased to eighteen families, whereof twenty-four persons were baptized. They had for their preacher one **Israel Zeymore**, while he behaved well; but he afterwards became the master of a vessel, and next went into the army. _He was,_ says M. Edwards, _a man of wit and learning, but unstable as water._

Besides this Sabbatarian church, there were, at the same time, some of the Tunker Baptists at Beaver-Creek, Cloud_s-Creek, and Edisto, who observed the Seventh day.

In 1759, eight families of the Seventh-day Baptists passed over from South-Carolina, and settled near Tuckaseeking, in **Georgia**. They had for their leader **Richard Gregory**, the son of John Gregory, at Broad River. Another of their preachers was named **Clayton**, who **was fined a mark for saying, _that no man could be a Christian who kept a concubine, were the keeper a king, and the concubine a countess;_** this was construed a reflection on the late king and the countess of Yarmouth. After residing here about five years, this company retired Edisto, and left but few proselytes behind them. [Edwards_s MS. Materials for South-Carolina and Georgia]

Thus we see that the Seventh-day Baptists have been found in almost every part of the United States. There are at present eleven churches of them united in an Association by the name of the **Sabbatarian General Conference**, which holds its anniversaries in different places, as best suits the convenience of the churches. It is said there are, besides the churches already named, one or two in the western States, of which no distinct accounts have been obtained.

The number of communicants in the Sabbatarian connection is a little less than two thousand. But it is supposed by Mr. Clarke, their historian, that the Seventh-day Sabbath is observed by a population of not less than fifteen thousand.

In baptism, church discipline, etc. the Sabbatarians differ in nothing from their First-day brethren; in doctrine, some of them are Calvinistics, but perhaps a greater part are inclined to the Arminian system; which, however, they wish to define for themselves.

Of their distinguishing sentiment respecting the Seventh day, they are peculiarly tenacious; and as they consider all, who do not regard this day, violators of the Sabbath of the Lord, they cannot, in their opinion, consistently receive them into their churches, nor sit down with them at the communion-table. Yet they are willing to unite with them in preaching, and in all other acts of devotion and brotherly love.

As to the strictness of observing the Sabbath, their writers seem to differ a little in their rules. Some contend that they ought to keep it according to the spirit of the fourth commandment. Others plead that the rigorous ceremonies enjoined in the Old Testament, are, with the rest of the ceremonial laws, done away under the new dispensation; so that they may lawfully ride their horses to meeting, and do other things on the Sabbath, which the Jews were forbidden to do on their peril.

ROGERENE BAPTISTS

This sect took its rise at New-London, in Connecticut, about the year **1674**; for in that year one **John Rogers and James his brother**, and an Indian by the name of Japheth, were baptized by a Mr. Crandal, then a colleague pastor of the Seventh-day Baptist church in Newport (R.I.) The next year, by the request of these persons, William Hiscox, the senior pastor of the same church, and two of his brethren, viz. Samuel Hubbard and his son Clarke, made them a visit; when another brother, by the name of Jonathan, was baptized, and these four persons were received as members of the Sabbatarian church, in Newport, in their usual form, by prayer and the laying-on-of-hands. Soon after this, John Rogers's father-in-law (for what reason I do not find) took from him his wife and children, with whom he was never afterwards united. [It is related by Morgan Edwards that she was afterwards married to a lawyer, by the name of Pratt.] Thus John Rogers not only lost his wife and children in the outset of his career, but upon her complaints against him, he was carried before the deputy-Governor of Connecticut, by whom he was sentenced to Hartford gaol, where he remained a considerable time.

In September, 1676, the three Rogerses and Japheth, the Indian, went in a boat and brought Messrs. Hiscox and Hubbard to New-London again, when the father and mother of one of the sisters of the Rogerses were all baptized by Mr. Hiscox, and were also added to the church with which they had united. These frequent visas and administrations of the Baptists, awakened the jealousies and resentment of the people of the town, and the power of the magistrate was soon exerted in rigorous measures, against this new and obnoxious sect. These few persons, having adopted the Seventh day of the week for their Sabbath, continued to pursue their worldly business on the First, a practice very common with people of this belief; for which they soon began to be harassed, imprisoned and beaten. But opposition seemed only to inflame their zeal, and hurried them on to an extravagant and almost unexampled extreme. Hitherto these persons, who afterwards broke over all bounds of order and decency, were not known as a distinct set, but had a regular standing in the Seventh-day Baptist church at Newport. John Rogers, who afterwards became the fantastic leader of this deluded community, on the following occasion, began the wild and heedless career, by which he exposed himself so much to the censure of his friends and the persecuting violence of his enemies. In the year 1677, Messrs. Hiscox and his companion Hubbard visited New-London a third time, and proposed to baptize the wife of Joseph Rogers, another brother of the Rogers family. Their meeting was held two miles from the town, where it was proposed that baptism should be administered; but John was for no retirement; he must needs have the company go up to the town, and have the administration in sight and hearing of their enemies. John was finally listened to, and led on the procession. This provoking measure turned out as might have been expected in those days of intolerance and persecution; for while Mr. Hiscox was preaching, he was seized by the constable and immediately carried before the magistrate, where he was detained a short time, and then released. They now repaired to another place, and began to prepare for the administration; when, to the astonishment of the company, John stepped forward and prayed, and then led the woman down into the water, and baptized her. From this time this singular man took it upon him to baptize, and also to administer in other things in a ministerial capacity. His relatives, excepting his brother Jonathan, imbibed his spirit and followed his dictates. The church at Newport attempted to reform and regulate them; but their exertions proved ineffectual, and their connection was soon dissolved.

Thus far the history of the Rogerenes has been compiled from Backus. The following is related in the words of Morgan Edwards, who took his account from Backus, and from John Rogers's own writings. After mentioning the baptism of the Rogers family, he says, _The most forward of the brothers was John; for he took upon him to form the family, and others that he baptized, into a church, and to make a creed, and to settle rules of discipline. The first act of discipline was the excommunication of his brother Jonathan, for using medicine, and refusing to do things which would bring on him the lash of the civil magistrate. And thus **John Rogers was not only the founder of the sect, and the person from whom they were called Rogerenes, but the hero of the cause, in suffering, and writing, and defying**; I say defying, for he had not been long at the head of the cause, before he printed and published the following proclamation: _I, John Rogers, a servant of Jesus Christ, doth here make an open declaration of war against the great red dragon; and against the beast to which he gives power; and against the false church which rides upon the beast; and against the false prophets, who are established by the dragon and the beast; and against the image of the beast: and, also, a proclamation of derision against the devil's spirit, which is prisons, stocks, whips, fines, and revilings, all which is to defend the doctrines of devils._ His

theory, relative to baptism and the Lord's supper, is scriptural; for the Rogerenes baptize by immersing professed penitents and believers; the Lord's supper they administer in the evening, with its ancient appendages. Some other articles of Rogers's creed are as follow:

_1st, All days are alike since the death of Christ. 2d, No medicines are to be used, nor doctors nor surgeons employed.* 3d, No grace at meals. 4th, All prayers to be mental, and not vocal, except when the spirit of prayer compels to the use of the voice. 5th, All unscriptural parts of religious worship are idols. 6th, All good Christians should exert themselves against idols, etc. [* This irrational sentiment they carried, with all the rest of their reveries, to an enthusiastick extreme, by refusing to have midwives for women in travail, holding that they were to be delivered and healed by the power of faith. Old Mr. Rogers, (Mr. Hubbard informs us) had the wheel of a loaded cart run over his leg, by which it was very much bruised; and that he had, when he saw him, remained six weeks in a most deplorable condition, but still strenuously refused the use of any means. - Backus. Although the descendants of the Rogerenes have generally relinquished the peculiarities of their ancestors, yet some of them are still tinctured with their notions about the use of medicine; and one of them lately, (in R.I.) when violently attacked with a fever, strenuously refused any medical assistance. He consented that a physician, who was a member of the church with him, should visit him as a brother, but not as a doctor And it was not until his case was thought to be helpless and hopeless, that he consented to employ a physician, which he finally did, and recovered.] Among these idols they placed the first day of the week, infant baptism, etc. The First-day Sabbath they called the New-England idol. The methods they took to demolish this idol were, they would be at work near meeting-houses, and in the ways to meeting-houses; and take work into meeting-houses, the women knitting, and the men whittling and making splits for baskets, and every now and then contradicting the preachers; this was seeking persecution, and they had plenty of it; insomuch that the New-Englanders left some of them neither liberty, nor property, nor whole skins.

John Rogers was an author. He published a commentary on the Reverend: he that hath patience to read it, let him read it. He also published a *Midnight Cry*, a *Narrative of Sufferings*, etc. These last are of some use, for out of them I have extracted some sketches of his history; and others from Backus_ [Edwards's *History of the Baptists in New-Jersey*].

Such was the beginning of the sect of the Rogerenes. Had they enjoyed a free toleration in their wild speculations, and been exposed to no more legal coercion than a judicious magistracy would have inflicted, their zeal might have soon abated, and their sect become extinct. But their intolerant neighbours and rulers could exercise no degree of patience or forbearance towards them. But they were scrupulous to mark every provocation (and the Rogerenes were certainly guilty of many;) and being clothed with power, they pursued with unrelenting severity, by frequently haling before magistrates, imprisoning, and unmercifully whipping a people whose mistaken zeal ought certainly to have excited some degree of compassion as well as resentment. But the Rogerenes gloried in tribulation: they often published accounts of their persecutions and sufferings, and most fully demonstrated to their enemies, _that persecution is the surest way to increase its objects._

John Rogers, the founder of this extraordinary sect, (than whom Diogenes was not more churlish and contrary to all men) after prosecuting his ministry for more than forty years, died at his own house in New-London, in 1721, in the 73d year of his age. The occasion of his death was as follows: The small-pox raged terribly in Boston, (Mass.) and spread an alarm in all the country around. **Rogers was confident that he could mingle with the diseased, and that the strength of his faith would preserve him safe from the mortal contagion. Accordingly he was presumptuous enough to travel 100 miles to Boston, to bring his faith to the test, where he caught the infection, came home, died with it, and spread it in his family.** Thus ended this singular man. This event, so confounding in its nature, had no apparent effect on the minds of his followers, unless it were to increase their zeal. Shortly after, Joseph Bolles published a second edition of Rogers's book, entitled, *_A Midnight Cry from the temple of God to the ten virgins slumbering and sleeping; awake, awake, arise! and gird your loins, and trim your lamps, for behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye therefore out to meet him!_* Bolles also wrote a preface to the *_Midnight Cry,* in which he says of Rogers, *_For his religion he lost his wife and children, and suffered continual persecution, being nearly one third of his life-time, after his conversion, in prisons!_* This piece seemed to inspire with fresh ardor this wild community. A son of John Rogers succeeded his father in his deluded ministry, who, with many others of his brethren, set out with redoubled zeal to pull down the dagon of the land, the idol Sabbath.

In the year 1725, a company of the Rogerenes were taken up on the Sabbath, in Norwich, while on their way from their place of residence to Lebanon, where they were treated with much abuse and severity, and many of them whipped in a most merciless manner. This occasioned Governor Joseph Jenks (of R.I.) to write a spirited piece against their persecutors, in which he not only blames the unnecessary severity which

they inflicted on the Rogerenes, but he also reprobated their provoking and disorderly conduct. This friendly interposition of the Governor involved him in a dispute with one Joseph Backus, Esq. the magistrate before whom the Rogerenes were arraigned, which was probably the means of abating, in some measure, the legal persecution, which continually fell to the lot of this deluded and persecuted people. The Connecticut rulers, after inflicting on the Rogerenes, for almost a century, their fruitless severities, learnt, at length, what they ought to have learnt at first, that the wisest way to deal with them, when they came to disturb them, and proclaim against the idol Sabbath, was to remove them away, until their worship was ended, and then release them without fine or correction. This method they finally adopted, which had a much better effect than their former punishments.

One family of these Rogerenes were Colvers or Culvers [Mr. Edwards spells it Colver, but I find in Governor Jenks's MS. it is spelt Culver], consisting of the father, **John Colver** and his wife, (who were part of the company which was treated so roughly at Norwich, etc) and five sons and five daughters, who, with their families, made up the number of 21 souls. This large family, in the year 1734, removed from New-London, and settled in New-Jersey. The place they pitched upon for residence was on the east side of Schooly Mountain, in Morris county. They continued here about three years, and then went in a body to Barnagot, in the county of Monmouth: they continued there about eleven years, and then returned to Morris county, and settled on the west side of the mountain from which they had removed.

In the year 1790, the Rogerenes (in N. J.) were reduced to two old persons, whose names were Thomas Colver and Sarah Mann; but the posterity of John Colver are yet numerous in Morris county, and have, most of them, become reputable members of other religious societies.

I do not find (says Mr. Edwards) that the Rogerenes have suffered by fines and corporal punishment in New-Jersey, more than once; and that was for disturbing a Presbyterian congregation at Baskingridge: in other places, they have been taken out of meeting-houses, with much pleasantry, and shut up in stables, penfolds, (and once in a hog-pen) till worship was over. Paul speaks of some people, who pleased not God, and were contrary to all men; it were uncharitable to apply this to the Rogerenes; but facts, for the course of 116 years, look too much like being contrary to all men, and as for the spirit that actuated them, it was as different from the meek and humble spirit of Jesus, as any two things could be. It is surprising how principles, or education, or custom, or something, will make people differ from others so greatly, that it is hard to think they are of the same common nature, or are the work of the same Maker. Had the Rogerenes lived in the time of the Cynicks, they would have been ranked with them.

Mr. Backus says of John Rogers, that _he intermixed a number of precious truths with many things of a contrary nature._

The Rogerenes, in their language and some other peculiarities, resembled the Quakers; hence they were often called Quaker Baptists. They have, some time ago, become extinct as a society. But their posterity, under the names of Rogers, Bolles, etc. are still numerous; and many of them are not only respectable, but some of them are distinguished members of many of the Baptist churches in different parts of New-England and some of the other States.

Since the above was written, I have learnt that there is yet a small company of the Rogerenes in Groton, near New-London.

INDIAN CHURCHES

Of these there have been a few of the Baptist denomination, but most of them, at present, are either extinct or in a declining state. The oldest churches of the red brethren were formed on the islands of **Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket**, which are included in the State of Massachusetts. **A short time previous to 1680**, some of Mr. Mayhew's converts on Martha's Vineyard embraced the principles of the Baptists, and joined to the churches in Newport. And with the Indian converts to believers' baptism came an Englishman by the name of **Peter Folger**, who was a school, master among them. In 1694, two indian churches had been formed, one on the Vineyard, and the other at Nantucket. Their pastor was **Stephen Tackamason**, who died in 1708, and is said to have borne an excellent character, both as a preacher and Christian. The church at the Vineyard appears to have been formed at Gayhead; in process of time it branched out to Chappaquidick on the east end of the island. It is difficult to trace the progress of these three churches, which have become reduced to one at Gayhead, and that in a feeble, declining state. Their preachers, at different times, have been Isaac Decamy, Jonas Horswet, Ephraim Abraham, Samuel Kakenhew, Peter Gilbert, Silas Paul, and Thomas Jeffer; the last of whom is now pastor at Gayhead and is esteemed a sober, worthy man. All these were ordained Indian preachers, who have left good characters behind them; and besides these there have been, at different times, many unordained preachers and exhorters, whose names are not known.

Peter Folger, though not a preacher, was a successful promoter of piety, learning, and believers_ baptism, among the red men of the islands, and **a daughter of his was the mother of the famous Dr. Benjamin Franklin**. [Backus, vol. 1. p. 437, 439, and 2. p. 166.]

At **Charlestown** in the Narraganset country, in the **south part of Rhode-Island**, near Point Judith, an Indian church was formed probably about 1750. It arose out of a Pedobaptist church of the Separate order, which was gathered there in the New-Light stir, under the ministry of a Mr. Park. Its first pastor was James Simons, and after him was the famous **Samuel Niles**, who was, in his day, one of the most eminent Indian preachers in America. Other preachers have succeeded him, but at present they are in a destitute and broken condition. In a visit, which I paid them a short time since, I found a member of venerable red sisters, who were much engaged in the things of the kingdom; three of them were about seventy years of age. The men were all absent on a fishing voyage. These Indians are the descendants of the Nyantick tribe, whose chief, Ninegret, refused to join in king Philip_s war [Backus, vol. 1 p. 437, 439, and 2. p. 145], They were once a powerful tribe, but are now reduced to a handful. The State has secured to them a tract of land in Charlestown, which, however, they do not know how to manage to advantage.

Morgan Edwards supposes that the forefathers of this congregation were converted by the labors of Roger Williams, which is not improbable, as it is known that he labored among them with much assiduity and some success. [MS. Hist. of Rhode-Island, p. 47]

Among **the Mohegan Indians**, near New-London, according to Asplund, two churches were formed about 1770: they were upon the open communion plan, and consisted of Baptists and Pedobaptist. Connected with these, if I am rightly informed, was the famous **Samson Occom**, who afterwards went to New-Stockbridge, in New-York.

At a place called **Brotherton**, now in Oneida county, **New-York**, an Indian church was formed of baptized believers in 1798. It arose in the following manner. Not far from 1770, the Oneidas, one of thy Six Nations, granted to their destitute brethren of other tribes a large tract of land for their settlement. To it Indians repaired from Stockbridge, Long-Island, from the Mohegans, the Narragansett, and a number of other tribes. The tract was six miles square, and was called New-Stockbridge. Reverend M. Sargeant, a Pedobaptist missionary, has long been employed among them. Brotherton is an Indian village adjoining New-Stockbridge, in which **David Fowler**, a pious Indian of the Baptist persuasion, settled in 1776. Five others of his brethren settled with him, and by them a meeting was maintained without any church estate, until 1798; then their number had increased to twelve, which were organized into a church by their neighboring white brethren. Mr. Fowler became its deacon, and was its principal leader till his death, which happened about 1807. Since that time they have been in a broken condition, and have, in a measure, lost their visibility as a church. Deacon Fowler was from Long-Island, and sustained an excellent character through life. On the same ground is a Baptist church on the open communion plan, which is considerably large, and is under the care of a preacher by the name of Wawby or Wabby.

No great success has hitherto attended the means used to convert the American Indians. Their want of a written language has, in most cases, proved an insurmountable barrier to those benevolent white men, who have ardently desired their salvation. Our aged brother Elkanah Holmes labored for some years amongst the Tuscaroras and others of the Six Nations. Most of their chiefs and many of the rest showed a favorable disposition towards the gospel, but very few conversions were effected among them.

KEITHIAN BAPTISTS

Soon after the settlement of Pennsylvania, a difference arose among the Quakers, touching the sufficiency of what every man has within himself for the purpose of his own salvation. Some denied that sufficiency, and consequently magnified the external Word, Christ, etc. above Barclay_s measure. These were headed by the famous George Keith, and therefore called Keithism. The difference rose to a division in the year 1691, when separate meetings were set up in divers parts of the country, and a general one at Burlington in opposition to that of Philadelphia. This year they published a Confession of Faith, containing, twelve articles, much in Barclay_s strain, and signed by George Keith, Thomas Budd, John Hart, Richard Hilliard, Thomas Hooten, and Henry Furnis, in the behalf of the rest. They also published the reasons of the separation, etc. signed by the same persons and others, to the number of 48. About the same time, and afterward, were published several other pieces. The design of those publications was,

- 1st. To inform the world of the principles of the Separate Quakers.
- 2d. To fix the blame of the separation on the opposite party.
- 3d. To complain of the unfair treatment, slanders, fines, imprisonments, and other species of persecution, which they endured from their brethren.

Whether these complaints be just or not, is neither my business nor inclination to determine. If just, the Quakers have also shown, _That every sect would persecute, had they but power._ I know but one exception to this satyrical remark, and that is the Baptists; they have had civil power in their hands in Rhode-Island government, for an hundred and thirty-six, (now one hundred and seventy-eight) years, and

yet have never abused it in this manner, their enemies themselves being judges. And it is remarkable that John Holmes, Esq. the only Baptist magistrate in Philadelphia, at the time referred to, refused to act with the Quaker magistrates against the Keithians, alleging, _That it was a religious dispute, and therefore not fit for a civil court._ Nay, he openly blamed the court, held at Philadelphia, Dec. 6-12, 1692, for refusing to admit the exceptions, which the prisoners made to their jury. However, the Keithian Quakers soon declined; their head deserted them and went over to the Episcopalians. Some followed him thither; some returned to the Penn Quakers; and some went to other societies. Nevertheless, many persisted in the separation, particularly at Upper Providence; at Philadelphia; at Southampton; and at Lower Dublin. These, by resigning themselves to the guidance of Scripture, began to find water in the commission; bread and wine in the command; community of goods, love feast, kiss of charity, right hand of fellowship, anointing the sick for recovery, and washing the disciples_ feet, and therefore were determined to practice accordingly.

The society of Keithians, most forward in these matters, was that kept at the house of **Thomas Powell**, in Upper Providence; which forwardness, it is said, was owing to one Abel Noble, who visited them, and was a Seventh-day Baptist minister when he arrived in this country. The time they began to put their designs in practice, was Jan. 28, 1697, when the said Abel Noble baptized a public Friend, whose name was Thomas Martin, in Redly-Creek. Afterwards Mr. Martin baptized other Quakers, to the number of 16. To them joined one William Beckingham, who broke off from the church at Cohansey. These 17 persons did, October 12, 1697, incorporate; and proceeded to choose a minister by lot. Three were put in nomination, William Beckingham, Thomas Budd, and Thomas Martin. The lot fell on the last, who, the same day, administered the Lord_s supper to them, for the first time. Shortly after, 15 more of the Quakers were baptized, some of whom lived in other parts of the country. But in 1700 a difference arose among them, touching the Sabbath, which broke up the society. Such as adhered to the observation of the Seventh day, kept together at Newtown, where some of their posterity are to this day. The rest lay scattered in the neighborhood, till Mr. Abel Morgan gathered together 15 of them, and formed them into a society, now called the church of Brandywine, belonging to the Philadelphia Association. Another society of Keithian Quakers, who kept together, was that of Philadelphia, where they built a meeting-house in 1692. Of these, two public persons were baptized in 1697, by Reverend Thomas Killingworth, of Cohansey. Their names were William Davis and Thomas Rutter. The first joined Pennepek; the other kept preaching in Philadelphia, where he baptized one Henry Bernard Hoster, Thomas Peart, and seven others, whose names are not on record. These 9 persons united in communion, June 12, 1698, having Thomas Rutter to their minister. They increased, and continued together for 9 years. But some removing to the country, and the unbaptized Keithians falling off, the society in a manner broke up in 1707; for then the few that remained, invited the regular Baptists to join them, and were incorporated with them.

A third society of Keithian Quakers was at Southampton, in Burk_s county; and a fourth at Lower Dublin. But many of these societies, soon also found water in the commission, and were baptized; and having become Baptists, they were soon divided again, on the disputed point respecting the Sabbath. Those who adhered to the observance of the First-day Sabbath, in both societies, united with the church at Pennepek.

Thus have we seen that the Keithian Quakers ended in a kind of transformation into Keithian Baptists: they were also called Quaker Baptists, because they still retained the language, dress, and manners of the Quakers. We have seen also, that the Keithian or Quaker Baptists ended in another kind of transformation into Seventh-day Baptists, though some went among the First-day Baptists and other societies. However, these were the beginning of the Sabbatarians in Pennsylvania. A confession of faith was published by the Keithian Baptists in 1697: it consists chiefly of the articles in the Apostles_ creed. The additions are articles which relate to baptism by immersion, the Lord_s supper; distinguishing days and months by numerical names, plainness of language and dress, not swearing, not fighting, etc. -- Morgan Edwards.

TUNKER BAPTISTS

_They are called Tunkers in derision; which is as much as to say, *Sops*, from *tunker*, to put a morsel into sauce; but as the term signifies *Dippers*, they may rest content with the nick-name, since it is the fate of Baptists, in all countries, to bear some cross or other. They are also called *Tumblers*, from the manner in which they perform baptism, which is by putting the party_s head forward under water, while kneeling, so as to resemble the motion of the body in the action of tumbling. The Germans sound the letters t and b like d and p; hence, the words *Tunkers* and *Tumblers* have been corruptly written *Dunkers* and *Dumblers*. _The first appearing of these people in America, was in the fall of the year **1719**, when about 20 families landed in Philadelphia, and dispersed themselves, some to Germantown, some to Skippeck, some to Oley, some to Conestogo, and elsewhere. This dispersion incapacitated them to meet for public worship; and, therefore, they soon began to grow lukewarm in religion. But in the year 1722, Messrs. Baker, Gomery,

Gantz, and the Trautrs, visited their scattered brethren, which was attended with a great revival, insomuch that societies were formed wherever a number of families were within reach one of another. But this lasted not above three years. They settled on their lees again, till about thirty families more of their persecuted brethren arrived in the fall of the year 1729, which both quickened them again, and increased their number every where. These two companies had been members of one and the same church which originated at Schwarzenau in the year 1708. The first constituents were Alexander Mack and wife, John Kipin and wife, George Grevy, Andreas Bhoney, Lucas Fetter, and Joanna Nethigeim. These had been bred Presbyterians, except Kipin, who was a Lutheran; and, being neighbors, they consorted together to read the Bible, and edify one another in the way they had been brought up; for as yet they did not know there were any Baptists in the world. However, believers_ baptism and a congregational church soon gained upon them, insomuch that they were determined to obey the gospel in these matters. They desired Alexander Mack to baptize them; but he, deeming himself in reality unbaptized, refused. Upon which they cast lots to find who should be administrator. On whom the lot fell hath been carefully concealed. However, baptized they were in the river Eder by Schwarzenau, and then formed themselves into a church; choosing **Alexander Mack** to be their minister. They increased fast, and began to spread their branches to Merienborn and Epstein, having John Naars, and Christian Levy to their ministers in those places. But persecution quickly drove them thence, some to Holland and some to Crefelt. Soon after, the mother church voluntarily removed from Schwarzenau to Serustervin in Friesland, and from thence migrated towards America, in 1719. And in 1729, those of Crefelt and Holland followed their brethren.

_Thus we see that all the Tunker churches in America sprang from the church at Schwarzenau in Germany; that that church began in 1708, with only seven souls, and that in a place where no Baptist had been in the memory of man, nor any now are. In 62 years that little one became a thousand, and that small one a great nation.

_It is very hard to give a true account of the principles of these Tunkers, as they have not published any system or creed, except what two individuals have put forth, which have not been publicly avowed. However, I may assert the following things concerning them from my own knowledge. They are General Baptists, in the sense which that phrase bears in Great-Britain; but not Arians nor Socinians, as most of their brethren in Holland are. General redemption they certainly hold; and, withal, general salvation; which tenets, though wrong, are consistent. They use great plainness of language and dress, like the Quakers; and like them they will neither swear nor fight. They will not go to law, nor take interest for the money they lend. They commonly wear their beards; and keep the First-day Sabbath, except one congregation. They have the Lord's supper, with its ancient attendants of love-feasts, washing feet, kiss of charity, and right hand of fellowship. They anoint the sick with oil for recovery; and use the trine immersion of laying-on-of-hands and prayer, even while the person baptized is in the water; which may easily be done, as the party kneels down to be baptized, and continues in that posture till both prayer and imposition of hands be performed. But though their baptism be well contrived for trine immersion, yet it loses its resemblance of a burial. Their church government is purely republican, and their discipline the same with those of the English Baptists, except that in Maryland they have a superintendant, whose name is Daniel Leatherman: to him is referred the decision of variances among the ministers and people; and as the Tunkers call all their ordained ministers Bishops, it follows that Leatherman holds the rank of Archbishop. Every brother is allowed to stand up in the congregation to speak, in a way of exhortation and expounding; and when by these means they find a man eminent for knowledge and aptness to teach, they choose him to be a minister, and ordain him with imposition of hands, attended with fasting and prayer, and giving the right hand of fellowship. They also have deacons; and ancient women for deaconesses; and exhorters, who are licensed to use their gifts statedly. They pay not their ministers, unless it be in the way of presents, though they admit their right to pay; neither do the ministers assert the right, esteeming it more blessed to give than to receive. Their acquaintance with the Bible is admirable. In a word, they are meek and pious Christians, and have justly acquired the character of the Harmless Tunkers.

Of these there are in Pennsylvania 15 churches; to which appertain 8 ordained ministers, and 13 exhorters or probationers, and 4 meeting-houses. The reason of their having no more places of worship is, that they choose rather to meet from house to house, in imitation of the primitive Christians. Their number of families is about 419, which, allowing five to a family, contain about 2095 souls, whereof 763 are baptized and in communion.

These Tunker churches were situated at different distances, in a western direction from Philadelphia, and but few of them were over a hundred miles from that city. Mr. Edwards has given a particular history of each of them, the most remarkable of which, and the only one whose history we shall here relate, is that at **Ephrata**.

_This church is distinguished by the above name, which is the name of the village where it exists, in Cocolico township, and Lancaster county, 60 miles to the westward of Philadelphia. The same village is frequently called Tunkers town. It consists of between 30 and 40 buildings, and stands on a parcel of land containing 155 acres. The land is formed into a triangle by the crossings of the Paxton and Lancaster roads, and Cocolico river. The places of worship in the village are three. One, called Sharon, adjoins the sisters' apartment by way of chapel. The other, called Bethany, is a chapel belonging to the apartments of the brethren, where they resort to worship, morning and evening, and sometimes in the night, as the sisters also do in the other chapel. The third is a common church, called Zion, built on the summit of a little hill, about 200 yards distant from the other. Here the single brethren and single sisters, the married people and their children, meet once a week for public worship. The brethren have adopted the dress of the white friars, with some alteration, and the sisters that of the nuns; and both, like them, have taken the vow of celibacy. But some break through the vow: then they quit their cells, and go to the neighborhood among the married people. All the fraternity wear their beards. Their livelihood they get by cultivating the land, by a printing-office, by a grist-mill, a paper-mill, an oil-mill, etc. and the sisters by spinning, weaving, sewing, etc. They slept at first on board couches with blocks for pillows, but now sleep on beds, and have otherwise abated much of the severity of their order. They keep the seventh day of the week for Sabbath, to which their founder had been proselyted by the remains of the Keithian Baptists, particularly Reverend Thomas Rutter, who, in this affair, was the disciple of Abel Noble.

From the uncouth dress, the recluse and ascetic life of these people, sour aspects and rough manners might be expected; but on the contrary, a smiling innocence and meekness grace their countenances, and a softness of tone and accent adorn their conversation, and make their deportment gentle and obliging. Their singing is charming, partly owing to the pleasantness of their voices, the variety of parts they carry on together, and the devout manner of performance. The families belonging to the society are about 40 whereof about 135 persons, including the single brethren and sisters, are baptized and in communion. This was their state in 1770. They had their existence as a society, on Nov. 12, 1724, when Conrad Beissel, Joseph Shaffer, John Moyer and wife, Henrick Hehn and wife, and Veronica Frederick were baptized in Pequea river by Reverend Peter Baker. The same day, these seven incorporated into a church, and chose Conrad Beissel to be their minister. After this, they continued some time at Mill-Creek; and then, removing about three miles northward, pitched on the land of Rudolph Neagley, in Earl township. Here they continued about seven years, and hither resorted many to see them, some of which joined their society. Here they began their economy, the men living by themselves on the forementioned lands, and the women also by themselves on the adjoining lands of John Moyly. Here Conrad Beissel appointed two elders and a matron to preside over his church in the wilderness, binding them by a solemn promise, and at the same time giving to each a Testament, to govern according to the rules of that book. Then he withdrew, and made as though they should see him no more. This was done in 1733. He traveled northward till he came to the spot where Ephrata or Tunkertown now stands, and with his hoe planted Indian corn and roots for his subsistence. But he had not been long in the place, before the society found him out, and repaired to his little cot; the brethren settling with him on the west banks of Cocolico, and the sisters on the east, all in sight of one another, with the river running between them. The next year they set about building their village, beginning with a place of worship. The village is inclosed with a large ditch, and fortified with posts, and rails, and quicksets.

The author of the foregoing account has also given biographical sketches of the ministers by which these churches were supplied. The most distinguished of which, were Alexander Mack, Conrad Beissel, and Peter Miller.

_**Alexander Mack**, was born in the year 1680 at Schrisheim, in Germany. He was educated a Calvinistic, but embraced the Baptist principles, in 1708, arrived in this country, with many of his congregation, in 1729, and became a minister of Beggarstown, in the township of Germantown, near Philadelphia, the same year, where he continued till he died, in 1735. Mr. Mack was a man of real piety. He had a handsome patrimony at Schrisheim, with a profitable mill and vineyards thereon; but he spent all in raising and maintaining his church at Schwarzenau, whereof he was father, and **father of all the Tunkers**.

**Conrad Beissel**, founder of the society at Ephrata. This was his real name; but when he became a Baptist, he assumed the name of Freidsam Gottrecht, and gave new names to all the brethren and sisters. He was born in 1690, at Eberback, in Germany. Bred a Presbyterian. Arrived in Boston, in 1720. Thence he and his two companions, Stunts and Steiffel, traveled westward to Pennsylvania, and lived as hermits about Mill-Creek, and the Swede-Spring in Lancaster county. He embraced the principles of the Baptists in 1724. Died July 6, 1768, and was buried at Ephrata.

As for his character, I give it in the words of one who knew him well. _He was very strict in his morals, and practiced self-denial and mortification to an uncommon degree. Enthusiastic and whimsical, he

certainly was; but an apparent devoutness and sincerity ran through all his oddities. He was not an adept in any of the liberal arts and sciences, except music, in which he excelled. He composed and set to music, in three, four, six, and eight parts, a folio volume of hymns, and another of anthems. He published a dissertation on the fall of man, in the mysterious strain: also a volume of letters. He left behind, several books in manuscript, curiously written and embellished._

Peter Miller. He was born in 1709, in the bailiwick of Kaiferlautern, in Germany; had his education in the University at Heildeberg; came to this country in 1730, and settled with the Dutch Presbyterians in Philadelphia: there he was ordained by Reverend Messrs. Tennant Boyd, and Andrews, the same year. He embraced the principle of the Baptists in 1735, and in 1744 received another ordination from Reverend Conrad Beissel, to be prior of the society at Ephrata. Dr. Douglas, in his history of the provinces, saith, that he is a good scholar, and writes fine latin._ [The word *Tunkers*, in German, and the word *Baptists*, in Greek, and the word *Dippers*, in English, are exactly of the same signification. Edwards.]

The main body of Tunker Baptists in America are, at present, as they ever have been, in **Pennsylvania**. But besides those in that State, there were, in the year 1770, according to Mr. Edwards, (who took unwearied pains to learn their history, and ascertain their numbers) in **Maryland**, 4 churches of these people, in which were 9 ministers, and 382 members. The number of families, out of which the 4 churches were collected was 169. In **Virginia** were 2 churches which contained together 56 members; The number of ministers was 3, and the families 100. In **North-Carolina** were 3 churches, 4 ministers, 88 families, and 100 members. In **South-Carolina**, there were at the same time 3 churches, but one minister, whose name was David Martin. He was a native of Pennsylvania, and is said to have been a man of some distinction, and to have borne an excellent character. The families were 63, and the number of members 108. There was, also, a church of the Tunkers at Amivell, in **New-Jersey**, which was formed in the year 1733; it is now in a comfortable condition.

From the whole, it appears by Mr. Edwards, that there were of the Tunkers, in America, about 40 years ago, 28 churches, in which (excepting the one in New-Jersey) were 1455 communicants; and that to these churches, appertained upwards of 20 ordained ministers or bishops, and nearly the same number of exhorters. And the number of Tunker families was 669, which, allowing five to a family, Mr. Edwards_s uniform and probably correct mode of computation, makes the whole population of the Tunkers 3345. By a statement of Mr. Edwards for 1790, it appears, that of the Tunker Baptists there was at that time one church in New-Jersey, 15 in Pennsylvania, 7 in Maryland, and in the more southern States 10; making in all 33. [Edwards_s History of the Baptists in New-Jersey, p. 145; Ad omnes fere germaniae partes hac contagio pervault. Steidan_s Hist. b. 4. n. 116] so that they had received the addition of five churches in 20 years. But what has been their progress since the last-mentioned date, or what is their present situation as to numbers, etc. I have not been able to learn. I am informed by Dr. Rogers of Philadelphia, and others, that _it is, at present, a fixed principle with them, to make no communication; and that they feel hurt when interrogated respecting their society._ Indeed, they have always been shy of the English, and suspicious of encroachment and exposure; and under these circumstances, it is surprising how Mr. Edwards, without an acquaintance with the German language, could gain such correct and extensive information respecting them, as he has recorded in his historical works.

Many of the churches mentioned by him have become extinct, and others have suffered great diminutions, and it is generally believed that their society is declining; but still they are considerably numerous in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and small detachments of them are to be found in most of the southern and western States. While they have declined in some places, and become extinct in others, they have emigrated to remoter regions, and formed new establishments, some of which are very large. One of these is in the Allegany Mountains, in Somerset county, Pennsylvania, in a place called Brothers_ Valley, near the town of Berlin, about 200 miles westward of Philadelphia. There is, also, another large society in the Red-stone county, beyond the mountains, on Jacob_s-Creek, in the counties of Fayette and Westmoreland. It is believed, that some other societies have been formed in Pennsylvania, since Mr. Edwards_s account was taken; but I have been able to learn nothing respecting them. These people have also become adventurers to the western States of Ohio and Kentucky; and some of them, I have been informed, have settled not far from Detroit, in the Michigan Territory.

The following anecdote of a preacher from that country, by the name of **John Messemer**, was related to me by the Reverend David Jones, of the Great Valley, Pennsylvania, to whom it was related by Mr. Messemer himself.

While visiting my brethren in these parts, (said the Tunker in his broken English) _I thought I would go to de city of Philadelphia, and hear some of de preachers dere. I first went to hear de Universalists; and I found dey preach no hell dere, but dey seem have no religion too. I next go to hear de Methodists, and dey

preach all hell, but dey seem have good deal religion too. I next go to hear de Baptists, and dey preach some hell and some heaven, and this I thought was de rightest way._

It is difficult to say what are the definite doctrinal sentiments of the Tunkers; it is said, however, that they hold the doctrine of universal salvation, and hence they are often called Universalists; but this sentiment they are not forward to advance, nor strenuous to defend; and it is probable they maintain it with some peculiar qualifications. The Tunkers still maintain their former simplicity, and most of those distinguished religious maxims and peculiar domestic habits which Mr. Edwards ascribes to them. **But by the best information I can gain, they have much depreciated as to vital religion, and appear too generally contented with keeping up their external forms, while but little of the power of godliness is to be found amongst them.** But as they have not conformed to the unscriptural traditions of men, but have, in the midst of their lukewarmness and declension, preserved essentially the primitive mode of administering the ordinance of Baptism, we shall give them a place among the American Baptists.

MENNONITES

These have their denomination from the personal name of **Menno Simon**, a native of Witmars, and a man of parts and learning, who carried the reformation one step farther than either Luther or Calvin; and who, no doubt, would have been ranked with the chief reformers, had there not been some cross-grained fatality attending the laudable deeds of Baptists, to prevent their having, in this world, the praise they deserve. He was born in the year 1505. Got into orders in 1528. Continued a famous preacher and disputer to 1531, when he began to suspect the validity of many things in the church of Rome, and among the rest, that of infant baptism. He discovered his suspicions first to the doctors of his own fraternity; but they, resolving all to the authority of the church, relieved him not. Then he visited Luther and many besides, who had, at the time, avowed the word of God to be the only rule of faith and practice in religious concerns. What satisfaction they gave him, touching other matters, I do not find; but their grounding infant baptism on consequences and expedience, rather than on any express precept or precedent, increased his suspicion. He then betook himself to the close study of the New-Testament and ecclesiastical history; and finding no traces of it in the first and second century, nor yet in the word of God; and strong indications of believers baptism in both, he renounced the former, and embraced the principles of the Baptists, notwithstanding the disgrace which the profession had been brought under by the appearance of some Baptists in the insurrection of those times, which were common throughout most parts of Germany_ [Edwards_ History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, p. 64-90].

These insurrections were not of the religious kind, but struggles of the people for civil liberty against the tyranny and oppression of the princes. In some of these, not a Protestant of any denomination was found. In none of them were the Protestant Baptists either the agitators or the most numerous; no, not in that of Munster. The contrivers of this, and the first that appeared in it, are well known to be of other denominations; and though three Baptists, one by his wealth, and the other two by their superior skill and courage, became principals in fighting the tyrant and defending the town, yet, had they not the guilt of the plotters nor of the first insurgents; nor were the Baptists, under their command, many, in comparison of the other citizens and boors which made the whole body of the madmen of Munster, as they are called.

Nevertheless, the blame of the whole, is fixed on the Baptists, contrary to all fair dealing and the historical evidence of facts, and follows them to this day even in foreign countries. Menno continued preaching and planting churches in the various parts of the low countries, for a course of about thirty years, and died in peace, January 31, 1561, after having been hunted like a partridge on the mountain by both Protestants and Papists. The faith and order of this eminent reformer may in some measure be gathered from the fragments of his works which are now extant. A General Baptist, as that character is understood in Great-Britain, he certainly was; but I have not seen sufficient evidence of his being what is now called an Arian or Socinian. I rather think that the term Arminian or Remonstrant, would better suit his religious sentiments. But **the Mennonites in Pennsylvania, and in other parts of the world, have somewhat deviated from Menno, in matters both of faith and practice; particularly in that of baptism.** He, in his Declaration concerning Christian baptism in water, printed in 1539, page 24, expressly saith, _After we have searched ever so diligently, we shall find no other baptism besides dipping in water, which is acceptable to God, and maintained in his word._ After which he adds, page 39, _Let who will oppose, this is the only mode of baptism that Christ Jesus instituted, and the Apostles taught and practiced._ Accordingly Menno was dipped, and did dip others. His successors did the same, except when they made proselytes in prisons, or were hindered from going to rivers; and this they excused from a consideration of necessity; just as Cyprian, in his 69th epistle, excuses the usage of sprinkling or pouring instead of dipping, because the subjects were confined to their beds, which made it be called Clinical Baptism. But, as in Africa so in Europe, what was done at first, out of a supposed necessity, became afterwards to be practiced out of choice. What excused the Mennonites in Europe, excuse them not in Pennsylvania. In the former they made

converts in prisons, whom they could not lead to the water, and therefore fetched water to them. In the former they were hindered from going to rivers, and therefore did as well as they could in the inner chambers; but in Pennsylvania, every one may do what is right in his own sight, without either fear or shame. It is earnestly prayed, therefore, that the Mennonites of America will return to follow Menno in an affair wherein he was so eminent a follower of Christ, and his Apostles; especially as so many of the common people have desired a restoration of immersion, and have gone off to the Tunkers for the want of it. Touching the subjects of baptism, the Mennonites still retain their integrity, by administering the ordinance to none but those who profess faith and repentance, and make vows of subjection to the Gospel of Christ; which keeps up the distinction between world and church; for where baptizing infants prevails, there can be no world, all are church; but they do not prefer dipping. Their common method is this: The person to be baptized kneels; the minister holds his hands over him, into which the deacon pours water, and through which it runs on the crown of the kneeling person's head; after which follow imposition of hands, and prayer. The parents sometimes insist on their children's being baptized before they will consent to their marriage; which I wish they would not, lest any be forced to a thing, which should be a matter of personal choice, following convictions and calls of conscience; for then only is baptism what it should be, The answer of a good conscience toward God. 1 Peter 3:21

_The principles and practices of the Mennonites in Pennsylvania may be seen in their Confession of Faith, published at Philadelphia, in 1727. This confession, as far as it goes, is orthodox; and is no other than a translation of that framed and published at Dordrecht, in 1632, by deputies from all the Mennonites in Europe. But as the book is scarce, I may be allowed to mention some particulars.

_The Mennonites do not, like the Tunkers, hold the doctrine of general salvation; yet, like them, they will neither swear nor fight, nor bear any civil office, nor go to law, nor take interest for the money they lend, (though many break through this last.) Some of them yet wear their beards; nor are the ancient rites of washing feet, etc. wholly out of use among them. They, like the Tunkers, use great plainness of speech and dress. This last is so capital a point with them, that some have been expelled from their societies, for having buckles to their shoes, and pocket-holes to their coats.

Their church government, like that of all Baptists, is wholly democratical or republican. Their ministers they choose by balloting; and when two or more are thus nominated, they leave it to the decision of lots, which shall be the man. They do not pay them; nor do their ministers assert their right to a livelihood from the Gospel. They are put into their office, by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, attended with fasting and prayer. They call their ordained ministers bishops, which term, though as scriptural as pastor, elder, etc. other dissenters avoid, as if they were conscious that the proper office of bishop is not among them. The brothers are allowed to speak in the church by way of exhortation or expounding, but are not permitted to preach publicly, till they obtain license from the church. These they call preachers, helps, exhorters. Their aim in America, is to have a pious ministry rather than a learned one; but in Europe they covet both, and have a college among them for the purpose [Edwards's History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania. p. 90-95].

The epithets which these people give themselves in their writings are, Harmless Christians, Revengeless Christians, Weaponless Christians, etc. and as such are they considered by the rulers of the province, and by those of other States. Remarkable, on this subject are the words of the Dutch ambassador (Van Benning) to Monsieur de Turenne: _The Mennonites are good people, and the most commodious to a State of any in the world; partly because they do not aspire to places of dignity; partly because they edify the community by the simplicity of their manners, and application to arts and industry; and partly because we fear no rebellion from a sect, who make it an article of their faith never to bear arms._ Their industry and frugality they carried with them to Pennsylvania, and thereby are become very wealthy. Some Mennonite families were in the province as early as the year 1692, who came hither from New-York government, which at first belonged to the Dutch, and was called New-Netherlands, extending from the river Delaware to the river of Connecticut. They set-tied in the neighborhood, now called Germantown and Frankfort, etc. Other families soon followed; and after them many came directly from Europe, insomuch that May 23, 1708, there was a church settled at Germantown, consisting of 52 members, which exists to this day, and is not only the first in the province, but, in some sort, the mother of all the rest. In about 16 years after, this church had branched out to Skippek, Conestogo, Great-Swamp, and Monatony, and become five churches; to which appertained 16 ministers, viz. Reverend Messrs. Jacob Goottschalk, Henry Kolb, Martin Kolb, Cleas Johnsen, Michael Zeigler, John Gorgas, John Conerads, Cleas Rittinghausen, Hans Burghaltzer, Christian Heer, Benedict Hirschy, Martin Beer, Johnnes Bowman, Velter Clemer, Daniel Langanecker, and Jacob Beghtly. The present (1770) state of the Mennonites in this province is as follows: 1st, Their churches, which contain many branches, are 13. 2d The meeting-houses belonging to them are 42. 3d, Their ordained ministers or bishops are 55. 4th, Their probationary or licensed preachers are 53. 5th, The

families are about 810, which, allowing 5 to a family, contain 4050 souls; whereof 1448 persons are baptized and members of their churches. This account, I believe, is pretty exact, except the county of Lancaster hath introduced any error into it; for in that county I have not met with as much readiness to give me the information I sought, as in the other counties; owing, I believe to a suspicion, that a knowledge of their State would some way or other be to their prejudice.

In the year 1743, the Mennonites began a settlement in Frederick county, Maryland, 56 miles N.W. from Annapolis, and 122 S.W. from Philadelphia; and in 1770, according to Mr. Edwards's account, their society had increased to about 400 families, in which, allowing 5 to a family, were 2000 souls, whereof 861 were baptized. In this large community were five ordained ministers or bishops. The Mennonites, also founded a society in Augusta county, Virginia, in the year 1752, which, at the time above, mentioned, had increased to about 100 families, whereof 52 were baptized.

From the foregoing accounts it appears, that there were of the Mennonites in America, in the year 1770, 15 churches; about 20 ordained ministers or bishops, as they call them; between 50 and 60 probationary or licensed preachers; 2361 communicants; 1310 families; and, allowing 5 to a family, 6550 souls. Their number has probably decreased since that period, although they are at present considerably numerous. But as they have changed the administration of baptism, from immersion to affusion, and thereby not only departed from the only scriptural mode of administering this ordinance, but also from the example of the noble founder of this sect, we shall wholly leave them out in our enumeration of the American Baptists.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

The most considerable institution of this kind among the Baptists in America was **formed at Boston in 1802**. It must be considered as an appendage of the Warren Association, as its principal promoters were members of that body. Since the Boston Association has been formed, it has been patronized by both of these communities. About the time this society arose, there were many Macedonian cries from different parts of the country, and a number of zealous preachers stood ready to go forth to labor among the destitute, provided they could have some assistance to bear them on the way. In this posture of affairs, proposition was made by Dr. Baldwin and others for establishing a society upon a missionary plan. Many were fearful of engaging in the undertaking, but an attempt was made, which has been crowned with abundant success. The first year they received but about 150 dollars, but their receipts have increased yearly, so that they have now in eleven years received about 12,000 dollars; most of which has been expended in sending missionaries in the District of Maine, in Nova-Scotia, in the Canadas, and in the back settlements of New-Hampshire, Vermont, New-York, and some other States.

The ministers who have been employed by this society, are Elders Isaac Case, Joseph Cornell, Peter P. Roots, Lemuel Corel, John Tripp, David Irish, Jesse Hartwell, Phinehas Pilsbury, Henry Hale, Barnabas Perkins, Samuel Rowly, Clark Kendrick, Samuel Ambrose, Stephen Parsons, Hezekiah Pettet, Samuel Churchill, Samuel Nelson, Simeon Coombs, John Chadburn, Henry Kendall, and others. Of these missionaries, Messrs. Case and Roots have been almost constantly in the employ of this society for six or eight years past. The first has labored mostly in the District of Maine, New-Brunswick, and Nova-Scotia; the other in the back settlements of New-York and in Upper Canada. This society, in 1811, had twenty missionaries in its employ; they labored upon an average almost four months each, and the sum total of their services was over six years; their salaries amounted to 1600 dollars, that is, 160 dollars a year, or five dollars a week, for each missionary.

This society received at one time 600 dollars from the late Richard Devens, Esq. a Congregationalist of Charleston. Besides this, very considerable assistance was received at other times from that liberal gentleman. A number of **Female Mite Societies** have been distinguished auxiliaries of this evangelical institution. The first society of this kind was formed in Boston in 1809. This has contributed 500 dollars; the Boston Cent Society about 400; and a society of little children in the same town 85 dollars. The Providence Mite Society has forwarded to this missionary board about 550 dollars; the one in Salem over 400; and another in Haverhill 394. Similar Societies have been formed in Newton, Atticborough, Rehoboth or Seckonk, Warren, Newport, and other places, by which sums of considerable amount have been contributed. These Societies are formed of religious women, and of those who are favourably disposed towards the propagation of the gospel abroad; their rule is to give a cent a week, that is fifty-two cents a year: those who are disposed, give more. They make their collections quarterly, and by their laudable exertions, by this new and unprecedented economy of saving money in a way which no one can feel, these

societies have, together, within a very few years past, contributed for missionary purposes between two and three thousand dollars.

The Baptists in New-York began to exert themselves in the missionary cause, in connection with the Presbyterians in that city, about the beginning of the present century. By their united efforts, sums of considerable amount were raised, and missionaries were sent out in different directions. Mr. Holmes, of the Baptist order, was stationed among the Six Nations, where he labored a number of years to some effect. But our brethren not finding matters to go on according to their minds, in 1806 withdrew, formed a society by themselves, and very good success has attended their exertions. Since they began their operations, the sum total of their receipts amounts to about 5500 dollars. They expect, in the spring of 1814, to receive a thousand dollars, lately bequeathed the society. The missionaries they have employed are Messrs. Charles Lahatt, Elkanah Holmes, Luke Davis, William Pierce, Daniel Steers, Samuel West, James Harris, Enoch Ferris, and Edmund J. Reis.

Since the late unhappy divisions in New-York, the First church in that city has operated in missionary affairs in a distinct, individual capacity, and has collected between four and five hundred dollars.

The Philadelphia Association set on foot a missionary plan about 1800. Their receipts for some years at first were not large, but there has been a promising increase of their means; so that they have been enabled to send the Gospel to many destitute places in the back parts of Pennsylvania and in the north-east parts of Ohio. They have employed as missionaries Messrs. Thomas G. Jones, Thomas Smiley, Henry George, William West, and others.

The New-Jersey Association, at the time that it came cut of the Philadelphia, established a Missionary Society within its bounds; and in the year 1812, its receipts from different sources amounted to about 200 dollars. What it has received this present year I have not learnt, but it is hoped not a less sum.

The Virginia Baptists, with all their ample means, do not yet seem to have interested themselves in missionary concerns.

In North-Carolina a few years since an institution was formed by the name of the Philanthropick Baptist Missionary Society; but it does not appear that any thing considerable has yet been effected by it.

By the Charleston Association a Missionary Society was begun in 1803. It had for its principal object the **sending of the gospel to the Catawba Indians**, who inhabit their State, of whom, and also of the success of the mission to them, some account is given in Vol. 2. p. 46-47. In 1810, this society had collected by annual contributions \$1896.60 of which \$1850.78 had been expended in paying the salaries of their missionary and school-master, purchasing books, etc. [Furman's Hist. of the Charleston Association, p. 52.] It has probably received about \$200 a year since, which would now (1813) make the sum total of its receipts, about \$2500. It appears by the Minutes of the Association for 1812, that in that year \$122.50 were received from the Wadmalaw and Edisto Female Mite Society, by the hands of Mrs. Eliza A. Adams, and Mrs. Hepzibah Townsend.

When we go back from the seaport towns, we find a considerable number of missionary establishments. The Shaftsbury Association, early in the beginning of this century, began to make exertions to send the Gospel to the destitute. Elders Blood, Warren, Corel, and others of their most distinguished preachers, before that period, had made many evangelical excursions into remote regions on their own expense. In 1801, it appears by their minutes, that Mr. Covell made "a proposition for raising a fund, by contribution, for sending missionaries to **preach the Gospel in destitute parts of the frontier settlements, and as far as they should have opportunity, among the natives of the wilderness.**" The next year some small sums were sent in; the year after, their contributions amounted to almost 80 dollars; and from that period they have made annual collections from churches, mite societies, and individuals, from 90 to 180 dollars. The sum total of their contributions, from 1802 to the present time, must amount to upwards of 1500 dollars.

In the bounds of the Otsego, Madison, and Franklin Associations, has been formed an institution for missionary purposes, by the name of the Hamilton Missionary Society. It was begun in 1807, and had, in 1811, sent out missionaries into different parts, to the amount of almost seventy weeks. Auxiliary to this is a society of religious and benevolent ladies, in the town of Hamilton, who, by taking hold of the distaff, **have furnished clothing for their missionary brethren.** In February 1812, they presented the missionary board with twenty yards of fine woollen cloth of their own manufacture. In the town of Carenovia a similar society has been formed, who have, with their own hands, manufactured thirty yards of fine linen, and about as much of woollen, for the clothing and the comfort of their brethren, who expose themselves to the summer_s heat and winter_s cool, to bear the glad tidings of peace to those who are perishing for lack of knowledge. When these accounts were received, similar societies were forming in Fabius, Onondaga, Pompey, German, Homer, etc.

On the west of this region an institution was formed some years ago, called the Lake Missionary Society; but of its origin and movements I have obtained no accounts. There is also a missionary establishment in the District of Maine, called the Maine Missionary Society, which was formed in 1804. By the year 1810, they had collected, in various ways, between five and six hundred dollars, which they had appropriated to the design of their institution.

In addition to these societies, the several Associations of Sturbridge, Leyden, Woodstock, Vermont, Saratoga, Cayuga, and Black-River, in New-England and New-York, have some years past made annual collections of from about forty to considerably over a hundred dollars. About eighty dollars a year are generally collected. These monies they generally appropriate to their own ministers, who are disposed to itinerate, in places remote and destitute. **All these institutions are called missionary; though most of them more properly deserve the name of itinerant.** Their effects have been peculiarly useful and promising. Many, who had previously a zeal for itinerating, have been enabled to do it without injury to their families or embarrassment to themselves. Many new and destitute places in this wide-spread country have been blessed with the dispensation of the precious word of life; many of the saints, who have removed far from their brethren, have been refreshed; many sinners have, by the labors of the missionaries, been hopefully born into the kingdom of God, and by their means a considerable number of churches have been planted.

As near as I can ascertain there has been collected by all the different Baptist Missionary Institutions since about 1803, that is, in the ten last years, not far from thirty thousand dollars. In this sum I do not include what the New-York brethren contributed while they were in connection with the Presbyterians, nor the monies, which have been sent to India formerly, or have lately been raised towards supporting Messrs. Judson and Rice in that region. More than one third of this sum, we have seen, has been raised by the Massachusetts Baptist Society, and very few of our brethren comparatively have been concerned in raising the remainder. What might we expect if they would unite their efforts in this evangelical undertaking?

LITERARY INSTITUTIONS, AND EDUCATION FUNDS

Brown University is the most important literary establishment among the Baptists in America. It was projected, according to Morgan Edwards, in 1762, by the Philadelphia Association. The year after, Mr. James Manning, who afterwards became its president, landed at Newport on his way to Halifax, Nova-Scotia, "and made a motion to several gentlemen of the Baptist denomination, (of whom Colonel Gardner, the Deputy Governor was one,) relative to a seminary of polite literature, subject to the government of the Baptists. the motion was properly attended to, which brought together about fifteen gentlemen of the same denomination at the Deputy_s house who requested Mr. Manning to draw a sketch of the design against the day following." The plan was formed according to desire, and the next day Governor Lyndon and Colonel Job Bennet were appointed to draw a charter; but they pleading unskilfulness in the business, solicited the aid of Rev. Ezra, afterwards Dr. Styles, president of Yale College, New-Haven. Before the business was matured, Mr. Manning was obliged to go on board the vessel for Halifax. "The object for fixing on Rhode-Island for a Baptist College was, that that Legislature was chiefly in the hands of their denomination, and was therefore the likeliest place to have one established by law." But so un auspicious were the Baptists, that they came very near being defeated in their design. The charter was so artfully drawn by Dr. Styles, that the Presbyterians would have had the power of controlling the institution, had it received the sanction of the Legislature in its original form. "When Governor Lyndon inquired of the Doctor, why he had

perverted the design of the charter? he answered, I gave you timely warning to take care of yourselves, for that we had done so with regard to our society, observing at the same time that he was not the rogue." The history of this sectarian intrigue is thus stated by Daniel Jenks, Esq. "While I attended the business of the Assembly, (held August, 1763) Capt. William Rogers came to the council chamber and presented me with a paper, with a design I should sign it, adding, "that as it was a petition for a Baptist College he knew I would not refuse." Business not permitting me to attend to him immediately, I requested he would leave with me the petition and charter. Meanwhile the sergeant made proclamation, requesting the members to take their seats; in my seat I began to read the papers, but had not done, before the petition and charter were called for, which I gave to the sergeant, and he to the speaker at the board. The petition being read, a motion was made to receive it and grant the charter. After some time I stood up to oppose proceeding; immediately on the petition, giving my reason in words to this effect. "I understood that the college in question was sought for by the Baptists, and that it was to be under their government and direction, with admission only of a few of other religious denominations, to share with them therein, that they might appear as catholic as could be, consistent with their main design; but on the contrary, I perceived, by glancing over the charter while I sat in my place just now, that the main power of government and direction is vested in twelve fellows, and that eight out of the twelve are to be Presbyterians, and that the others may or may not be of the same denomination, but of necessity none of them is to be a Baptist. If so, there is treachery somewhere, and a design of grossly imposing on the honest people, who first moved for the institution; I therefore desire that the matter may lie by till the afternoon." This was granted. In the afternoon the matter was resumed, with a seeming resolution in some to push it through at all events; but I had influence enough to stop proceeding then also. That evening and next morning I made it my business to see Governor Lyndon and Colonel Bennet, and to inform them of the construction of the charter. They could not believe me, for the confidence they had in Dr. Styles's honor and integrity, until seeing convinced them. What reflections followed may be better concealed than published. However, we all agreed to postpone passing the charter into a law, and did effect our purpose for that session, notwithstanding the attempts of Mr. Ellery and others of the Presbyterians to the contrary. Before the breaking up of the Assembly, the House, at my request, directed the speaker to deliver the charter to me, after I had made a promise it should be forth-coming at the next meeting of the Assembly. I took the charter to Providence, and showed it to many who came to my house; others borrowed it to peruse at home. Meanwhile the messengers from the Philadelphia Association arrived in Newport, which occasioned the committee of Newport to send to me for the charter. [One of these messengers was Dr. Samuel Jones, who, hearing of the difficulty his brethren were in came on to their assistance.] I asked for it of Dr. Ephraim Bowen, who had borrowed it last. The Dr. said he lent it to Samuel Nightingale, Esq. Search was made for it there, but it could not be found; neither do I know to this day what became of it. When the next General Assembly met (last Wednesday in October, 1763,) the second charter was presented, which was much faulted and opposed by the gentry, who concerned themselves so warmly about the other. And one in particular demanded that the first charter, which had been entrusted with me, might be produced. Then I related (as above) that it was lost, and the manner how it was lost; but the party, instead of believing this, very rudely suggested, that I had secreted the charter, and, in the face of the court, charged me with a breach of trust, which brought on very disagreeable altercations and bickerings, till at last I was necessitated to say, "that if there had been any foul dealings, it was among them of their own denomination at Providence." Their clamours continued, and we gave way to them that session, for peace sake. Meanwhile, Dr. Bowen, who is a man of strict honor and integrity, used all means to recover the former charter, posting an advertisement in the most public places of the town, and making diligent inquiry, but to no purpose. At the next Assembly, which met in February, 1764, the new charter was again brought on the carpet, and the same clamor against it, and unjust reproaches against me, were repeated. It was said that the new charter was not like the old; and was constructed to deprive the Presbyterians of the benefit of the institution. To which it was replied, "That it was agreeable to the design of the first undertakers; and if calculated to deprive the Presbyterians of the power they wanted, it was no more than what they themselves had attempted to do to the Baptists. After much and warm debate, the question was put, and carried in favor of the new charter, by a great majority" [Edwards's MS. History of Rhode-Island, p. 323-327].

The charter is too lengthy to be transcribed, but the following is a summary of its contents. The institution was named the "Trustees and Fellows of the College or University, in the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations." The corporation consists of two separate branches, with distinct, separate, and respective powers. The number of Trustees is thirty-six, of whom twenty-two are Baptists, five of Friends or Quakers, five Episcopalians, and four Congregationalists, frequently called Presbyterians. The same proportion of different denominations to continue in perpetuum. The number of Fellows, (including the

President, who is a Fellow, *ex officio*) is twelve, of whom eight are Baptists, the others may be chosen indiscriminately from any denomination. The concurrence of both branches by a majority of each is necessary for the validity of an act, except the adjudging and conferring degrees, which exclusively belongs to the Fellowship as a learned faculty. The President must be a Baptist; Professors and other officers of instruction are not limited to any particular denomination. The annual commencement is on the first Wednesday of Sept. when there is a general meeting of the Corporation.

For a few years after the charter was granted, the institution moved on but slowly towards maturity. Mr. Manning was chosen President, and in 1766, began with a small class at Warren, where it was at first proposed the college should be located. The year after, Mr. Morgan Edwards, of Philadelphia, set sail for England, to collect money towards paying the salary of the President and his assistant, for as yet they had no funds. Mr. Edwards met with very good success, "considering," as he says, "how angry the mother country then was with the colonies for opposing the stamp-act."

Afterwards, the late Dr. Hezekiah Smith and others collected sums of considerable amount for the purpose of endowing the institution. In 1769 proposals were made for building a college edifice; but serious difficulties arose respecting the place where it should be erected. The four towns of Warren, Providence, Newport and East-Greenwich, in four different counties, were named as eligible situations. In this posture of affairs, it was proposed by the Corporation, that the county, which should raise the most money, should have the college. Providence bid the highest, and of course obtained it. Here an edifice was begun in May, 1770, which was roofed in the autumn of that year. It was built under the superintendence of "the adventurous and resolute Browns," of Providence, viz. Nicholas, Joseph, John, and Moses, who were then united in trade under the firm of Nicholas Brown & Co. They each subscribed two hundred pounds, L.M. (\$666-67.00) but in the end, the building cost them much more.

The college edifice is of brick, four stories high, exclusive of the cellar, which is partly above ground, 150 feet long, and 46 wide, with a projection of ten feet on each side. It has an entry lengthwise, with rooms on each side. There are 52 rooms for the accommodation of students, and four larger ones for public uses.

This elegant building, which was erected wholly by the generous donations of individuals, mostly of the town of Providence, is situated on a hill to the east of the town, has a pure salubrious air, and commands a delightful prospect of the town of Providence, the Narraganset Bay and the islands, and of an extensive country around, variegated with hills, dales, plains, wood. lands, etc. [In full view of the top of the College, is the Seekhonk plain, in Rehoboth, where Roger Williams first pitched his tent among the Indians, when banished, from Massachusetts, and from which he was warned by the men of Plymouth, to remove across the Narraganset Bay, etc.] The college lot contains about five acres, originally the property of Chad Brown, one of Roger Williams's associates and his successor in the care of the church of which they were both constituent members. [This circumstance was first suggested to me by Friend Moses Brown; I have since found it noticed by Morgan Edwards, so that I think there can be no doubt, but that Brown University stands on land originally owned by the ancient Chad Brown, although it received its name from one of his posterity of the sixth generation.] Near the college are the President's house, a commodious brick building for a Grammar School and the Medical Lectures, and out-buildings for the accommodation of the President and steward.

The Library belonging to this University amounts now to near three thousand volumes, many of which were collected by Morgan Edwards in England, and many others have been presented by the Baptists in that kingdom, and by benefactors of different denominations, both there and in different parts of the United States. A valuable Law Library, supposed to be worth about eight hundred dollars, is the gift of Nicholas Brown, Esq. who has presented besides a great number of books of different kinds. We ought furthermore to add that this distinguished benefactor, a few years ago, agreed to give five hundred dollars towards increasing the Library, if the corporation would appropriate as much more. This liberal proposition was accepted; a part of this thousand dollars has been expended, but a considerable sum yet remains to be laid out.

Fifteen or twenty volumes of Grammars and Translations of the Scriptures in the Oriental languages, have lately been received from the Baptist Missionaries in India.

The Philosophical Apparatus, though not so large as those of older Universities, is yet respectable for its extent. It consists of an Orrery, a Theodolite, a reflecting Telescope, solar and double Microscopes, convex and concave Mirrors, Lenses, Globes, an Air Pump, the gift of the late Nicholas Brown, Esq. Machinery for Hydrostatics, Electricity, and Mechanics, together with such other articles as are necessary to a respectable course of experiments on modern philosophy. A number of these articles were purchased with a donation of five hundred dollars from the late Samuel Elam, Esq.

The officers of this University are as follows:

Hon. Jabez Bowen, LL.D. Chancellor Rev. Asa Messer, S.T.D. LL.D. Pres. Hon. Dav. Howell, LL.D. Prof. Law Rev. Calvin Park, A.M. Professor Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics William Ingalls, M.D. Professor Anatomy and Surgery Solomon Drown, M.D. Professor Materia Medica and Botany John Bailey, A.M. Tutor and Librarian Josephus Wheaton, A.B. Tutor George Fisher, A.B. Preceptor of the Grammar School. William C. Bowen, M.D. former Professor of Chemistry, has lately resigned. It is expected a new Professor will soon be appointed.

The Medical Establishment was begun in 1810, and bids for to be an important acquisition to the Institution. A Professorship of the Theory and Practice of Physick has been established, but a Professor has not yet been appointed. A Botanical Garden is in contemplation.

The number of students is over a hundred and twenty; in the summer of 1813, they were a hundred and thirty-five, of all denominations; and the same religious freedom reigns in the College as in the State. The students do not repair here to study divinity, but to acquire a knowledge of the arts and sciences, that they may be qualified to engage in whatever profession their views and feelings shall dictate.

The funds of the University, according to a report of the Treasurer in 1811, were over fifteen thousand dollars; and as the establishment has, for some time past, supported itself, they are yearly accumulating. The foundation for these funds was laid by the collections of Morgan Edwards, Dr. Hezekiah Smith, and others. Two thousand dollars of it were granted by Congress in consideration of the damages the edifice sustained during the Revolutionary War. This grant was obtained by means of John Brown, Esq. who was at the time a representative from the State. [For six years during the war, this Seat of the Muses became the Camp of Mars; that is from December 1776 to June 1782, the college edifice was used, by the French and American troops, for a hospital and barracks; so that the course of education was interrupted, during that period. No degrees were conferred from 1776 to 1786.]

Exclusive of these endowments is a foundation for a Professorship of Oratory and Belles Lettres, which was laid in 1804, by Nicholas Brown, Esq. in consequence of which the University received its name. [The institution had no specific name previous to this period; it had been called Rhode-Island College, the College at Providence, etc. The privilege of giving it a name was reserved for some generous benefactor. The sum had never before been specified; but at the date above mentioned, the corporation fixed it at five thousand dollars, which was immediately presented by Mr. Brown, who conferred on the institution his own name.] This was at first five thousand dollars; in 1811 it had increased to over seven thousand. A Professor is to be appointed where the interest of this fund shall be sufficient to afford him a competent salary.

This institution has had three Presidents. Dr. Manning, its founder, held this office about twenty-five years, this character has been given in the biographical department.

Successor to him was Jonathan Maxcy, D. D. now President of the College at Columbia, South-Carolina. He was born at Attleborough, Massachusetts, a few miles from Providence, 1768, was chosen President of this institution soon after Dr. Manning's death, and held the office about eleven years, when he was chosen President of Union College, Skenectady, (New-York) where he officiated a few years before his removal to his present situation.

Asa Messer, D. D. LL. D. was elevated to the presidential chair in 1802. He was born in Methuen, near Haverhill, Massachusetts, 1769, and was brought up under the ministry of the late Dr. Hezekiah Smith. He has now been in the University in different stations, twenty-six years, that is, from the age of eighteen.

In speaking of the other literary institutions, which it may be proper to notice, we shall pursue the order of the States, beginning with

THE DISTRICT OF MAINE

In the winter of 1812, the Baptists in this District obtained of the Massachusetts Legislature a grant of a township of public unsettled land, for the purpose of erecting a College. The township contains over 20,000 acres, which it is expected will sell for as many thousand dollars. This was a new thing under the sun, and is believed to have been the first public grant, that was ever made by any court or legislature to our denomination.

The Baptists, as citizens of the Commonwealth, had a righteous claim for their part of its public property; but their petition was much opposed, and it is doubted whether it would have been granted, had it not been for the assiduous exertions of Reverend Daniel Merrill, of Sedgwick, who was, at that time, a member of the House of Representatives.

Sums of considerable amount had been subscribed towards this intended College, before the grant was obtained; but I do not learn that much has yet been done towards setting it in operation.

MR. WILLIAMS_ ACADEMY

In 1776, Mr. William Williams, pastor of the church in Wrentham, Massachusetts, one of the first graduates of Brown University, opened an Academy for teaching the Languages, Arts and Sciences, etc. Mr. Williams has had over a hundred scholars under his tuition, most of whom have finished their education at the University at Providence. Among these students were President Maxcy, and the Hon. David R. Williams, of South-Carolina. About twenty out of the whole number, have become Baptist ministers, most of whom are yet living. A few have entered the ministry in the Congregational connection, and most of the remainder studied physics or engaged in the law.

MR. EATON_S ACADEMY, AT HOPEWELL, NEW-JERSEY

"Mr. Eaton was the first man among the American Baptists, who opened a school for the education of youth for the ministry." This school was begun in 1766, and closed in 1767. Towards the support of it the churches in the Philadelphia Association raised a fund of about four hundred pounds, which was afterwards mostly annihilated by the ravages of continental money. Among the ministers who received the rudiments of their education at this Academy, were President Manning, Dr. Samuel Jones, Dr. Hezekiah Smith, Dr. Isaac Skillman, and Messrs. David Thomas, John Davis, William Williams, Robert Keith, Charles Thompson. David Jones, John Sutton, David Sutton, James Talbot, John Blackwell, Joseph Powell, William Worth, and Levi Bonnell.

A considerable number of his students engaged in the professions of physick, and law, and of this last class was Judge Howel of Providence, Rhode-Island.

DR. JONES_S ACADEMY, AT LOWER-DUBLIN, PENNSYLVANIA

Dr. Jones, we have seen, was one of Mr. Eaton_s students; he finished his education in the College at Philadelphia, opened the Academy in question in 1766, and closed it in 1794. The number of his students amounts to 69 in all; fourteen of them became Baptist preachers. Dr. Jones, out of the abundance of his wealth, has, as he informs me, resolved on leaving a thousand dollars in the hands of the Trustees of his church and congregation, with directions to apply the interest towards educating young men, who are promising for the ministry.

BAPTIST EDUCATION SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE STATES

This Society was formed at Philadelphia in 1812. "Its avowed and explicit design is, with a divine blessing, the assisting of young men in obtaining such literary and theological aid, as shall enable them, with greater ease to themselves and usefulness to the churches, to fulfill the duties of the Christian ministry. Such persons only shall be considered as eligible to the privileges of the society as are regular members of Baptist churches, and as have been licensed to the ministry, and are by the trustees of the society considered as possessing talents likely to contribute to ministerial usefulness." The society has collected funds to the amount of about fifteen hundred dollars. Dr. Staughton, of Philadelphia, has been chosen tutor, and a small class of young gentlemen of the character above described are studying at his house. A building, suitable to the designs of this Society, is in contemplation, and should the brethren of the Middle States make a liberal advance of the abundant means they possess, this institution may prove a valuable acquisition to the churches, whose benefit it has in view.

MR. ROBERTS'S ACADEMY, AT STATESBURG, SOUTH-CAROLINA

This seminary was opened in 1800. Some accounts of its students will be given in the history of the Education Fund belonging to the Charleston Association. Mr. Roberts is a graduate of Brown University, and was approbated as a preacher by the church in Providence.

MOUNT ENON ACADEMY

This Academy is not far from the city of Augusta, in Georgia, 140 miles from the Atlantic. It was begun about 1806, principally by the exertions of Dr. Holcombe, now of Philadelphia, by whom collections to a considerable amount were made in different parts of the State. This Academy is under the direction of a board of trustees, who have obtained an act of incorporation. They have funds to the amount of about three thousand dollars, besides unsold lots on Mount Enon, supposed to be worth about a thousand dollars. The President of this institution is Mr. Thomas H Dixon, the number of students is about forty. Should the Georgia brethren increase in their relish for literature, and contribute freely of their pecuniary means, this seminary may, at some future day, arise into a College, according to the original design of its founders.

Besides the Academies we have named, Mr. Stanford's in New-York, Dr. Burgis Allison's of Bordentown, Mr. Nelson's at Mount Pleasant [at this Academy the author began his classical studies, in 1802] and a number of others, have been conducted by Baptist ministers, and in them many, who are now preachers of the denomination, received much literary assistance. Buildings have been erected for Academies at Westfield and Middleborough, both in Massachusetts, which have just begun their operations.

EDUCATION FUNDS

The one belonging to the Charleston Association, on many accounts, demands our first attention.

"This institution, which has for its object the gratuitous education of pious young men for the ministry, commenced in 1791. In consequence of previous recommendation and arrangement by the Association, nine churches, viz. Charleston, Ewhaw, Welsh Neck, Ebenezer, High-Hills of Santee, Lynch's Creek, Cheraw Hill, Black Swamp, and Lower Fork of Lynch's Creek, sent delegates and contributions to the annual meeting held that year at the Welch Neck. Mr. Furman was chosen Chairman, and Mr. Holcombe, Clerk.

"A system of rules submitted to the Chairman was taken into consideration, and underwent several amendments. The ratification was deferred till the next meeting, and a proposition for the incorporation of the committee referred to the association for its concurrence. Mr. Matthew M_Cullers was recommended by Mr. Holcombe as a candidate for the patronage of the Committee, examined and approved. The Chairman was requested to contract for and superintend his education. A part of the money collected was appropriated to assist in the education of the late Reverend Joseph Cook's son, who it was agreed should afterwards be examined whether he came under the _description of persons to be benefited by this institution._ Mr. Cuttino of Georgetown was requested to act as Treasurer till the next meeting.

"In 1792 the rules were re-considered, and after some further amendments, ratified and signed. A petition to the Legislature for incorporation was also signed, and committed to the Chairman to be forwarded. It was accordingly presented and incorporation obtained.

A SUMMARY OF THE RULES

"This Committee shall be known and distinguished by the name of the General Committee for the Charleston Baptist Education Fund."

"Once a year, a Charity Sermon shall be preached in each church; at which time and place, collections shall be made from the congregation, and the money so collected, together with any donations or bequests received for the purpose, shall be applied towards forming and supporting a fund, to assist pious young men, designed for the work of the ministry, and destitute of other assistance, in obtaining education; together with such other religious and public uses, as may be approved by the churches, should the fund finally prove sufficient."

"A committee consisting of a delegate from each church, chosen for the purpose, shall convene at the same time and place with the Association. They may be members of that body, but invested with distinct powers as members of the committee. They shall receive the collections, determine on the manner of applying the fund, according to the foregoing Rule, and examine candidates for the churches_ bounty. The management of the fund is exclusively invested in those churches which contribute to it. The committee thus formed is to continue one year, or to continue till a new election. A President, Secretary, and two Assistants, shall be annually chosen, and form a select committee to transact, when the General Committee is not in session, such business as the General Committee shall judge necessary." etc.

"The President shall contract for the education of such persons as are taken on the churches_ bounty, and the expenses consequent thereon shall be paid by the Treasurer, on the President_s written order."

"The Treasurer shall give bond to the President, in double the value of all monies or specialties in his hands."

"No person shall be admitted on the bounty, but such as come well recommended, and appear, on examination, to be truly pious, of evangelical principles, of good natural abilities, and desirous of devoting themselves to the work of the ministry. Each person so admitted, shall be under the Committee, while pursuing a course of studies, and be liable to refund the money, expended on his education, within four years after the completion of it, if he does not, within that time, enter on the ministry to the satisfaction of the Committee. When there are more candidates than can be received on the bounty, preference will be given to those who are members of churches in this association: secondly, to those who are most promising. If any person, while obtaining education under the patronage and direction of this body, shall embrace principles subversive of the great truths of the gospel, or abandon himself to an irreligious course of life, he shall, on proper evidence of the fact, and after suitable endeavors to reclaim him, if ineffectual, be dismissed."

"It shall be the duty of the Committee to use its best endeavors to obtain and apply for the general benefit of the churches, all property of the churches in this union, when the said churches are become extinct, and the property liable to revert to the public or become private property. And in making such appropriations, they shall consult the Association. The Committee shall have no power to interfere in any concern of a church, either spiritual or temporal, where power is not expressly delegated to them by the churches."

"Signed Nov. 7, 1792, by Richard Furman, Henry Holcombe, Edmund Botsford, Alexander Scott, Bradley Rhame, Benjamin Mosely, Stephen Nixon, Isham Gardiner, James Sweat.

"After the adoption of these rules, the following officers were chosen: Reverend Richard Furman, President; Reverend Henry Holcombe, Secretary; Colonel Thomas Screven, Treasurer; Messrs. Thomas Rivers, sen. and John Gourlay, Assistants.

"Agreeably to a resolve of the last year, Mr. Joseph B. Cook was examined. He was regularly received on the establishment; and in the year following Mr. John M. Roberts. In 1794 they were sent to Rhode-Island College, (now Brown University) where the latter graduated in 1796, the former in 1797. Reverend Jesse Mercer, of Georgia, was assisted, in 1792 with 10 pounds, and afterwards supplied with books.

"In 1800, Mr. Sydenham Morton and Mr. William Jones were admitted, and placed at the Academy of Reverend Mr. Roberts, near Stateburg. The same year a legacy of 100 pounds was left the fund by Mrs. Frances Legare, a member of the Independent or Congregational church in Charleston.

"In 1802 it was resolved to fix the period of students_ continuing at their studies, at the time of their admission.

"In 1803 Reverend Samuel Eccles was admitted, and Reverend Davis Collins, who had been some time studying under the patronage of the committee, retired. In this year a valuable library, consisting of works of theology and general science, was purchased for the use of students, and deposited with the Reverend Mr. Roberts for that purpose. Mr. Ezra Courtney, recommended by the Ebenezer church, was examined and approved; 100 dollars was voted for his use this year.

"In 1804 died Colonel Screven, who, from the first choice of officers, had acted as Treasurer. The Committee testified respect for his memory, approbation of his conduct, and sorrow for the loss of _so excellent a man, who did honor to his Christian profession, by a life of eminent piety and extensive usefulness._

"In 1805, Mr. William T. Brantley, who had been studying at Mr. Park_s Academy, at Jeffer_s Creek, was recommended by Mr. Woods and Genesis Thomas; on which it was agreed, that the expenses of his education and board for the current year should be paid. Mr. Brantley was soon after examined in Charleston, by the Special Committee; approved, and placed under the care of Mr. Roberts. In the course of the year following he was admitted into the South-Carolina College, where he graduated in 1808.

"Mr. Richard Todd, of Lane_s-Creek church, was examined and approved in 1806. The thanks of the Committee were presented to Reverend Mr. Roberts for his gratuitous instruction of the students, placed under his care by the Committee.

"In 1808, Mr. James M_Kellar was examined as a candidate from the churches_ bounty, and unanimously approved.

"In 1809, Messrs. Jesse Pope and John Ellis were admitted; and Mr. Belcher in 1810.

STATE OF THE FUND Dollars Cents

"Contributions from the churches from 1791 to 1810 6831.63 Donation from the Religious Society 161.61
Donation from individuals 21.00 Legacy by Mrs. Frances Legare 428.57

TOTAL 7450.81 Interest 1029.21 TOTAL 8480.02

"Expended in the purchase of a library, and in the education, board, etc. of students.

3397.70

"Amount of the Fund in money, bonds, and notes, Nov. 1810

5082.32

"Besides the above amount are two tracts of land on Little Pedee, the gift of Jeremiah Brown, containing together near 2000 acres, and valued at upwards of 900.00

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE, FROM ITS FORMATION.

"President, Richard Furman. "Treasurers, Thomas Screven, William Inglesby, Henry Jones. "Secretaries, Henry Holcombe, John Waldo, John M. Roberts. "Assistants, Thomas Rivers, John Gourlay, John Hart, Hem_y Inglesby, William Inglesby, David Adams" [Fulman_s History of the Charleston Association, p. 14-15].

By the Minutes of this Association for 1811, it appears there were received for this fund for that year, 436 dollars. In 1812, the collections amounted to 292 dollars. The receipts for this year I have not learnt, as the Minutes have not yet come to hand.

The Philadelphia Association, as we have seen, began to raise a fund for the assistance of promising young men, etc. about half a century ago. In 1763, Mrs. Elizabeth Hobbs bequeathed to this fund, or to the Association by whom it was managed, three hundred and fifty pounds. Fifty more pounds were raised probably by contribution, and a number, whose names I have not obtained, were assisted by it. Had it not been for what Edwards calls the O Tempora of the war, and the O Mores of continental money, this fund, in 1790, would have amounted to eight hundred pounds. [Materials towards a History of the Baptists in New-Jersey, p. 47,49.] What remains of it, which is a little over a thousand dollars, will probably be used as an auxiliary to the education Society already described.

About 1791, a proposition was laid before the Warren Association for raising a fund for the same purpose as the others we have mentioned. The measure was approved of, but not much appears in have been done until two years after, when the patrons of the undertaking obtained an Act of Incorporation.

By bequests, donations, and contributions, etc., this fund has been augmented to about three thousand dollars: it is nominally more, but it is doubtful whether some notes will be collected. A thousand dollars of this fund came from the late Richard Devens, Esq. a member of Dr. Morse_s church in Charleston, the same liberal gentleman who gave so much to our Missionary Society. Generous donations have also been made to this institution by Nicholas Brown, Esq. of Providence, Colonel Dana, of Newton, Dea. Goodwin, of Charleston, Ebenezer Seccomb, Esq. of Salem, and many others. The names of those who have been assisted by it, are Joshua Bradley, Thomas Rand, Jeremiah Chaplin, Nathaniel Kendrick, David Curtis, Thomas Power, Charles Wheeler, Samuel Glover, George Phippen, David Pease, and Joseph Briley, all of whom, except the two last, finished their educations at Providence. Messrs. Power, and Bailey have engaged in secular pursuits; the other ten are acting a respectable part in the Christian ministry. Although the dividends of this fund have not been great, yet they have afforded peculiar assistance to those above named towards defraying the expenses of their education. Elijah F. Willey and Herbert Marshall, now members of Brown University, are under its patronage.

A few years since, Levi Peirce, Esq. of Middleborough, presented to the Trustees of this fund an Academy, which he had built at his own expense. It stands near his house, at a place called the Four Corners, is 50 feet by 30, two stories high, and with the lot on which it stands cost about 2500 dollars. This liberal gentleman has given assurances of endowing this Academy with 2000 dollars, should the patrons of the fund and the brethren generally make exertions to forward his design. It is hoped that other funds will be added to the princely endowment contemplated by this distinguished benefactor; that a library will be collected, and things set in order, that we may have just what we want, viz. an Institution where brethren, who are not under circumstances to go the whole round of classical studies, may devote to literary pursuits what time they can spare.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS, MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES, ETC.

This chapter will not be so lengthy as was expected, since many of the observations and articles, which it was to contain, have been anticipated in the preceding narratives.

Morgan Edwards, about forty years ago, observed that the Baptists were more agreed as to the *credendi* than the *agendi* of their order; that is, they were more united in their doctrinal sentiments, than in modes of practice. At present there is some diversity on both of these points. But when we consider that they are spread over an extent of country more than two thousand miles in length, and from five hundred to more than a thousand in width; that they have rapidly increased from a small community to a numerous host; that among them are persons from almost every nation in Europe, and from nearly every religious persuasion in Christendom; that they are not bound to subscribe to any Articles or Confessions; that every church is a distinct, independent body, governed by its own laws and amenable to no foreign tribunal; that they admit of no dictating synods, nor controlling assemblies; I say, when all these things are considered, instead of being surprised at any diversity in smaller matters, it is rather a subject of wonder that there is such an agreement in their doctrinal views, and such a correspondence in their maxims and modes of procedure. It must be understood, that the observations we are here making, regard the Associated Baptists, and those, who are in communion with them. The minor sects of baptized believers, have been described under their respective heads.

Throughout America and in England and its dependencies, the Baptists form but one body. A brother from the farthest churches on the American continent, or from the remotest part of the British dominions, need only produce a certificate of his regular standing, to be admitted to the communion and fellowship of any church where his lot may be cast. And by messengers from one Association to another, by the interchange of minutes, by epistolary communications, etc. there is a correspondence constantly maintained throughout this wide connection.

There is, generally speaking, a great similarity of manners among all the churches on the American continent; and the same, I conclude, may be said of them elsewhere; yet there are some differences arising from local habits, and from that chameleon disposition of taking the color of the nearest object. In many parts of the New-England States, there is a dull, unanimating manner, among both ministers and private Christians, which they seem to have borrowed from their Pedobaptists neighbors. In most parts of the Southern and Western States, you find among them much of the fervor, the ado, and amen, of the Methodists. Among free country churches in all the States a cordial and unaffected hospitality prevails; every house is a welcome home for ministers and brethren, who may call. The churches in towns and cities for the most part exercise hospitality to a good degree, and some at the southward pay a marked attention to visiting brethren, especially ministers. A few cities and principal towns, in different sections of this wide-spread empire, are visited by so many brethren and even ministers on business of a secular nature, who, as it is right they should, provide lodgings for themselves, that it sometimes happens that those who are on religious or preaching visits only are left to provide for themselves.

Take this denomination at large, I believe the following will be found a pretty correct statement of their views of doctrine. They hold that man in his natural condition is entirely depraved and sinful; that unless he is born again -- changed by grace -- or made alive unto God -- he cannot be fitted for the communion of saints on earth, nor the enjoyment of God in Heaven; that where God hath begun a good work, he will carry it on to the end; that there is an election of grace -- an effectual calling, etc. and that the happiness of the righteous and the misery of the wicked will both be eternal.

The doctrines of Arius and Socinus, with their concomitant train of errors, have found scarce any advocates among them; if any embrace these, they are by a general consent disowned and excluded from fellowship. [It will be observed by the attentive reader, that throughout this work, the author has never used the word doctrines as applied to such sentiments as our denomination generally acknowledge to be true. I know our best writers use the expressions Doctrines of the Gospel, Doctrines of Grace, etc. I do not say they are wrong, but I can say I see no propriety in them. The multifarious errors of human and infernal invention are denominated the doctrine of men, the doctrines of devils, etc. but as if to represent the unity of the gospel plan, this noun, when applied to divine principles, is not once in the New-Testament used in the plural, but always in the singular number. Hence we read of sound doctrine, the doctrine or teaching of God -- of Christ -- of the Apostles, etc.]

The doctrine of the Atonement has been differently understood. "The old churches pretty uniformly held that it was particular; that is, that Christ died for the elect only, and that in his stupendous sufferings, no respect was had to, nor any provision made for, any others of Adam's ruined race. This was called the

strict Calvinistic or Gillite plan. Yet there have been some all along, who found this meat too strong for their appetite and digestion. These brethren, notwithstanding they disclaimed all merit in the creature, and held that salvation was by grace alone, were generally denominated Arminians, as it was thought there could be no medium between the systems of John of Geneva, and James of Amsterdam. The latitudinarian principles of such brethren, had, however, gained ground considerably previous to the importation of Dr. Fuller's piece, entitled, *The Gospel worthy of all acceptation*, which represents the Atonement as general in its nature but particular in its application. This new explanation was by many considered as affording peculiar relief to the embarrassments of the Gillite plan; multitudes every where became the disciples of our famous English divine; so that now it is probable the greater part of the American churches have fallen in with his views. **There are some, however, who find considerable difficulties attending both Gill's and Fuller's definitions of this mysterious subject, and who, without either sceptical indifference, or a strenuous attachment to systems of human arrangement, content themselves with believing merely, that God So loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him, should not perish, but have everlasting life.**

The ministers of this connection are, for the most part, a set of plain laborious preachers, who strive more to address themselves to the consciences of their hearers, than to amuse them with the flowers of rhetoric and the embellishments of style. But a small portion of them have any considerable share of human learning, but they are capable of speaking to the understanding and comfort of their brethren: no set of preachers, except the Methodists, are more incessant in their labors; none preach with greater effect; and, with not many exceptions, they have and do now support a character becoming their sacred profession: and if some have turned out bad, let the denomination that is without sin, cast the first stone. When it is considered how little they have received for their services, and how straitened their circumstances have been, it is a matter of surprise that they have continued so incessant in their labors. Some may ascribe their zeal to party and proselyting motives; but those who know them best, will trace it to a higher and more respectable origin. As a body, the temporal circumstances of our brethren, notwithstanding their scanty allowances, have been bettered more than a hundred per cent. within twenty or thirty years past. I am inclined to think, considerably over five hundred churches have arisen on ground which was in a wilderness state at the close of the last war. Most of the preachers who emigrated early to these settlements, have, by taking up new lands at a cheap rate, and by clearing them by their own exertions, and by the assistance of their brethren, obtained estates which afford them a comfortable subsistence; and some, by this means have acquired a considerable degree of opulence. Many of those in older settlements, have, from necessity, found out expedients, by which they have obtained a competent supply of the meat that perisheth; some have acquired good estates by inheritance, but not one in a thousand has laid up riches to any considerable amount from his salary for preaching.

Of the great numbers of Baptist ministers in America, twenty or thirty are probably worth twenty thousand dollars, or upwards; a very few are reputed to be worth from three to five times that sum. From fifty to seventy-five, may be worth ten thousand; four or five hundred, five thousand; probably about two hundred are absolutely poor [in this number we do not include those who are not yet settled; counting them, there are probably more who have no estate of any kind], and the rest have estates of every variety of value under the sum last mentioned. The acquisition of the knowledge necessary to make this statement was not a constituent part of the original plan of this work; but having the curiosity to learn the circumstances of my brethren, I made inquiries, not of them, but of their neighbours, and am confident I have not overrated their temporal abilities.

A great portion of these ministers are in the middle and advanced stages of life; those who are young in the ministry, and such as may hereafter engage in it, have a three-fold prospect before them:

1st, they must engage in a systematic course of secular concerns for a livelihood, which cannot but obstruct their ministerial usefulness; or,

2dly, they must be contented to sit down under the pressure of penury and want; or,

3dly, the churches must come forward upon a more liberal plan, and show by their conduct that they believe what their Bibles teach them on this important subject, viz. that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and that they, who preach the gospel, shall live of the same.

These sentiments, our churches uniformly profess to believe, and yet too generally conduct as though they had but little influence on their minds. Their parsimonious habits with regard to the support of the gospel, were acquired at an early period of their existence, and mostly by means of their ministers, who declaimed much against hirelings, salary-men, etc., and many had to feel through life the ill effects of their instructions.

In New-England, the business of parish taxes for the support of the established clergy, was pushed forward with rigor, and ministers and brethren united to cry down the offensive and unrighteous economy, but took no pains to establish a better one in its room. The tobacco salaries of the Episcopal clergy in Virginia became obnoxious to all dissenters, and to none more than the Baptists; but in arguing against them, they, like the New-Englanders, forgot, or at least made no provision for a gospel method of supporting their own ministers. Neglectful habits in both cases ensued, which have had an extensive and unfriendly influence. Kentucky is nothing more than a part of Virginia moved over the mountains; and to the other western, and all the more southern States, Virginian brethren emigrated, and carried their calculations with them.

There is a line of old churches through New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, which never had any ecclesiastical establishments nor religious publicans to contend with, and which have, from their beginning, been better endowed, and made better provision for their ministers than any Baptist churches in America.

In the peculiar circumstances we have mentioned, and under the unfriendly biases they produced, most of the early churches in this country began their career; and from the unseasonable indiscriminating discourses of their ministers, they became deeply instructed in a lesson, which covetous nature is apt enough to learn, the embarrassing effects of which are felt to this day. A deacon once said to his minister, The Lord keep thee humble, and we'll keep thee poor. A minister once said to his people, whom he was obliged to leave, You love the gospel, but you love your money better. But whatever inconveniences ministers feel from the parsimony of their brethren, they generally decline saying much on the subject. And indeed it is an unwelcome task for a minister to teach a lesson, which he is much interested to enforce, but his people to oppose and neglect. If a church cannot see and will not supply the needs of their pastor, let him give them a hint of it by a letter of resignation, and not be always begging for more salary.

The brethren in Virginia perhaps exceed those in any other State in withholding their carnal things from those who labor among them. One of their ministers, who is very thoroughly acquainted with their affairs, writes thus: "The support of preachers in Virginia is extremely precarious. By most it is viewed as a matter of alms, and of course afforded only to the needy. I doubt whether there is one, who averages 300 dollars per annum, and perhaps not ten, who get 150 regularly. Some of the most popular and laborious preachers in the State, often pass more than twelve months, without receiving a cent for their public services. No man dare preach about it. He is at once defamed as a money-hunter, etc." Similar observations may be made respecting the churches in many other parts of the United States. The same writer informs us, that "the preachers in Virginia, notwithstanding their scanty allowance, are generally upon a mediocrity in point of property; if any thing, rather below." Ten, he supposes, may be worth ten thousand dollars each, independent of their slaves; seventy or eighty, five thousand; and not more than twenty in the State may be called paupers. One minister in Chesterfield county is reputed worth a hundred thousand dollars.

As a further illustration of the views of many of our brethren, respecting their duty towards their ministers, we will quote the two following ingenious pieces, which were written about the same time, by men who lived about a thousand miles apart, and who appear to have been wholly unacquainted with each other. The first was published by Mr. John Leland, in his Budget of Scraps, in 1810. The other is part of a Circular Letter, which was published in the Minutes of the Georgia Association, for 1808. The letter, as appears by the Minutes, was written by Rev. Thomas Rhodes.

"MANY MEN OF MANY MINDS"

"How various are the opinions of men respecting the mode of supporting gospel ministers!

"A thinks that preachers of the gospel should be qualified, inducted, and supported in a mode to be prescribed by the statute laws.

"B is of opinion that a preacher is not entitled to any compensation for his services, unless he is poor and shiftless, and cannot live without the alms of the people.

"C says, that it takes him as long to go to meeting and hear the preacher, as it does for the preacher to go and preach, and their obligations are therefore reciprocal.

"D believes that a rich preacher is as much entitled to a reward for his labor as if he was poor.

"E believes a preacher should give the whole of his time to reading, meditating, preaching, praying, and visiting; and therefore he ought to be liberally supported; not in the light of alms, but in that of a gospel debt.

"F joins with E, with this proviso, that the liberal support be averaged on all the members of the church, according to property and privilege.

"G also agrees with E, provided the liberal support be raised by a free, public contribution, without any knowledge or examination what each individual does.

"H chooses to tax himself, and constable his own money to his preacher, without consulting any other.

"I loves the preachers, and pays them with blessings; but the sound of money drives all good feelings from his heart.

"When J hears a man preach, that he does not believe is sent of God, he feels under no obligation to give him any thing; and when he hears a preacher that gives him evidence that he is in the service of the Lord and devoted to the work, he forms the conclusion that the Lord pays the preacher well for his work as he goes along.

"K likes preachers very well, but preaching rather better: he feels, therefore, best pleased when the preacher fails coming, and a gap opens for himself; for he had rather wink his passage, and take his tarn at the helm, than pay a pilot.

"L argues, like a man, that the preacher ought to receive something handsome for his services; and laments that himself is in debt, and cannot communicate any thing without defrauding his creditors: at the same time, he takes special care to keep always in debt for cheap farms, wild land, or some other article of an increasing nature.

"M is a man of a thousand. He argues that the mode of supporting ministers is left blank in the New Testament; because no one mode would be economical in all places: but that the deed itself is enjoined on all, who are taught by an ordinance of Heaven. If, therefore, a contribution is recommended, M will be foremost to the box. When a subscription is judged most advisable, his name will be first on the list. If averaging is considered most equitable, he will add a little to his bill, lest others should fail. And if no mode at all is agreed upon, still M, as an individual, will contribute by himself; for he reasons, that if others are remiss, it is neither precedent nor excuse for him. He does not give to be seen of men, but because his heart is in it: and these gospel debts (as he calls them) he pays with as much devotion, as he spreads his hands in prayer to God. The creed of his faith, which seems to be written on his heart, is, "That although all the money in the world cannot purchase pardon of sin, or the smiles of a reconciled God; yet religion always has cost money or worth, from Abel's lamb to the present day. And that the man who will not part with a little money, for the sake of him who parted with his blood for sinners, is a wicked disciple."

"N approves of the faith and profession of M in every particular, but reduces nothing of it to practice.

"O, like his make, believes nothing, does nothing, and is as near nothing as any thing can be."

From the Georgia Minutes.

"THE CHURCH IN CONFERENCE ASSEMBLED"

"The deacon arose and said, "It is time, brethren, to make up something for the support of our minister."
Offering a subscription, Whereupon,

"A said he thought it to be a matter of mere charity, and (as charity begins at home) he was bound to provide for his own; at any rate, he thought the minister to be as well off as he, and many of his brethren were; and therefore considered himself under no obligation.

"B replied, that it could not be a matter of charity at all, since the laws of nature and of God enjoined it and their own call of the brother made it a matter of moral obligation.

"C alleged that he had subscribed liberally to a useful institution, and must be excused in that case.

"D said, he had assisted freely in building the meeting-house, and must have time to recover it.

"E rejoined, he had been building houses or mills, and had no money left for any purpose.

"F said he had a son lately married, and it had called for all he could raise.

"G stated, that he had made several contracts, and feared he should not be able to meet them, etc.

"H arose and said, he was very much astonished at the pleas urged; as if liberalities to other institutions, aiding to build meetinghouses, erecting costly houses, making sumptuous marriages, or contracts to amass wealth, could exonerate from a positive duty.

"I remarked, he had made a short crop, and had nothing to spare. To which agreed J, K,. L, and M.

"N said, he was poor, and though willing, was unable to do any thing. With whom O, P, and Q agreed.

"R stated, that short crops and poverty might excuse from doing much, but could be no just plea for doing nothing; since it is required according to what he has, and not according to what he has not.

"S said, he never subscribed to any paper. To whom said T, "Yes, brother, I am for none of this obligation; if I get any thing to spare, I will give it, and be done with it."

"V, W, X and, Y, alleged, that they thought it rather dangerous to give liberally, lest they should make their minister proud, and so hinder his usefulness, etc.

"Z, rising soberly, said, he had attended to what had been said on the subject, and was grieved in spirit to hear so many objections to the discharge of a reasonable and just duty: he feared that a spirit of pride and covetousness had disposed them to serve themselves of the good things of God, without returning him one thankful offering; he wondered how Christians could expect the continuance of the blessings of life, who are more abusive of, and unthankful for them, than heathens who never use any of a new crop, till they have offered the first fruits to the great Giver of all good. To the brethren, who are so afraid of spoiling the minister by liberalities, he said, "are not your sons and daughters as lovely, and their souls as precious in your sight as your minister? If so, why do you not govern them by the same rule; and when the sons request superfines to wear, high prized, gaily horses and fifty or sixty dollar saddles to ride, and the daughters fluttering dresses with trails from three to five feet in length, fine bonnets and feathers, and other costly equipage of dress; why do you not say, "no, my lovely children, these will make you proud and ruin

you." No, your families can be and appear in all the fashionable elegance of dress, and your boards loaded with all the luxuries of life, without adverting to the evil consequences of such conduct. "I would, (said he) that brethren would be consistent."

"Dear brethren, the spirit and result of the above are often seen in the face of your subscription-papers. There we see annexed to some names ten dollars; to others, five; others, one; and others, nothing; some giving and others withholding more than is meet; by which it much oftener happens that the preacher is like the colt tied, where two ways met, than likely to be exalted by the abundance of your liberality. And, indeed, if any of you think the standing and usefulness of your minister depend on his poverty, we would advise you to be liberal to him, that he may be proven and stand in his true light; and especially we recommend this measure, as thereby you will have done your duty, and relieved a poor minister of God on the one hand, or have detected a hypocrite, freed the church of a pest, and the world of an impostor, on the other. The faithful servant of Christ, instead of being haughty, would be humbled by the abounding of your liberality. How relieved and comforted would the poor minister be, if his brethren were to say to him, as a late, meek old minister said to a young one on his commencing his ministry -- "Go on, brother, in the cause of your Master, and be not anxious about the family, for they shall never suffer as long as I live." But we speak not with respect to want, or that we desire a gift; but that you may have fruit, which may abound to your account, to praise and honor at the coming of Christ, the chief Shepherd. Philippians 4:11-17." The churches in the cities and principal towns have generally devised means to afford their pastors a competent support: many of those in the country have reformed much of their former negligence, and a more liberal spirit is, in many places, prevailing.

A review of the progress of the gospel will convince us that churches are seldom on the gospel line with regard to the support of their ministers; and it is highly probable that upon a large scale the cause of Christ has been more injured by ministers_ receiving too much than too little. A preacher, who has a princely salary, is tempted to adopt a style proportionate, and in consequence becomes inaccessible and unprofitable to the poor of his flock, who are generally the most numerous and better part of it.

There is a place somewhere between the palace and the alms-house, where the ministers of the gospel ought to reside; but it is a notorious fact, that the real servants of Christ, in all ages and countries, as John Leland somewhere observes, have been like the camels of Arabia, who, while they carry spices and jewels, feed on shrubs and thistles.

As to our connection in America, we will not cast all the blame of this affair on the churches, since the ministers ought to bear no inconsiderable share of it. Many, we have shown, by their imprudent discourses, excited prejudices, which were hard to counteract; and some at this present time, who have a competency of worldly things, either by heirship or by the favorable turns of fortune, refuse to receive a reward for their ministerial services; and, to gain popularity, speak often on the subject, and rather discountenance the practice, not considering that but few of their brethren are in their circumstances. Many, who engage in the ministry, go directly into secular employments, before they try the experiment, whether they will be supported without them. They soon get so embarrassed in worldly pursuits, that they cannot devote much time to study nor visiting their flocks; so that if their people give them but little for preaching, they give as much as it is worth. And it may happen that those, who have competent salaries granted them, instead of being assiduous in the duties of their ministry, spend most of their time in indolence, or else in plans and pursuits to lay up money. We do not pretend that many of our ministers come under this last class, as but few of them are in the circumstances it describes.

The Baptists have constantly been accused of despising literature, and of teaching maxims unfriendly to its prevalence. This is an accusation in many respects groundless, in others it needs some qualification. The acquisition of the common rudiments of learning, they have certainly always encouraged; but they have so often seen Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, placed over the head of the Savior, that it is not strange if they have carried their prejudices against learned ministers to an undue extreme. But a relish for literature is prevailing, and its usefulness to ministers is more generally acknowledged than formerly, though none of our churches nor any of our ministers, whether learned or unlearned, have adopted the most absurd of all absurd propositions, that a man of gifts and grace, who has a dispensation of the gospel committed to him, cannot be qualified for the work, until he has gone the round of academical studies -- obtained a smattering of Greek and Latin -- of Euclid and Algebra -- Navigation and Surveying -- been constituted Master of Arts

-- and studied divinity six months or a year. **Should the period ever arrive in which Baptist churches shall confine the ministry to college-men only, then transmigration will be rapid,** and other churches will be formed from them, as they have been built up from all others, who have adopted this practice.

That learning is useful for a preacher, none, who know its benefit or have felt its need, will deny; but the true church of Christ never has, and in my opinion never will, hold that gospel ministers may not guide their fellow-men in the path of salvation without it.

The Baptists in all countries and ages have allowed and encouraged all their brethren, who have gifts, whether set apart for the ministry or not, to exercise them in their assemblies; and, when they are alive in religion, have many conferences and social meetings for the purpose. **Meetings for social worship will generally be found a good thermometer, by which the temperature of churches may be correctly ascertained: those which have no meetings except on Lord's days, and where none but the minister takes any part in devotional exercises, may be considered in a cold latitude.** Some of our churches approbate brethren to preach, whose gifts lie mostly in exhortation, and many have wished for some regulation of this matter. In churches where graces abound, and whose members stand at their proper posts, there will be a great variety of gifts, which ought to be encouraged as helps, both to the pastor and flock. These gifts ought to be examined by the church, and each brother advised to exercise himself in the duty, which he appears best qualified to perform. But none should be sent out in the ministerial character, nor be invested with the pastoral office, but such as are able both to unfold and defend the doctrine of the cross. A brother may be useful at home, who is poorly qualified to travel and preach abroad.

Our churches generally license (as it is called) those who have gifts promising for the ministry; and after standing as licentiates a year or two, they are ordained as administrators. This custom they have probably slid into without much consideration. Some are of opinion that a man, who is fellowshipped as a preacher of the gospel, should at the same time be qualified to administer its ordinances. If it be said, a trial is necessary to determine whether he have gifts or not, they reply, Let this trial be sufficiently made before he receives his license or approbation, and let him be kept at home and under the eye of the church during the time. This measure would confine ordinations to the church.

Most, who become preachers among the Baptists, do it with reluctance and with many tears of their insufficiency; and indeed I think no man should undertake to preach, if he can, with a good conscience, let it alone; or, to speak without paradox, those whom God designs for his service will find a necessity laid upon them; all their views, plans and calculations will center in the service of the sanctuary, and all the anticipated scenes of future life will be placed in the gospel vineyard. When churches are in gospel order, those who are excited by the Divine Spirit to the sacred work of dispensing the word of life, will have no occasion to press their brethren for approbation: they will discover their gifts, will foster them, and lead them forward to their proper employment. There are, now and then, cases of brethren taking it into their heads they must preach, when no body else thinks they can; and some churches, instead of dealing plainly with them, and deciding according to their judgments, set them to work to keep them quiet. But these instances, we are glad to say, are not common.

Associations among the Baptists have arisen, in some cases, from necessity, in others from convenience, but in most from imitation. Their utility cannot be disputed; their powers are generally defined to be just none at all, and yet many fear that they may in time usurp too high a place. Many benefits have followed their operation, yet some difficulties have also attended their progress, as the preceding narratives will show. When they are held and managed as assemblies for edification and councils of advice, no harm can possibly result to the churches from them; their independency, in the strictest sense of the word, may be maintained in an associate connection. There is, however, in the human mind, an anxious desire for a court of appeal; and some Associations, by listening to the complaints of individuals, by interfering and deciding in the controversies of churches, have embarrassed their progress, and taken stands which they could not maintain, consistent with their advisory principles. Churches in the same Association often fall into disputes, by which their fellowship is interrupted; and it is certainly preposterous and inconsistent for them to remain in an associated fellowship, when they are at variance at home. In such cases, all agree something should be done; but this something has never been clearly and satisfactorily defined. Some, because of these things, object to Associations altogether, as difficult in their management, dangerous in their consequences, and likely to do more hurt than good. It is oftener much easier to find fault with others than amend

ourselves: those very persons, who object to Associations, form notwithstanding, ecclesiastical combinations much of the same nature. As naturally as animals of the same species flock together, so will Christians of the same sentiments gather into churches, and churches of the same faith and order form into combinations or Associations of some kind or other. Most heads have horns, which may be misused; all have places where they may be planted, and the business of those who fear their effects, is to bind them fast, or keep them from growing. A duly organized church of Christ is the highest ecclesiastical tribunal on earth, from whose decisions there is no appeal. If Associations cannot be maintained without infringing upon this principle, they had better be given up: but those, who have been the longest concerned in them, and who are best qualified to give a judgment in the case, believe they can.

The word **Society** is used in different senses by different portions of the American Baptists. It is frequently applied in all places to the denomination at large. In Kentucky and some other parts, when they speak of members in society, they mean church members only. In some places, particularly in New-York, by society meetings are generally understood meetings for social worship; but throughout New-England, and in many places in a number of other States, the term Society is applied to a body of men, who profess an attachment to Baptist principles, and who are associated in a distinct capacity to co-operate with the churches. The laws of New-England make it necessary for every dissenter to take shelter somewhere; the Baptists, at an early period, set apart outward sanctuaries, like the court of the Gentiles, hard by the porches of their temples, in which those, who were inclined to their sentiments, might find protection. And now a multitude of churches in New-England, and many elsewhere, have attached to their interests large fraternities of adherents called society-men. They have no voice in the churches, nor any concern in their discipline or spiritual affairs; in outward concerns they take a part, and often do the most. These societies are regulated by rules of their own, and no very rigorous requirements are made of candidates for admission. The brethren of churches generally are members of them, some others are hopefully men of piety, who have not professed religion, and of the rest many are worthy characters, who are sincerely attached to the Baptist cause, and do much for its support; but some are like rough or rolling stones in a building; they have no conviction of Baptist sentiments, care nothing for them or their cause, laugh at their zeal, and after having christened themselves with their name, ridicule all their distinguishing sentiments and practices; in some instances, they have been chased into this Baptist out-house by the pariah assessors, in others they have come from political motives, many from whim and caprice, but nobody can tell why many of the rest have taken a stand on the Baptist side. These observations must be understood as applying to this social system at large. These societies are not always set in motion by church members, but are often formed before any churches arise, and cases are not unfrequent for them to exist many years without any church near them. Many of these societies are now found in Connecticut; they must take some name, and as the Baptists are the most popular dissenting sect, they choose theirs, but they are often about as clear of Baptist principles as the Saybrook Platform. They are mere bodies politic, and are founded from motives not purely religious, in most cases, Church and Society are like the two branches of a legislature, only one legislates on spirituals and the other on temporals; the concurrence of both branches, however, is generally sought for in the settlement of ministers, and all important undertakings, which regard the community at large. Between these two branches a good degree of harmony generally subsists, but in some instances the church is thwarted, embarrassed, and overruled in its measures by the more numerous and wealthy society-men, especially in the settlement of ministers. All the Pedobaptist establishments in New-England exist under the firm of Church and Society, and many of the Baptists and Methodists, and almost all other dissenters have adopted the economy. These societies have enabled many of our churches to build costly meeting-houses, and do many other great things, which might not have been done without them; but after all that may be said in their favor, it is sincerely believed, that it would have been more for their reputation and comfort, if they had never existed. If I am rightly informed, our brethren in England know nothing of this economy; and I am certain, that more than half the churches in the United States have none of these curious appendages. Real friends and adherents do just as much in building meeting houses, supporting ministers, etc. where they are not formed into societies, as where they are; and one peculiar advantage of being without them is, that houses of worship and other property for religious uses are and must be vested in the churches, and be under their direction and control. But the existence of these bodies has led to an embarrassing tenure of possessions of this kind, which many of our churches are heartily sick of, but which they cannot well reform. Those who are beginning their measures, will do well to avoid it. Let houses of worship, and all possessions be held by the churches, and let them be contented with what they can do upon this principle. These reflections are not intended to have any bearing upon party disputes on this subject; they are the result of many observations I have made in my travels among the American churches.

In England, all must pay their tithes to the church, let them belong to what denomination they may; the New-England law-makers have provided an escape for dissenters, as we have already shown. The most we can say in favor of these societies is, that they have afforded a shelter for many characters, who would, without them, have been distrained upon for religious taxes to support a worship, which they did not attend, and in which they had no belief; but it ought also to be observed, that many have fled to these refuges, who have no principles only to save their money, and have been a dead weight upon the Baptist cause. In Massachusetts they can, by refusing certificates to such characters, turn them over again to the tormenters, which, however, is not done so frequently as it ought to be; in Connecticut, where they write their own certificates, this mode of redress does not exist.

The Baptists are by no means uniform in **the appellations they give their ministers**; but the greater part, both in their conversation and writings, denominate them elders; many, particularly in their writings, give them the title of Reverend while others use the common appellation of Mr. The Greek *Presbuteros*, the Latin *Presbyter*, and the English word *Elder*, are all synonymous, and signify one advanced in years. But as the ministers of God do or ought to possess the wisdom and gravity of seniors, the term Elder is frequently applied to them throughout the New-Testament, and is altogether proper to express their character. It is true, the word Elder is in some places in the New-Testament applied to persons on account of age, but more generally it regards their office.

The Greek *Episkopos*, the Latin *Episcopus*, and the English word *Bishop*, are also all of the same import; they literally mean an overseer, and no word is more proper to be applied to the pastor of a church; but it has so long been confined to a dignified set of ecclesiastics, that dissenters have generally agreed to give it up to them.

The title of D. D. our ministers receive from home; it is considered in modern times merely an academical compliment, and as such may not be very objectionable. Strictly speaking, every teacher is a doctor, as the word comes from the Latin *doceo*, to teach.

I know not where **the term Reverend**, as applied to ministers, came from, unless it was manufactured by Fastusus at Rome. [See Vol. 1, p. 16] I do not say that it is an heretical or presumptuous title, as some have done; but yet there is something in the sound of it I do not like, notwithstanding it is frequently used in the foregoing narratives. Morgan Edwards, uniformly in all his writings, gives the title of Reverend to his ministers, whether Particular or General Baptists, Tunkers, Keithians, Mennonites, or Rogerenes. Many others pretty generally make all their ministers Reverends. In quoting from these writers, wherever this title has been found, I have let it stand, and have also, in conformity to custom, used it in some other cases.

The greater part of the American Baptists hold, that **singing in public worship ought to be led by church members**, and practise accordingly. In some places, the sacred service is committed to a select choir of adepts in music, whether professors of religion or not; and in some few instances, men of no religious pretensions are appointed to lead them. Preaching is rather an exhibition of gospel truth than an act of devotion; prayer and praise are the two chief parts of public worship, and certainly none but Christians are fit to lead in either. I would not silence any, who are disposed to sing; but to set a man to lead in the solemn praises of God, who nobody supposes can join in the worship, is, in my opinion, preposterous and wrong. If church members cannot sing so well, let them do it as well as they can; and if no Christian is capable of conducting this service, let it be omitted, rather than employ an ungracious man for the purpose. In the cases we have supposed, singing is considered as an exhibition of musical skill rather than a devotional exercise. Let the sacred employment be performed with that holy solemnity, which becomes the devout worshippers of the august Jehovah; let it be viewed in the same light as prayer and other religious duties, and thoughtless, irreligious people will not be forward to engage in it.

I would not assume the dictatorial chair, nor act the censor's part, yet I will take the liberty of mentioning a few things more, which appear to me worthy of consideration.

Some churches, it is thought, carry their censures too far against those ministers, who have been guilty of faults which would be easily overlooked in a private brother; others restore to the holy office such ministers as ought never to be restored. **A minister, who has been guilty of what may be considered a capital**

fall, who has committed crimes for which he has been, or would be, if prosecuted by human courts, condemned to severe penalties, may have repentance, and may be restored to church fellowship, but, in the opinion of many good judges, ought never to be reinstated in the ministry. They may preach as well as before; but the sad things against them will be in the minds of their hearers like the dead flies of the apothecary. Very few such characters have been restored, and it is hoped none will be in future.

Ministers, who have long borne the burden and heat of the day, who have exhausted the energies of their nature in the service of their brethren, who have sacrificed every worldly consideration to be incessantly engaged in the service of the sanctuary, are too often abandoned in the decline of life, by those very churches which they have been the instruments of building up, and shifted off to seek their living among their children and relatives, among sympathetic people of the world, or wherever they can find it. **If the laws of nature and of God bind children to provide for their parents when they are old, what obligations are imposed on the children of the church, to comfort and support their spiritual fathers, while tottering down the declivity of age!** But for this duty, and almost every other, where money is in question, many plead inability. But I have for the most part no belief in this plea; many, it is true, are poor, but there is among our brethren an abundance of worldly substance, which they are treasuring up for their heirs. When they came into the church, they professed to give up themselves, and all they had, to the Lord; but when called on to deal out of their substance for the support of the cause, their contributions are not like those of the rich, who cast into the treasury, but literally like the widow's two mites. Let the rich retrench their superfluities; let the poor double their economy; and let all conduct as if they believed they were stewards of the manifold bounties of God, and under an awful responsibility for their stewardship.

The neglect of aged ministers is a lamentable evil, but that of the widows and children of those who are gone, is, if possible, greater. An old servant of God, with his venerable hairs, will be remembered, and will be comforted by some of the compassionate sons of nature, if the churches neglect him; but the widow and fatherless are in danger of being entirely forgotten. There is the lonely consort of the man, who was once zealously engaged in the service of his God; but who was taken away in the meridian of his days. She was once respected and happy; her house was the resort of ministers and Christian friends, in whose prayers she was always remembered. But now, those for whom she toiled like Martha, pass her by. The churches have nothing of all their stores to spare for her comfort, and with her tender and fatherless babes, she is left in a wide world, forsaken and disconsolate. I cannot refrain from weeping while I write; and it is hoped that these suggestions will not be in vain.

It is proper here to observe, that the Warren Association, many years ago, adopted the benevolent custom of making an annual collection, at the close of the Association sermon, for the express purpose of assisting the widows and fatherless children of such ministers as have deceased in their connection. Some of their collections have amounted to about an hundred dollars, though they are generally considerably under that sum. A committee of judicious brethren is immediately appointed to divide these collections according to their discretion, and distribute the dividends to their proper objects. The Boston Association has adopted the same custom, and these two bodies, after distributing sums to a considerable amount to the disconsolate objects of their compassionate regard, have on hand a fund of about three hundred dollars, which belongs to them jointly. If all Associations would adopt this custom much good, we are confident, might be done.

Churches, and other religious institutions, often lose much of their funds for the want of those prudent measures, which every man thinks it necessary to use for the security of his own property.

Many of our churches, especially of late years, have built their large and costly houses of worship so much on credit, that they are obliged either to travel extensively to solicit aid, which has become an irksome task, or else remain long in debt and embarrassment. In most of these houses the pews are sold to the highest bidders, and the best of them are frequently taken up by the rich, who are seldom seen in them, while the greater part of those, for whose peculiar benefit the house was dedicated to the service of God, and who give a constant attendance on the service of the sanctuary, are obliged to retire to galleries and corners. If pews must be sold, (which it were better to avoid) let the church take up a certain portion of them in eligible situations, and hold them in reserve for those worthy poor of the flock, who are not able to purchase for themselves.

The circumstance of one minister_s performing the pastoral office in two, three, or four churches, has already come under review. We proposed to make further observations on the subject; but if the churches so supplied are contented with the economy, we will say nothing more about it.

By reviewing the foregoing sketches, we see that the Baptists have spread over a wide extent of territory in this western world, and have increased to a numerous body. They now fill posts of honor and profit in every department of State. They officiate as Members of the Council of the Nation, Judges, Generals, Counsellors, and Magistrates; and in every branch of government, whether legislative, executive, or judiciary, they are found.

Under these considerations, two passages of scripture suggest themselves to our minds; The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad. Be not high minded, but fear.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

It is customary in all Associations, for all churches, which please, to send in questions on all subjects, concerning which they may desire the opinions of their brethren. Some of these questions regard local affairs, some are self-evident propositions, which admit of no dispute, while many are deserving of serious attention. Many of the Associations in the northern States hurry through their business so rapidly since they have become large, that they have but little time to say or think much upon any thing, and for that reason many questions, which merit a free and fair discussion, are disposed of in haste, and receive only vague, ambiguous, and unsatisfactory answers. In looking over the multitude of Minutes which have fallen into my hands, the following questions, with their answers, have appeared to me worthy of being recorded, and may serve as a supplement to the preceding observations. From their nature, they admit of no particular plan of arrangement.

Question. -- Is it consistent with the principles and conduct of a Christian, for a person to join himself to a lodge of free-masons? And if this be answered in the affirmative, Is it orderly for him to associate with a lodge of the fraternity, who are evidently persons of immoral lives, and whose assembling together proves a mean of increasing immoral conduct?

Answer -- First. As an essential part of the masonic constitution is secrecy, the Association find themselves greatly disqualified for giving a decided answer to the first part of the query, The universal benevolence professed by the members of that body; the acts of kindness and liberality actually performed in many instances by them; and the existence of persons professing Christianity in that connection, make in favor of it; but on the other hand, the necessity a person is laid under, to bind himself by the most solemn engagements to secrecy, before he can receive the necessary information to enable him to form a regular and conscientious judgment on the subject, and which, should he finally disapprove it, must prove of the most embarrassing nature, appears to be so inconsistent both with reason and religion, that it should seem, at least, advisable for serious Christians to avoid the connection; especially as we are amply furnished with directions, and aided by the most powerful and sublime motives to the purest benevolence, in the scheme of our holy religion, and as the principles of all the useful branches of science are open to the freest access. Yet we think the subject so intimately connected with the rights of private judgment, that a person should be left to his own conscientious determination respecting it. -- Second. To associate with immoral persons, so as to give countenance to their immoralities, is certainly evil. Subjects of usefulness and duty, do at times, however, cause us to act in connection with such persons, which, though it exposes to danger and disgust, may be consistently done; while we carefully distinguish between the lawful transaction, by pursuing only that, and the incidental evil, which we avoid. But to associate with immoral persons, where duty in one form or other does not call, is to take part in their immoralities. The decision on the latter part of the query, therefore, must depend on the judgment which ought to be formed of the business of a masonic lodge, "Whether it is a matter of duty or not?" -- Minutes of Charleston Association for 1798.

This question has been a great many times discussed in different Associations, but in no case has it received a more candid and satisfactory answer.

To the Roanoke Association in 1803, the following question was presented, viz. Will the word of God tolerate a minister of the gospel in sueing for a post of honor and profit in legislation, and retain the privileges of his ministerial office at the same time?

"For reasons unknown," says Mr. Semple, "the Association never answered this question. We will," continues he, "offer a few reflections. **For a real minister of God's word to become a candidate for a political office, seems to us more absurd, than for a man made prime minister, to sue for the office of constable.** Doubtless, in the view of a sound mind, the disparity between the office of prime minister and that of constable, is not so great as between a legitimate stand in the pulpit and a seat in Congress. As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are God's honors above man's."

Question. Can this Association receive churches into fellowship, who do not hold it a term of communion, that heads of families, in ordinary cases, attend daily family prayer?

Answer. In the negative. -- Minutes of the Otsego Association for 1802.

Question. Is it not wrong for a man, who is a member of a church, and the head of a family, wholly to neglect family worship on account of the smallness of his gifts in prayer?

Answer. It is wrong Minutes of the Kehukee Association for 1800.

Question. How should dancing, schools and balls be formed and conducted, that they may accord with the Scriptures of the New-Testament, and that it may be found consistent with Christian good order to send our children to them, and encourage them?

Answer. As we have nothing to do in dancing-schools and balls, and have not made the regulation of them the subject of our studies, we are unprepared to answer this query. Minutes of the Charleston Association for 1812.

This question was probably intended to have a bearing on such church members as send their children, or at least permit them to go, to those scenes of amusement described. The Association seems to intimate by its answer, that the evil did not exist among them; and happy for all if they could say the same.

Question. How, and in what manner ought heads of families to deal with their households in regard to frolicking?

Answer. It is the opinion of this Association, that such a practice is contrary to the oracles of God, and ought to be restrained by family government; but the different circumstances attending such practices, render it difficult to be more particular. Minutes of the Vermont Association for 1790.

Question. What is the smallest number of members necessary for forming a church?

Answer. On this head different sentiments are entertained. Some have supposed two or three are sufficient; others have imagined five; some ten, and others twelve; because it would seem, that the church at Ephesus was formed of twelve men, Acts. 19:7. The Association is of opinion, however, that much depends on the probability of the persons living permanently together, who may be about to be constituted. It appears desirable that there be in a new settlement where removals are frequent, at least seven, and that of these two or three be males -- . Minutes of the Philadelphia Association for 1806.

Question. Should a brother be continued in fellowship, who, though able, will not assist in supporting the gospel?

Answer. We are of opinion where the ability is obvious on the one hand, and the unwillingness positive on the other, and the brother cannot be brought to his duty by proper means, he ought to be excluded. -- Minutes of the Georgia Association for 1808. Questions on this subject have often been proposed to

different Associations; they all give good answers, and yet covetous members meet with no great difficulty in pursuing their parsimonious habits.

Question. Should a minister, who has been regularly ordained as an itinerant preacher, be called upon to take the pastoral care of a particular church, is there any thing necessary to be done on the occasion, more than the consent, of each party?

Answer. Nothing more is necessary. Minutes of Kehukee Association in 1799.

Question. Is it the duty of a dissenter to acknowledge the right of civil government, dictating in matters of religion, so far as to give a certificate to the clerk of a Presbyterian society what religion he is of?

Answer. We are of opinion, that it is oppression for one society to require certificates of another; but whether God requires us to say as Shadrach Meshach, and Abednego did in another case; "Be it known to thee, O king, we will not," we leave for the present, for individuals to judge and determine for themselves, as they can answer it to God. -- Minutes of the Danbury Association for 1801.

Question. Can a member of a Baptist church with impunity avail himself of the latitude the law allows, by defending suits, filing bills, appeals, etc. merely to procrastinate the payment of his just debts?

Answer. A member of a Baptist church cannot with impunity act in such a manner. Minutes of the Ketockton Association for 1800.

Question. **Is that passage of St. Paul, in 1st Corinthians 14:54, Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak, to be understood literally, or what are we to understand by it?**

Answer. **We conclude, that the Holy Spirit does not, in this, or any ether passage of Scripture, prohibit women in the church to speak on all suitable occasions, respecting God_s kind and gracious dealing, with their souls; but forbids them to usurp authority as public teachers, or to take upon them in any respect the government of the church.** -- Minutes of the Woodstock Association for 1799.

Question. Have we any duty to do as it respects members of sister churches, who remove into our vicinity, and feel themselves at liberty to live even in the neglect of gospel ordinances?

Answer. After due labor with them, report them to the church from which they came. Minutes of the Sturbridge Association for 1806.

Question. Is it gospel order for any person to use the office of a Deacon, before regularly ordained?

Answer. In the negative. -- Minutes of the Neuse Association, for 1800. This question has undergone frequent discussions, and is generally answered as here. Most agree that Deacons ought to be ordained, yet the practice is in a great measure neglected.

Question. Is a church bound in duty to support their own poor, or depend on the provisions made in the towns or districts to which they belong?

Answer. We view it to be the indispensable duty of every church, to sympathize with, and see that their own are provided for. But if the church is agreed, and should avail themselves of assistance from the town treasury, we by no means think it a censurable evil. Minutes of the Shaftsbury Association for 1790.

This important question deserves an explicit, unconditional answer. That the poor of a church ought to be supported by it, is a proposition which admits of no dispute. The assistance from town treasuries is an

accidental affair: if any thing can be obtained, very well, but let not a church wait for help from that quarter till their poor members suffer.

Question. Is the baptism of those persons considered valid, who have received it at the hands of unbaptized administrators?

Answer. No. Because three things are requisite to make gospel baptism, viz. a gospel mode, a gospel subject and administrator. Minutes of the Richmond Association for 1809.

As persons are frequently applying for admission into Baptist churches, who have been immersed by Methodist and Congregational ministers, this question has, within a few years past, been often proposed, and most Associations have decided differently from this. All agree that it is an unadvisable measure, for a person to apply to un-baptized ministers to lead them into the waters but after they have been properly immersed on a profession of their faith, it is generally thought that it would be improper to immerse them a second time. It is difficult to conceive why they would not, in this case, come under the denomination of Ana-Baptists.

Question. Has a member of our Society [church members only, are here intended] a right to start to market, or travel when on the road, on the Sabbath day?

Answer. No. -- Minutes of the Edgefield Association for 1809.

BAPTISTS IN AMERICA

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1

**A MEMORIAL AND REMONSTRANCE, [Drawn by James Madison, now President of the U. S.]
Against the General Assessment, presented to the General Assembly of Virginia, at the Session for
the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five.**

TO THE HONORABLE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA,

We the subscribers, citizens of the said Commonwealth, having taken into serious consideration a bill, printed by order of the last session of General Assembly, entitled, "A bill establishing a provision for teachers of the Christian religion; " and conceiving, that the same, if finally armed with the sanction of a law, will be a dangerous abuse of power; are bound, as faithful members of a free State, to remonstrate against it, and to declare the reason, by which we are determined. We remonstrate against the said bill, Because we hold it for a fundamental and unalienable truth, "that religion, or the duty which we owe to the Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence." (Declaration of Rights, article 16) The religion, then, of every man, must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate. This right is, in its nature, an unalienable right. It is unalienable, because the opinions of men depending only on the evidence contemplated by their own minds, cannot follow the dictates of other men. It is unalienable, also, because what is here a right towards man, is a duty towards the Creator. It is the duty of every man to render to the Creator such homage, and such only, as he believes to be acceptable to him. This duty is precedent both in order and time, and in degree of obligation, to the claims of civil society. Before any man can be considered as a member of civil society, he must be considered as a subject of the Governor of the Universe. And if a member of civil society, who enters into any subordinate association, must always do it with a reservation of his duty to the general authority; much more must every man, who become a member of any particular civil society, do it with a saving of his allegiance to the Universal Sovereign. We maintain, therefore, that in matters of religion, no man's right is abridged by the institution of civil society; and that religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance. True it is, that no other rule exists,

by which any question, which may divide society, can be ultimately determined, but by the will of a majority; but it is also true, that the majority may trespass on the rights of the minority.

Because if religion be exempt from the authority of the society at large, still less can it be subject to that of the legislative body. The latter are but the creatures and vicegerents of the former. Their jurisdiction is both derivative and limited. It is limited with regard to the co-ordinate departments; more necessarily, it is limited with regard to the constituents. The preservation of a free government requires, not merely that the metes and bounds which separate each department of power, be invariably maintained; but more especially, that neither of them is suffered to overleap the great barrier which defends the rights of the people. The rulers, who are guilty of such an encroachment, exceed the commission from which they derive their authority, and are tyrants. The people who submit to it, are governed by laws made neither by themselves, nor by an authority derived from them, and are slaves.

Because it is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens, and one of the noblest characteristics of the late revolution. The freemen of America did not wait until usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise, and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle, and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle. We revere this lesson too much, soon to forget it. Who does not see that the same authority, which can establish Christianity in exclusion of all other religions, may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects; that the same authority, which can force a citizen to contribute three pence only of his property, for the support of any one establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment, in all cases whatsoever?

Because the bill violates that equality which ought to be the basis of every law; and which is more indispensable, in proportion as the validity or expediency of any law is more liable to be impeached. "If all men are, by nature, equally free and independent," [Declaration of rights, art. 1] all men are to be considered as entering into society on equal conditions, as relinquishing no more, and, therefore, retaining no less, one than another, of their natural rights; above all, are they to be considered as retaining an "equal title to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience" [Ditto, art. 16]. Whilst we assert for ourselves a freedom to embrace, to profess, and observe the religion which we believe to be of divine origin, we cannot deny an equal freedom to those, whose minds have not yet yielded to the evidence which has convinced us. If this freedom be abused, it is an offense against God, not against man. To God, therefore, and not to man, must an account of it be rendered.

As the bill violates equality, by subjecting some to peculiar burdens; so it violates the same principle, by granting to others peculiar exemptions. Are the Quakers and Menonists the only sects who think a compulsive support of their religions unnecessary and unwarrantable? Can their piety alone be entrusted with the care of public worship? Ought their religions to be endowed, above all others, with extraordinary privileges, by which proselytes may be enticed from all others? We think too favorably of the justice and good sense of these denominations, to believe, that they either covet pre-eminences over their fellow-citizens, or that they will be seduced by them from the common opposition to the measure.

Because the bill implies, either that the civil magistrate is a competent judge of religious truths, or that he may employ religion as an engine of civil policy. The first is an arrogant pretension, falsified by the extraordinary opinion of rulers, in all ages, and throughout the world; the second, an unhallowed perversion of the means of salvation.

Because the establishment proposed by the bill, is not requisite for the support of the Christian religion. To say that it is, is a contradiction to the Christian religion itself; for every page of it disavows a dependence on the power of this world: it is a contradiction to fact, for it is known that this religion both existed and flourished, not only without the support of human laws, but in spite of every opposition from them; and not only during the period of miraculous aid, but long after it had been left to its own evidence and the ordinary care of Providence: nay, it is a contradiction in terms; for a religion not invented by human policy, must have pre-existed and been supported, before it was established by human policy: it is, moreover, to weaken in those, who profess this religion, a pious confidence in its innate excellence, and the patronage of its Author; and to foster in those, who still reject it, a suspicion that its friends are too conscious of its fallacies, to trust it to its own merits.

Because experience witnesses that ecclesiastical establishments, instead of maintaining the purity and efficacy of religion, have had a contrary operation. During almost fifteen centuries has the legal establishment of Christianity been on trial. What have been its fruits? More or less in all places, pride and indolence in the clergy; ignorance and servility in the laity; in both, superstition, bigotry, and persecution. Inquire of the teachers of Christianity for the ages in which it appeared in its greatest lustre; those of every sect point to the ages prior to its incorporation with civil policy. Propose a restoration of this primitive state, in which its teachers depended on the voluntary rewards of their flocks; many of them predict its downfall. On which side ought their testimony to have the greatest weight, when for, or when against their interest?

Because the establishment in question is not necessary for the support of civil government. If it be urged as necessary for the support of civil government, only as it is a means of supporting religion, and it be not necessary for the latter purpose, it cannot be necessary for the former. If religion be not within the cognizance of civil government, how can its legal establishment be said to be necessary to civil government? What influence, in fact, have ecclesiastical establishments had on civil society? In some instances, they have been seen to erect spiritual tyranny on the ruins of the civil authority; in more instances, have they been seen upholding the thrones of political tyranny; in no instance have they been seen the guardians of the liberties of the people. Rulers who wished to subvert the public liberty, may have found on established clergy convenient auxiliaries. A just government instituted to secure and perpetuate it, needs them not. Such a government will be best supported by protecting every citizen in the enjoyment of his religion with the same equal hand which protects his person and property; by neither invading the equal rights of any sect, nor suffering any sect to invade those of another.

Because the proposed establishment is a departure from that generous policy, which, offering an asylum to the persecuted and oppressed of every nation and religion, promised a lustre to our country, and an accession to the number of its citizens. What a melancholy mark is the bill, of sudden degeneracy? Instead of holding forth an asylum to the persecuted, it is itself a signal of persecution. It degrades from the equal rank of citizens, all those whose opinions in religion do not bend to those of the legislative authority. Distant as it may be, in its present form, from the inquisition, it differs from it only in degree: the one is the first step, the other the last, in the career of intolerance. The magnanimous sufferer under the cruel scourge in foreign regions, must view the bill as a beacon on our coast, warning him to seek some other haven, where liberty and philanthropy in their due extent may offer a more certain repose for his troubles. Because it will have a like tendency to banish our citizens. The allurements presented by other situations, are every day thinning their number. To superadd a fresh motive to emigration, by revoking the liberty which they now enjoy, would be the same species of folly, which has dishonored and depopulated flourishing kingdoms.

Because it will destroy that moderation and harmony, which the forbearance of our laws to intermeddle with religion has produced among its several sects. Torrents of blood have been spilt in the old world, by vain attempts of the secular arm to extinguish religious discord, by proscribing all differences in religious opinion. Time has at length revealed the true remedy. Every relaxation of narrow and rigorous policy, wherever it has been tried, has been found to assuage the disease. The American theater has exhibited proofs, that equal and complete liberty, if it does not wholly eradicate it, sufficiently destroys its malignant influence on the health and prosperity of the State. If, with the salutary effects of this system under our own eyes, we begin to contract the bounds of religious freedom, we know no name that will too severely reproach our folly. At least, let warning be taken at the first fruits of the threatened innovation. The very appearance of the bill has transformed that "Christian forbearance, love, and charity," [Declaration of Rights, art. 16] which of late mutually prevailed, into animosities and jealousies, which may not soon be appeased. What mischiefs may not be dreaded, should this enemy to the public quiet be armed with the force of law?

Because the policy of the bill is adverse to the diffusion of the light of Christianity. The first wish of those, who ought to enjoy this precious gift, ought to be, that it may be imparted in the whole race of mankind. Compare the number of those, who have as yet received it, with the number still remaining under the domination of false religions, and how small is the former? Does the policy of the bill tend to lessen the disproportion? No; it at once discourages those who are strangers to the light of truth, from coming into the regions of it and countenances, by example, the nations who continue in darkness, in shutting out those who might convey it to them. Instead of levelling, as far as possible, every obstacle to the victorious

progress of truth, the bill, with an ignoble and unchristian timidity, would circumscribe it, with a wall of defense against the encroachments of error.

Because an attempt to enforce by legal sanctions, acts, obnoxious to so great a portion of citizens, tends to enervate the laws in general, and to slacken the bands of society. If it be difficult to execute any law, which is not generally deemed necessary nor salutary, what must be the case when it is deemed invalid and dangerous? And what may be the effect of so striking an example of impotency in the government on its general authority?

Because a measure of such singular magnitude and delicacy, ought not to be imposed without the clearest evidence that it is called for by a majority of citizens; and no satisfactory method is yet proposed by which the voice of the majority in this case may be determined, or its influence secured. "The people of the respective counties are, indeed, requested to signify their opinion, respecting the adoption of the bill, to the next session of Assembly." But the representation must be made equal, before the voice, either of the representatives or of the counties, will be that of the people. Our hope is, that neither of the former will, after due consideration, espouse the dangerous principle of the bill. Should the event disappoint us, it will still leave us in full confidence, that a fair appeal to the latter will reverse the sentence against our liberties. Because, finally, "the equal right of every citizen to the free exercise of his religion according to the dictates of his conscience," is held by the same tenure with all our other rights. If we recur to its origin, it is equally the gift of nature; if we weigh its importance, it cannot be less dear to us; if we consult the "Declaration of those rights which pertain to the good people of Virginia, as the basis and foundation of government," it is enumerated with equal solemnity, or rather with studied emphasis. Either then we must say, that the will of the Legislature is the only measure of their authority; and that in the plenitude of this authority, they may sweep away all our fundamental rights; or, that they are bound to leave this particular right untouched and sacred: either we must say, that they may control the freedom of the press; may abolish the trial by jury; may swallow up the executive and judiciary powers of the State; nay, that they may annihilate our very right of suffrage, and erect themselves into an independent and hereditary assembly; or we must say that they have no authority to enact into a law, the bill under consideration. We the subscribers say, that the General Assembly of this Commonwealth have no such authority; and that no effort may be omitted on our part, against so dangerous an usurpation, we oppose to it this Remonstrance, earnestly praying, as we are in duty bound, that the Supreme Lawgiver of the Universe, by illuminating those to whom it is addressed, may, on the one hand, turn their councils from every act, which would affront his holy prerogative, or violate the trust committed to them; and, on the other, guide them into every measure which may be worthy of his blessing, may redound to their own praise, and may establish more firmly the liberties, the property, and the happiness of this Commonwealth. [The particular objects of the bill so often mentioned in this Remonstrance, and also some observations on this distinguished instrument, may be seen in Vol. 2. p. 83, 84.]

APPENDIX 2

The prayers and wishes of the Virginia people, about the time the foregoing Remonstrance was drawn, were presented to the Legislature in many different forms. And among the rest, the following lines, written by Reverend David Thomas, accompanied the petition sent by the Baptists, and was addressed as follows:

To the Honorable General assembly, now sitting at Williamsburgh, the humble Petition of a Country Poet,

Now liberty is all the plan,/ The chief pursuit of every man/ Whose heart is right, and fills the mouth/ Of patriots all, from north to south./ May a poor bard, from bushes sprung,/ Who yet has but to rusticks sung,/ Address your honorable House,/ And not your angry passions rouse?/ Hark! for a while, your business stop;/ One word into your ears I'll drop:/ No longer spend your needless pains,/ To mend and polish o'er our chains;/ But break them off before you rise,/ Nor disappoint our watchful eyes./ What says great Washington and Lee?/ "Our country is, and must be free."/ What says great Henry, Pendleton,/ And Liberty's minutest son?/ 'Tis all one voice -- they all agree/ "God made us, and we must be, free."/ Freedom we crave, with ev'ry breath,/ An equal freedom, or a death./ The heav'nly blessing freely give,/ Or make an act we shall not live./ Tax all things; water, air, and light,/ If need there be; yea, tax the night:/

But let our brave heroick minds/ Move freely as celestial winds./ Make vice and folly feel your rod,/ But leave our consciences to God:/ Leave each man free to choose his form/ Of piety, nor at him storm./ And he who minds the civil law,/ And keeps it whole, without a flaw,/ Let him, just as he pleases, pray,/ And seek for heav_n in his own way;/ And if he miss, we all must own,/ No man is wrong_d but he alone./

APPENDIX 3

The address of the Committee of the United Baptist Churches in Virginia, assembled in the city of Richmond, August 8, 1790 to the President of the United States of America.

Sir,

Among the many shouts of congratulation that you receive from cities, societies, States, and the whole world, we wish to take an active part in the universal chorus, in expressing our great satisfaction in your appointment to the first office in the nation. When America, on a former occasion, was reduced to the necessity of appealing to arms, to defend her natural and civil rights, a Washington was found full adequate to the exigencies of the dangerous attempt; who, by the philanthropy of his heart, and prudence of his head, led forth her untutored troops into the field of battle; and, by the skilfulness of his hands, bailed the projects of the insulting foe, and pointed out the road to independence, even at a time when the energy of the cabinet was not sufficient to bring into action the natural aid of the confederation, from its respective sources.

The grand object being obtained, the independence of the States acknowledged, free from ambition, devoid of sanguine thirst of blood, our hero returned with those he commanded, and laid down the sword at the feet of those who gave it him. "Such an example to the world is new." Like other nations, we experience that it requires as great valor and wisdom to make an advantage of the conquest, as to gain one.

The want of efficacy in the confederation, the redundancy of laws, and their partial administration in the States, called aloud for a new arrangement of our systems. The wisdom of the States, for that purpose, was collected in a grand convention, over which you, Sir, had the honor to preside, A national government in all its parts was recommended, as the only preservative of the union, which plan of government is now in actual operation.

When the constitution first made its appearance in Virginia, we, as a society, had unusual strugglings of mind, fearing that the liberty of condolence (dearer to us than property and life) was not sufficiently secured. Perhaps our jealousies were heightened, on account of the usage we received in Virginia, under the regal government, when mobs, bonds, fines and prisons were our frequent repast.

Convinced, on the one hand, that without an effective National Government, the States would fall into disunion and all the consequent evils; and, on the other hand, fearing we should be accessary to some religious oppression, should any one society in the Union preponderate over all the rest. But amidst all the inquietudes of mind, our consolation arose from this consideration -- the plan must be good, for it bears the signature of a tried, trusty friend; and if religious liberty is rather insecure in the Constitution, "the Administration will certainly prevent all oppression, for a Washington will preside." According to our wishes, the unanimous voice of the Union has called you Sir, from your beloved retreat, to launch forth again into the faithless seas of human affairs, to guide the helm of the States. May that Divine Munificence, which covered your head in battle, make you a yet greater blessing to your admiring country, in time of peace. Should the horrid evils that have been so pestiferous in Asia and Europe, faction, ambition, war, perfidy, fraud, and persecution for conscience sake, ever approach the borders of our happy nation; may the name and administration of our beloved President, like the radiant source of day, scatter all those dark clouds from the American hemisphere.

And while we speak freely the language of our own hearts, we are satisfied that we express the sentiments of our brethren, whom we represent. The very name of Washington is music in our ears; and although the great evil in the States, is the want of mutual confidence between rulers and people, yet, we all have the utmost confidence in the President of the States; and it is our fervent prayer to Almighty God, that the federal government, and the governments of the respective States, without rivalry, may so cooperate

together, as to make the numerous people, over whom you preside, the happiest nation on earth; and you, Sir, the happiest man, in seeing the people, who, by the smiles of Providence, you saved from vassalage by your martial valor, and made wise by your maxims, sitting securely under their vines and fig-trees, enjoying the perfection of human felicity. May God long preserve your life and health for a blessing to the world in general, and the United States in particular; and when, like the sun, you have finished your course of great and unparalleled services, and you go the way of all the earth, may the Divine Being, who will reward every man according to his works, grant unto you a glorious admission into his everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ. This, Sir, is the prayer of your happy admirers.

By order of the Committee, Samuel Harris, Chairman, Reuben Ford, Clerk.

APPENDIX 4

To the General Committee, representing the United Baptist Churches in Virginia Gentlemen,

I request that you will accept my best acknowledgments for your congratulation on my appointment to the first office in the nation. The kind manner in which you mention my past conduct, equally claims the expression of my gratitude.

After we had, by the smiles of Divine Providence on our exertions, obtained the object for which we contended, I retired, at the conclusion of the war, with an idea that my country could have no farther occasion for my services, and with the intention of never entering again into public life. But when the exigencies of my country seemed to require me once more to engage in public affairs, an honest conviction of duty superseded my former resolution, and became my apology for deviating from the happy plan which I had adopted.

If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension that the constitution framed in the Convention where I had the honor to preside, might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded, that no one would be more zealous than myself, to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecution.

For you doubtless remember, I have often expressed my sentiments, that every man, conducting himself as a good citizen, and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience.

While I recollect with satisfaction that the religious society of which you are members, have been, throughout America, uniformly and almost unanimously the firm friends to civil liberty, and the persevering promoters of our glorious revolution; I cannot hesitate to believe, that they will be the faithful supporters of a free, yet efficient general government. Under this pleasing expectation, I rejoice to assure them, that they may rely upon my best wishes and endeavors to advance their prosperity.

In the mean time, be assured, gentlemen, that I entertain a proper sense of your fervent supplications to God for my temporal and eternal happiness.

I am, gentlemen, your most obedient servant, **GEORGE WASHINGTON.**

APPENDIX 5

MR. LELAND S SPEECH, Delivered in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, on the subject of Religious Freedom, 1811.

Mr. Speaker,

The right of private judgment, like sight and hearing, is inalienable in nature. Should an individual attempt to surrender it to society, it nevertheless would remain with him still, in all its vigor. Whatever individuals, from the source of private judgment, might be led to say on the subject now before the House, provided the House was in the capacity of a convention, assembled for the purpose of framing a constitution, I cannot determine; but at the present time, the House is on legislative ground, under the solemnity of an oath, to legislate according to the meaning of the Constitution, in their best judgements. The part of the Constitution, Sir, which the subject before the House has particular bearings upon, is contained in the 2d and 3d articles of the Declaration of Rights. It is well known, Mr. Speaker, that the inhabitants of this Commonwealth were, when the constitution was framed, as well as at the present time, divided in sentiment about religion and the mode of its support. From the face of the Constitution, as well as from a knowledge of those times, there exists no doubt, that a decided majority believed that religious duties ought to be interwoven in the civil compact that Protestant Christianity was the best religion in the world -- and that all inhabitants ought to be forced, by law, to support it with their money, as a necessary institute, for the good of the body politic, unless they did it voluntarily. While a respectable minority, equally firm in the belief of the divinity of Christianity, and still more protestant in their views; conceiving of it to be a measure as presumptuous in a legislature as in a Pope, to lord it over consciences, or interfere either in the mode or support of Christianity. This minority, Mr. Speaker did then, and do, still believe that religion is a matter between individuals and their God -- a right inalienable -- an article not within the cognizance of civil government, nor any ways under its control. In this discordance of religious sentiments, the 2d and 3d articles of the Declaration of Rights, are evidently a compromise of parties, in which mutual concessions are made for a general union, the language of the Convention, in the Constitution appears to be as follows: "Let those towns, parishes, precincts, and other religious societies, possessed of corporate powers, support their religion by force of law; but if there be any one residing within the limits of those corporate bodies, who attends other worship, and yet has no scruples of conscience in being legally taxed, his money when paid, if he requests it, shall be paid over, by the collector, to the minister of his choice. And whereas there are many religious societies, who have scruples of conscience about availing themselves of corporate powers; if such societies voluntarily, in their own mode, make suitable provision for the maintenance of their ministers, all such societies of Protestant Christians, properly demeaning themselves as peaceable citizens, shall not be forced by law to support the teachers or worship of any other society. But as we cannot well know how these principles will operate on experiment, we lay down one fundamental maxim as a pole-star, for the legislature:--No subordination of one religious sect to another shall ever be established by law." Taking this, Sir, to be a good translation of those two articles, which seem to be somewhat obscure, the question is, whether the laws, made since the adoption of the Constitution, or more particularly whether the interpretation of that part of the Constitution and laws, have not affected a subordination of one religious sect to another? The Congregationalists, Sir, have no scruples about supporting their worship, in its various parts, by law; but some other societies have: some indeed have availed themselves of corporate powers, for no other purpose but to defend themselves from being taxed to support a worship in which they had no faith. In such instances they have been subordinate in time and expense, to extricate themselves from the clutches of the Congregationalists. Others are so well convinced of the all-sufficiency of Protestant Christianity, and the completeness of its code to govern in all things, that they will not -- they cannot in good conscience, submit to a power, which they believe, in their best judgments, was never given to government to be exercised. These are peaceable subjects of State -- ready to arm in defense of their country -- freely contribute to support Protestant Christianity; but cannot pay a legal tax for religious services. This Sir, is one of the essentials which constitutes them a distinct sect: and what have these endured since the adoption of the Constitution? -- Have they not been reduced to subordination? How many lawsuits -- how much cost -- and how much property has been taken from them to support other societies? -- Mr. Speaker, is not this subordination?

According to a late decision of the Bench, in the county of Cumberland, which, it is presumed, is to be a precedent for future decisions, these non-incorporated societies are nobody -- can do nothing, and are never to be known, except in shearing time, when their money is wanted to support the teachers that they never hear. And all this must be done for the good of the state. One hundred and seventeen years ago, wearing long hair was considered the crying sin of the land: a convention was called, March 18, 1694, in Boston, to prevent it: after a long expostulation, the convention close thus, "If any man will now presume to wear long hair, let him know that God and man witness against him." Our pious ancestors were for bobbing the hair -- for the good of the Colony; but now Sir, not the hair, but the purses must be bobbed for the good of the State. If these bobbing decisions continue to be the order of the day, it is past calculation to say, whose heads will be first bobbed off, for the good of the State. The petitioners pray for the right of going to heaven

in that way which they believe is the most direct; and shall this be denied them? Must they be obliged to pay legal toll for walking the king's highway, which he has made free for all? Is not this a greater subordination than to sail under British licences? or to pay 3 pence on every pound of tea? In Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, of the old Colonies, and in Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, the new States, there has never been any legal establishment of religion, nor any assessment to support Protestant Christianity, for the good of the State; and yet, Sir, these States have stood and flourished as well as Massachusetts. Since the revolution, all the old States, except two or three in New-England, have established religious liberty upon its true bottom; and yet they are not sunk with earthquakes, or destroyed with fire and brimstone. Should this Commonwealth, Mr. Speaker, proceed so far as to distribute all settlements and meeting-houses which they procured by public taxes, among all the inhabitants, without regard to denomination; it is probable that the outcry of sacrilege, profanity and infidelity would be echoed around; and yet, Sir, all this has been done, in a State which has given birth and education to a Henry, a Washington, a Jefferson, and a Madison; each of which contributed their aid, to effect the grand event, for which event the Presbyterians and others prayed and gained. It is there believed, Sir that God hates robbery for burnt-offerings; and ought not Massachusetts to pay a decent respect to the voice of fifteen of her sister States? We should imagine that laudable pride would prevent any one religious society from forcing another to pay her laborers; and that the same principle would not admit a public teacher to take money collected by distraint, from those who did not hear him; but in this particular, we find that religion is made a covert to do that which common honesty blushes at.

Sir, it is not our wish to disrobe towns, parishes, precincts or any religious society of their corporate powers: no -- let them go to heaven in such turnpike-roads, and pay legal toll at every ministerial gate, which they choose -- and what can they wish for more? According to our best judgments, we cannot pay legal taxes for religious services; descending even to the grade of a chaplain for the legislature. It is disrobing Christianity of her virgin beauty -- turning the churches of Christ into creatures of State -- and metamorphosing gospel ambassadors to state pensioners. If my information be correct, the town of Boston has enjoyed the liberty which we plead for, more than one hundred years; yet the inhabitants increase and are virtuous. Fifteen States now in the union, have all that we ask for; and is religion demolished in those States? Mr. Speaker, let gentlemen turn their eyes to the religious Magazines, published in this State, by those who plead for law-regulated religion; and they will find, that while the editors, in one page, plead for the old firm of Moses and Aaron -- ruler and priest; where the language is, "You comb my head, and I'll scratch your elbows -- you make laws to support me, and I'll persuade the people to obey you" -- In the next page, they will narrate the wonderful works of God in those States wherein there are no religious laws; and indeed wherein the inhabitants know that religious establishments and assessments serve only to make one part of the community fools, and the other hypocrites. -- to support fraud, superstition and violence in the earth.

Let Christianity stand upon its own basis, it is the greatest blessing that ever was among men; but incorporate it into the civil code, and it becomes the mother of cruelties.

It is questioned, Mr. Speaker, by good judges, whether it is possible for the legislature to execute the power vested in them, in the 3d article of the Declaration of Rights, without defeating the provision in the same article, "that no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another, shall ever be established by law." I know not, Sir, what can be done; but one thing is certain, it never has been done since the adoption of the Constitution. Supposing, Sir, it cannot be done, to which part of it, ought the legislature to adhere? to that which supports partiality and Justice, or to that which secures right and equality? Can any gentleman be at a loss? Tyranny, Mr. Speaker, always speaks the same language. The tyrant of Amon would be friendly to Israel, if he might put out their right eyes. -- The tyrant on the Nile would let his subjects go free, provided they would leave their flocks and herds behind.

Mr. Chairman, if Christianity is false, it cannot be the duty of government to support imposture; but if it be true, the following extracts are true, "The natural man receiveth not the things of God, neither can he know them -- the world by wisdom knew not God -- none of the princes of this world know the genius of Christ's kingdom." If, Sir, Christianity is true, these sayings are true; and if these sayings are true, natural men, as such, with all the proficiency of science, cannot understand the religion of Christ; and if they cannot understand the subject, they must be very unfit to legislate about it. If, to escape this dilemma, we adopt the papal maxim, that government is founded in grace, and therefore none but gracious men have

right to rule; and that these gracious rulers have both right and knowledge to legislate about religion, we shall find, what other nations have found; that these divine rulers will be the most cruel tyrants. Under this notion, Mr. Chairman, the crusades were formed in the 11th century, which lasted about two hundred years, and destroyed nearly two millions of lives. In view of all this, and ten thousand times as much, is it to be wondered at, that the present petitioners should be fearful of attaching corporate powers to religious societies? These petitioners, Sir, pay the civil list, and arm to defend their country as readily as others, and only ask for the liberty of forming their societies and paying their preachers in the only way that the Christians did for the first three centuries after Christ. Any gentleman upon this floor is invited to produce an instance, that Christian societies were ever formed -- Christian sabbaths ever enjoined -- Christian salaries ever levied, or Christian worship ever enforced by law, before the reign of Constantine: yet Christianity did stand and flourish, not only without the aid of law and the schools, but in opposition to both. We therefore hope, Mr. Speaker, that the prayer of Thirty Thousand, on this occasion, will be heard, and that they will obtain the exemption for which they pray.

The 2d section of the Bill before the house, I object to. It recognizes principles which are inadmissible -- invests all non-corporate societies with corporate powers, puts the mischievous dagger into their hands, which has done so much mischief in the world, and presents no balm for the wounds of those who cry for help. [The objectionable part of this Bill was afterwards struck out.]

The petitioners do not ask to be known in law as corporate bodies, but to be so covered that religious corporate bodies shall not know and fleece them: but this section puts the knife into their hands against their will; a knife, Sir, which is more pestiferous than Pandora's box. The interference of legislatures and magistrates in the faith, worship, or support of religious worship, is the first step in the case which leads in regular progression to Inquisition: the principle is the same, the only difference is in the degree of usurpation.

The Bill has its beauties, and its deformities. One prominent defect of the bill is a crooked back; it makes a low stoop to his high mightiness Town-Clerk, to pray for the indulgence of worshipping God; which is, and ought to be guaranteed a natural and inalienable right, not a favor to be asked by the citizen or bestowed by the ruler. It has also a disagreeable squinting; it squints to a purse of money with as much intenseness as ever a drunkard did at the bottle, or as ever Eve did at the apple. Yes, Mr. Speaker, if there was no money to be got, we should never hear of these incorporations. How strange it is, Sir, that men, who make such noise about Christianity, should be afraid to trust the promise of God, unless they can have legal bondsmen, bound by incorporation.

Government should be so fixed, that Pagans, Turks, Jews and Christians should be equally protected in their rights. The government of Massachusetts is, however, differently formed; under the existing Constitution, it is not possible for the General Court to place religion upon its proper footing; it can be done, however, much better than it is done, either by the late decision of the Bench, or by the adoption of the present Bill, in its present shape; and the best which the constitution will admit of, is all that we ask for at present. I shall therefore take the liberty, at a proper time, to offer an amendment to the Bill.

I shall no longer trespass on the patience of the house.

APPENDIX 6

Additional Remarks on the Character of Roger Williams. TOWARDS the close of the history of Rhode-island, we proposed to give, in the Appendix, a letter written by this distinguished man. It is preceded by some very judicious remarks by Governor Hopkins, which are worthy of being recorded.

"All Christians," says the Governor, "from the beginning of the Reformation to these times, when they were disturbed and oppressed by the governing powers they lived under, on account of their religious principles or practices, had claimed this natural right, a liberty of conscience in the worship of God. And many of them had, with much learning and great strength of reason, shown, that it was a right they were naturally and justly entitled to; and of which the civil magistrate could not deprive them, without departing from his proper duty and office. But all of them, when they came to be possessed of power, had denied that

indulgence to those, who differed from them in religious sentiments, that they had pleaded so powerfully for, when they suffered themselves; and this had constantly and universally been the case throughout christendom for many hundred years. And Roger Williams justly claims the honor of having been the first legislator in the world, in its latter ages, that fully and effectually provided for and established a free, full, and absolute liberty of conscience. This beneficent principle he made the foundation, and, as it were, the chief corner-stone of his infant colony; this was made the test of admission to all new-comers: this was the chief cause that united the inhabitants of Rhode-Island and those of Providence, and made them one people and one colony. It was often objected to Mr. Williams, that such great liberty in religious matters tended to licentiousness and every kind of disorder, to such objections I will give the answer he himself made, in his own words; for thereby his real sentiments may be best discovered."

"TO THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE"

"Loving Friends and Neighbors,

"It pleaseth God yet to continue this great liberty of our town-meetings, for which we ought to be humbly thankful, and to improve these liberties to the praise of the Giver, and to the peace and welfare of the town and colony, without our own private ends. I thought it my duty to present you this my impartial testimony, and answer to a paper sent you the other day from my brother, "That it is blood-guiltiness and against the rule of the Gospel, to execute judgement upon transgressors, against the public or private weal." That ever I should speak or write a tittle, that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I at present shall only propose this case: -- There goes many a ship to sea, with many a hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and wo is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or an human combination, or society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked into one ship. Upon which supposal, I do affirm, that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges, that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship; nor, secondly, compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practice any. I further add, that I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course; yea, and also to command that justice, peace and sobriety be kept and practiced, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any seaman refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help in person or purse, towards the common charges, or defense; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace and preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any shall preach or write, that there ought to be no commanders nor officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders, no corrections nor punishmental say, I never denied but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This, if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it so please the Father of Lights, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes. I remain, studious of our common peace and liberty, ROGER WILLIAMS."

"This religious liberty was not only asserted in words, but uniformly adhered to and practiced," etc.

It would be no strange event for a new State now to establish religious freedom, because many have set the example; but Roger Williams and the Rhode-Island Fathers claim the honor of maintaining this principle, while all other States and kingdoms in the world ridiculed and opposed it. In the account of Mr. Williams's settlement in Rhode-Island, we made some observations on the uncommon influence he acquired over the irritated and ever jealous Indian tribes. We shall here give a connected view of the services which this influence enabled him to perform. His breaking up of their grand confederacy in 1637, has already been mentioned. Yet notwithstanding this interposition on the behalf of all his English neighbors, when he was about to embark for England in 1643 to obtain a charter for his colony, he was not permitted to pass through the coasts from which he had been banished, but was obliged to repair to the Dutch at New-York to take shipping. "Yea, it must needs be so," says Mr. Backus, "because the blessings of a peace-maker were to come upon him, among the Dutch as well as the English." At this time the Dutch at Aurana, (now Albany) and its vicinity, at Manhattan, (now New-York) and in many other places, both on the main land and Long-Island, were engaged in a bloody conflict with different Indian tribes. At Stamford, (now in Connecticut) the enraged savages killed many, and among the rest Mrs. Ann

Hutchinson, who had been banished from Massachusetts, for what was called Antinomianism. "On Long-Island they assaulted the house of the lady MGody, who not long before moved from Lynn in the same government, on account of ana-baptism: but she was defended by forty men, that gathered to her house, which they assaulted divers times. But the Long-Island Indians, by the mediation of Mr. Williams, (who was then there to take ship for England) were pacified, and peace re-established between the Dutch and them" [Backus, vol. 1. p. 147-8].

In 1671, when king Philip was making preparations for his war, Governor Prince of Plymouth, and two of his assistants met three gentlemen from the Massachusetts colony at Taunton, to examine into the matter. Philip, indian like, was suspicious of the manoeuvres of white men; he kept in his camp at a distance, and sent for the commissioners to come to him. All solicitations were ineffectual, until Mr. Williams, then over 70, and Mr. Brown, supposed to be of Swansea, offered to remain as hostages in his camp; by which means he was prevailed with to meet the commissioners, to deliver up about 70 guns, and to promise future fidelity; which suspended the war four years" [Backus, vol. 1. p. 418].

In 1676, while this bloody war was going on, tradition says, that when the Indians appeared on the hill north of Providence, near the place where Colonel Smith's house now stands, Mr. Williams took his staff, and went over to meet them, hoping to pacify their rage, as he had often done before; but when some of the old men saw him, they came out to meet him -- told him that those who had long known him would not hurt him, but that the young warriors could not be restrained; upon which he returned to the garrison.

"As the best and most useful men," says Governor Hopkins, "have ever, in all free States, been the subjects of popular clamor and censure, so we find that Mr. Williams did not escape the rude attacks of the licentious tongue of freedom," etc. By some he was accused of a bigoted attachment to his peculiar opinions; by others he was compared to a weathercock for instability. From the accusations of enemies, a true character cannot be obtained of him -- nor of any other man. His friends uniformly maintain, that he lived and died a pattern of piety and benevolence. It is certain, however, from his own writings, that he was one of the few Baptists, whose minds have been bewildered about the doctrine of succession; and it was probably on that account he ceased traveling in the Baptist communion not long after he founded the church at Providence. But there is no evidence that he renounced the peculiar tenets of the Baptists; and it is certain he did not embrace those of any other sect. He had a long and sharp dispute with the Quakers, for which some of them feel not very well disposed towards him at this day. But it ought to be observed, at the same time, that Governor Hopkins, of that persuasion, has done ample justice to his character.

Although Mr. Williams was almost constantly engaged in the affairs of the colony, at home and abroad, yet we are assured that **he preached frequently at Providence, and used to go once a month to Mr. Smith's in the Narraganset country, where many of those Narraganset Indians attended his ministry, who could not be prevailed on to hear the missionaries from other colonies.** [Governor Hopkins. Callender.] "Roger Williams," says Morgan Edwards, "for his singular excellencies and worthy deeds, deserves a statue, and will certainly have one, except there be some cross-grained fatality attending the noblest characters among Baptists, to prevent their having the praise they deserve. I could fancy," says this ingenious writer, "that I see his statue erected in the college yard at Providence. His clothing a garment of camel's hair, tied about his loins with a leathern girdle. His feet are shod with sandals; and about his neck a little puritanical band. In his right hand is the gospel, as an emblem of the religious liberty he established, and the peace that followed. In his left, is a roll containing the charter of the colony, with as much of it unfolded as shows this paragraph: "To exhibit a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil State may stand and best be maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concernments; and that true piety, rightly grounded on gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay, in the hearts of men, the strongest obligations to true loyalty." On the pedestal are these words:

FATHER OF THIS COLONY, WHICH WAS FOUNDED IN 1636, AND WHOSE SPECIAL DISTINCTION IS THAT OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY; AND, UNDER GOD, THE SAVIOUR OF IT, AND OF THE NEIGHBORING COLONIES, FROM BEING EXTIRPATED BY THE CONFEDERATE INDIANS, IN 1637, WAS THAT REVEREND BAPTIST ROGER WILLIAMS"

It may be proper here to give a brief account of another of the fathers of the Rhode-Island colony, of whom nothing yet has been said. This was **WILLIAM BLAXTON**, or Blackstone. He was a minister in the Church of England, but came early to America. It appears by Johnson's history, that he was here in 1628; but not agreeing with Mr. Endicot and others in church affairs, he betook himself to agriculture. He planted himself on the neck of land where Boston now stands, which, from him was called Blaxton's point, when the Massachusetts company first arrived with their charter; and at a court in Boston, 1653, they made him a grant of fifty acres of land near his house. But with the maxims of this company, he soon fell out. "I came from England," said he, "because I did not like the Lord Bishops; but I cannot join with you, because I would not be under the Lord Brethren." On this account, he removed and settled about three miles north of Pawtucket, on an estate which is now owned by Colonel Simon Whipple. His residence was on what is now called Study Hill, where his library and buildings were burnt in king Philip's war. This was on the bank of Pawtucket river, which above takes the name of Blackstone from this early settler. He appears to have been intimate with Mr. Williams, preached frequently at Providence and places adjacent, and left behind him the character of a godly, pious man. His family is now extinct. He planted an orchard just east of Study Hill, which, we are told, was the first that bore fruit in the Rhode-Island colony. Some of the trees of this orchard were alive and thrifty 140 years after they were planted, but now all of them have gone to decay. [Backus, vol. 1. p. 58]

APPENDIX 7

A Letter from the Baptists in Philadelphia to the Episcopalians. [The contents of this letter will suggest to the reader the circumstances, under which it was written. But it may be proper to observe, that the Episcopalians had possessed themselves of a meeting-house and lot belonging to the Baptists in the township of Oxford, Pennsylvania. They afterwards attempted to do the same in Philadelphia: this letter was written, however, prior to that event, and at a time when a Mr. Clayton, an Episcopal minister in Philadelphia, to whom it was addressed, was laboring to possess himself of the Baptist congregation in that city.]

"SIR,

"WHEREAS we received a letter, invitatory from you to return to your Church of England, dated September 26, 1698, wherein you desire us to send you, in humility and without prejudice, the objections, why we may not be united in one communion; and withal, that you doubt not, but by the blessing and assistance of God, you will be able to show them to be stumbling-blocks, made by our wills, and not by our reason; and some of us, in behalf of the rest, having, on the reception thereof, given you a visit, and had discourse with you concerning some of the ceremonies of your church, about which you gave no satisfaction, we knew not that you expected any other answer from us. But in your late letter to John Watts, you signify, that you have received no answer to your former letter; we, therefore, taking this into consideration, do signify, an answer to your foresaid invitation and proposal, that to rend from a rightly constituted church of Christ, is that which our souls abhor; and that, love, peace, and unity with all Christians, and concord and agreement in the true faith and worship of God, are that which we greatly desire; and we should be glad if yourself or others would inform us wherein we err from the truth and ways of Christ; nor are we at all averse to a reconciliation with the Church of England, provided it can be proved by the holy Scriptures, that her constitution, orders, officers, worship and source are of divine appointment, and not of human invention. And since you yourself are the person that hath given us the invitation, and hath promised to show us that our objections are stumbling-blocks, made by our wills and not by our reason; and we understanding that our Lord Jesus Christ is the only head, king, lord and law-giver of his church, whom all are bound to hear and obey, under the severe penalty of an utter extirpation from among the people of God; and that his laws and will are only to be found in and known by the sacred Scriptures, which are the only supreme, sufficient, and standing rule of all faith and worship; and not understanding the constitution of your church, with all the orders, officers, worship and service, at this day in use and maintained therein, to be agreeable thereto and warranted thereby, hath been the cause of our separation from her, and is the objection we have to make, or the stumbling-block which lies in our way to such an union and communion as you desire; we, therefore, hope and expect according to your promise, that you will endeavor its removal, by showing us from holy Scripture, these two things as absolutely necessary in order thereunto: 1st. That the formation of your church, with all the orders, officers, rites, and ceremonies, now in use and practiced therein, are of divine institution; particularly, that the church of Christ under the New-

Testament, may consist or be made up of a mixed multitude, and their seed, even all that are members of a nation, who are willing to go under the denomination of Christians, whether they are godly or ungodly, holy or profane; that lords archbishops, and diocesan lords bishops, such as are now in England, are of divine institution and appointment; that the government of the church of Christ, under the Gospel, is to be prelatical, according as it is practiced this day in your church; and that your ecclesiastical courts are of divine appointment; that particular churches or congregations, with their ministers or elders, who have power and authority to receive persons into membership, have not likewise authority, by Matthew 18:15-18, and Corinthians 5: to execute church censures and excommunication upon miscreants, swearers, liars, drunkards, adulterers, thieves, atheists, etc.; but that it is of divine appointment, that they must be presented to their ordinaries, and only proceeded against in your ecclesiastical courts; that the several offices of deans, subdeans, chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chancellors, commissaries, officials, registers, canons, pettycanons, vicars, chorals, apparitors, organists, vergers, singing-men and boys, septins, epistlers, gospellers, and such like offices and officers of your church and ecclesiastical courts, are of divine institution, or have any Scripture warrant to justify them, and to bear them harmless in the last day; that unpreaching ministers may celebrate the sacraments by Scripture warrant; that their different apparel in time of divine service, such as hoods, tippets, surplices, etc. are of divine institution, or have any Scripture warrant under the New Testament; that the manner of the public service and liturgy of the Church of England, with the visitation of the sick, burial of the dead, churching of women, matrimony, etc. as now in use, are of divine appointment; that the people ought, by the rule of God's word, audibly with the ministers, to say the confession, Lord's prayer, and creed; and make such answers to the public prayers, as are appointed in the book of common prayer; that it is God's holy will and pleasure, that saint days and holy days should be kept and observed by Christians, according to the use of the Church of England; that instruments of music are to be used in God's worship, under the New-Testament; that infant baptism is a duty; that pouring or sprinkling water is the right manner of baptizing; that your manner of administering the sacraments, and signing with the sign of the cross in baptism are of divine appointment; that god-fathers and god-mothers are of divine appointment. These are some of the things we desire you to prove and make plain to us by the holy Scripture. But if the case be such that some or all of them cannot be thereby proved; then the 2d thing necessary to our reconciliation with your church is, That you will give us clear and infallible proof from God's holy word, such as will bear us harmless in the last day, that our Lord Jesus Christ hath given power and authority to any man, men, convocation, or synod, to make, constitute, and set up any other laws, orders, officers, rites and ceremonies, in his church, besides those which he hath appointed in his holy word; or to alter or change those, which he hath therein appointed, according as may, from time to time, to them seem convenient; and that we are bound in conscience towards God, by the authority of his word, to yield obedience thereunto; or whether it will not rather be a sore reflection upon the sufficiency of the holy Scriptures, and a high defamation of the kingly and prophetic offices of Jesus Christ, to suppose such a thing. -- Thus have we in humility, and, without prejudice, sent you our objections; and if you can, according to your letter, show them to be stumbling-blocks made by our wills, and not by our reason, we shall be very thankful, and you shall not find us obstinate, but ready to accept your invitation. But until you do so, and prove the constitution, orders, officers, rites and ceremonies of your church to be of God, it is but reason that you should suspend all charge of schism against us, and desist from blaming us for our peaceable separation; which is all, at present, from your loving friends, who desire information, and unity among saints, and the church's peace; that God, in all things may be glorified through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"Subscribed by us, members of the general meeting, in behalf of the rest, March 11, 1699.

"John Watts, Joseph Wood, George Eaglesfield, Samuel Jones, George Eaton, Thomas Bibb."

The times, to which the above letter refers, were remarkable for the spirit of proselyting, excited chiefly by means of the Reverend George Keith, who, it is said, was admitted to orders, upon condition that he would return to Pennsylvania, and endeavor to bring his party over to the Church of England. He and his brethren met with success at first; but a copy of the above letter being made public, they were somewhat embarrassed, and their progress retarded. [Edwards's History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, p. 99-104. 527]

APPENDIX 8

Civil State of Dissenters in England, 1793.

"Every dissenter in England is excluded from all civil and ecclesiastical employment of honor and profit in the kingdom. No dissenter can be admitted to command in the army or navy, were even his country invaded, nor to collect any part of the public revenue, nor to act as a magistrate, nor to graduate in either of the universities, nor even to take a degree of Doctor of Music or Physic, which employments do not seem to have any reference to the State. Nor will the affirmation of a Quaker be taken in any of our courts, in any criminal prosecution whatever; so that, if a man of this denomination were to see another murder his father or his wife, he could not prosecute the criminal without denying his religion. No Quaker can practise in any of the courts of law, not even as an attorney. This civil incapacity makes Dissenters be looked upon by the vulgar most unjustly, as rebels and enemies to government, and to a family which they placed on the throne; and in all seasons of alarm and tumult they have experienced, and do experience great evils in this way. Every Dissenter who acknowledges the truth of the doctrine of the Trinity, is tolerated in the exercise of religious worship; but he who denies the Trinity, is, on conviction, liable to confiscation of goods and imprisonment. Dissenters pay all taxes and tythes, and are obliged to serve offices in the church, which are attended only with labor and expense, as church-warden, etc. subject to heavy penalties if they do not serve, or find, at their own expense, a proper substitute -- *Rippon's Register*. Vol. 1 p. 524.

This statement will give the reader a view of the condition of Dissenters in England, and will sufficiently explain to him the reason why such multitudes are continually emigrating to America.

This kingdom abounds with good men of different persuasions; it has long been the nursery of genius and piety; every Christian land has reason to expect it, on account of its noble efforts in the cause of truth; but the maxims of its Cabinet, and its Ecclesiastical Constitution, no lover of liberty and equality can approve.

To the above statement we will subjoin the following account of the Church of England taken from *Simpson's Plea for the Sacred Writings*. "There are about 18,000 clergymen in England and Wales of the established religion, and nearly 10,000 parishes. The rectories are 5,098; the vicarages 3,687; the livings of other descriptions 2,970; in all, 11,755.

"Twenty or thirty of those livings may be \$4444:44 and upwards a year: four or five hundred of them \$2222:22 -- two thousand of them \$888:90 five thousand of them \$444:45. The average value of livings is about \$662:22.

"The whole income of the church and two Universities, is six million. six hundred and sixty-six thousand, six hundred and sixty-six dollars, and sixty-seven cents.

"There are twenty-six bishops, whose annual income is \$408,888:90; each bishop has therefore on an average \$15,726:50, supposing he had no other preferment.

"There are 28 cathedrals, 26 deans, 60 arch-deacons, and 554 prebends, canons, etc. Besides these, there are in all about 300 in orders belonging to the different cathedrals, and about 900 lay officers, such as singing-men, organists, etc. who are all paid from the cathedral emoluments; so that there are about 1800 persons attached to the several cathedrals, and divide among them \$622,222:22."

One man may possess several preferments at the same time, and may receive the enormous sum of \$88,888:90, per annum!" -- LAW, bishop of Carlisle, possessed, at the time of his decease, ten or more preferments. He was a bishop, head of a college, prebend, rector, librarian, etc. etc. etc." This picture is sufficient to convince Americans of the impropriety of a union of Church and State. Were it necessary, such a melancholy picture might be drawn from the statements of that worthy man and Christian, DAVID SIMPSON, (who disdained to be considered an hireling of the corrupt Church of England, and of course withdrew) as would strike the mind with horror! Any one who wishes to be further acquainted with the history of them: may find it in a volume written by David Simpson, A.M. entitled, "A plea for Religion and the Sacred Writings, addressed to the disciples of Thomas Paine, and to wavering Christians of every denomination."

APPENDIX 9

Summary Review of the Different Denominations of Christians in the United States.

The number of the **Baptists** will be exhibited in the following Table. It is probable the Methodists count as many members in their society, if not more, than any one denomination in America. According to their Minutes, the sum total of their members this year amounts to 214,307; 42,809 of whom are people of color. The preachers in full connection are 678, those on trial are 178; making the sum total of preachers 856. The increase of their society this year is 18,950. [Miracles of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal church etc. for 1813.] The members in Canada are not reckoned in this statement. Their number in both Provinces last year was a little short of 3000; but it is said great additions were made to them this year. In this statement are included all, who belong to the Methodist Classes; what proportion of these come up to their communion, one of their ministers informs me, cannot be ascertained with any degree of correctness. A gentleman, who was a number of years a preacher in their connection, supposes, that, take the denomination at large, not more, if so many as half of those in Society, are communicants.

The total number of the **Methodist** Society in 1809, in Britain and Ireland, the West-Indies, British Dominions in America, and the United States, was 334,628. [Lee's *History of the Methodists*, p. 359.]

The **Congregationlists** are the most numerous denomination in New-England. Their congregations, in 1801, were over a thousand.[3] In 1796, according to Dr. Morse, their churches in Connecticut only, were 200, their pastors 170, and their communicants 20,000. [Hannah Adams's *View of Religions*, p. 449.] In Massachusetts, their number of preachers now is over 400, the number of churches nearly 500. [*Geography*, vol. 1. p. 433.] The number of this denomination in other States I am not able to state, but it must be small compared with New-England.

The number of **Presbyterian** congregations in America was, in 1788, computed to be 618: there were 226 ministers. [Massachusetts Register for 1813.] They have probably increased considerably since. [The Congregationalists and Presbyterians are so often blended together, especially in New-England, that those who have not studied their rules of discipline, know not in what the difference between them consists. The Presbyterians have the following gradation of ecclesiastical tribunals, viz. Church Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and the General Assembly. A church Session consists of the minister, or minister and elders, with whom is vested the government of each church. A Presbytery consists of all the ministers and one ruling elder from each church or congregation within a certain district. A Synod is a convention of several Presbyteries. The General Assembly consists of delegates from all the Presbyteries. There is a regular course of appeals from the Church Session up to this Assembly, which is the highest judicatory of the Presbyterian Church. - Hannah Adams's *View of Religions*, p. 450,451. The Congregationalists differ no great from the Presbyterians except in church government, which they vest, not in the hands of the minister or elders, Presbyteries, Synods, or Assemblies; but each church is supposed to have power of itself to regulate all its affairs: it is, however, thought, that they, together with the Independents, are verging towards the Presbyterian standard.]

The **Independents** are small compared with either of the formentioned sects.

The **Friends** have, in the United States, 505 meetings for worship, their monthly meetings are 179; their yearly meetings 43. [This account was furnished by Moses Brown, of Providence.]

The number of **Episcopal** congregations I have not learnt.

The whole population of the **Roman Catholics** in the United States, in 1801, was supposed to be 50,000.

The number of the smaller sects cannot be ascertained. [DWC]

